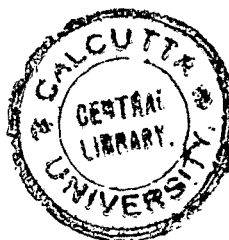


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APRIL 1966

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## Quantification in History

WILLIAM O. AYDELOTTE\*

OVER the past generation a number of historians have recognized that counting, when circumstances permit it, may assist in the explanation of a limited class of historical problems. The historical monographs in which quantitative methods have been used are already sufficiently numerous so that a review of them would require an article by itself. The purpose here is not to survey this literature but, instead, to raise several general questions related to it. Professional opinion regarding the value of quantification for history has been rather less than unanimous, and discussion of the subject has occasionally been acrimonious. There have also been a few misunderstandings. I wish to consider here what is involved in trying to apply quantitative methods to history, what kinds of results may be expected, and what difficulties lie in the way. Though I shall say something about the advantages of quantification, I am also, in a sense, concerned to speak against it and to make clear the problems it presents. My own approach to the subject is

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conservative and skeptical, and at times I feel that the current fad for quantification has been pushed too far. In any case, the exploration of the limitations of a method is an effective device for revealing its characteristic features.

The principal value of quantification for the study of history, stated in the simplest terms, is that it provides a means of verifying general statements. Some historians, of course, disclaim any intention of making such statements and insist that the business of a historian is not to generalize but to tell a story. Such a view can hardly be seriously entertained as a description of the objectives of all historians, for it manifestly does not apply to the work of a number of eminent members of the profession. One might question, indeed, whether any historian can avoid generalizing altogether.<sup>1</sup> It is an idle task, however, to attempt a formal prescription of a historian's duties. If some wish to emphasize narrative more than others, there is no reason why they should not. History is what historians do, and they do different things. It would be presumptuous to dismiss any of their objectives as being in some fashion improper. The day of a single methodology in history, if it ever existed, is at any rate now gone. In a discipline where there are at present so much upheaval, reassessment of methods and values, and introduction of new approaches, it seems better to say that anything historians do is useful if it can be shown to be useful.

For historians who do wish to generalize, however, quantitative methods can offer certain advantages. Generalizations are implicitly quantitative in character, even though this may not always be clearly brought out. As Lee Benson says, historians who use words like "typical," "representative," "significant," "widespread," "growing," or "intense" are making quantitative statements whether or not they present figures to justify their assertions. Unfortunately, not all historians seem to realize the need to check general statements. Benson complains, in the same passage, of "the impressionistic approach long dominant in American historiography,"<sup>2</sup> and I have occasionally been bothered by this kind of thing in my own field. Historians justly pride themselves on their techniques of verification, which have become in some areas highly sophisticated. It seems fair to say, however, that these techniques have more often been applied to individual bits of information than to broader statements. Some writers, after a precise descrip-

<sup>1</sup> The eleven contributors to a recent volume of essays on this subject, as the editor states in his summary: "all agree that the historian willy-nilly uses generalizations at different levels and of different kinds." (*Generalization in the Writing of History*, ed. Louis Gottschalk [Chicago, 1963], 208; see also, on this point, Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* [Cambridge, Eng., 1964], 5-7.)

<sup>2</sup> Lee Benson, "Research Problems in American Political Historiography," in *Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*, ed. Mirra Komarovsky (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), 117.

tion of a few cases, will proceed to generalize blithely about the motives of large groups of men even though the evidence to support their views is often not presented and, indeed, would be hard to come by, for the motives of most men are obscure and not easy to discern. To an uncritical audience several concrete illustrations may carry more conviction than a statistical table. Yet to support an argument by only a few examples, though it may be a persuasive rhetorical device, is not logically adequate. There are exceptions to most historical generalizations, and, if the citation of occasional instances were accepted as proof, it would be possible to prove almost anything.

Quantitative methods, the numerical summary of comparable data, make it possible, in some cases, to avoid these pitfalls. The condensation of data by such means, when it is clearly legitimate, constitutes a saving of time and a convenience in that it makes the information easier to describe and to handle. It also helps to ensure a greater degree of accuracy. Memory is selective, and general impressions are notoriously untrustworthy. When the data are so numerous that they cannot all be kept clearly in mind at once, the investigator is likely to remember best the cases that fit his own preconceptions or his pet hypotheses. An orderly presentation of the evidence in quantitative form helps the student to escape the tricks that his memory plays upon him. Quantitative analyses are, of course, gratuitous when the number of cases is small, when the student is concerned with only a few men or, perhaps, one man, and when the general tenor of the materials can be immediately grasped. As the data become more numerous, however, a systematic arrangement of them becomes the more desirable. There are, indeed, some questions, of which examples will be given presently, which could hardly be attacked without the use of methods of this kind.

A quantitative presentation of the available information can help to direct the student's attention to the questions most worth investigating. Since it brings the whole of the evidence, on the point it covers, into intelligible focus, the general character of the findings can be more readily perceived and relationships and differences emerge that could not so easily have been observed without this reduction of the data. Such an analysis reveals what events or issues were of special interest, in the sense of involving change through time or departure from the norm, and hence might particularly repay investigation. It can, in this manner, help in defining or restating the historical problem to be studied.

Beyond this, a quantitative analysis offers a systematic means of testing hypotheses. It establishes how many examples there are to support each side

of the argument and thus reveals not only the main features of the evidence but also, more important, the exceptions to them, the nuances, the degree to which the emerging generalizations need to be qualified. Measurement locates the defect in the original hypothesis and registers "the departure from theory with an authority and finesse that no qualitative technique can duplicate." A quantitative discrepancy between theory and observation is obtrusive. "No crisis is . . . so hard to suppress as one that derives from a quantitative anomaly that has resisted all the usual efforts at reconciliation."<sup>3</sup>

The general overview of the whole evidence obtained by quantitative means can also be a powerful stimulus toward the reformulation of one's ideas. When anomalies occur, the student can direct his attention to the cases that do not fit the original theory, try to find out why they are exceptional, and, by rearrangements of the data, test alternative hypotheses that may account for a larger proportion of the evidence. Such manipulations of the data would take an immense amount of time to do by hand, but, ordinarily, they can readily be performed by machines. I advise my students, if they are working with fifty cases or more, to punch the information. This is easily done, and, once it is done, there is no great difficulty about trying additional correlations. By the same token a quantitative analysis can even, in some cases, point the way to the formulation of new hypotheses that will make the findings more intelligible.

The case for quantification might be made in still a different way by saying that it is a method of reasoning, one that involves number. As one of my colleagues at the University of Iowa has put it, quantification adds, to whatever factual or historical premises may have been established, the premisses of mathematics as well. "Arithmetic is a vast treasure house of additional premisses, or, what amounts to the same thing, of patterns of deductive inference. Quantification is the key to the treasure."<sup>4</sup>

The advantages of this approach have been appreciated by a number of present-day historians. G. Kitson Clark suggests as appropriate advice to someone who wishes to generalize about a group or a class: "do not guess, try to count, and if you can not count admit that you are guessing."<sup>5</sup> Lawrence Stone writes: "Owing to the obstinate perversity of human nature, it would no doubt be possible in England of 1958 to find, if one tried, declining manual labourers and rising landed gentry. To have any validity at all, conclusions about social movements must have a statistical basis."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Thomas S. Kuhn, "The Function of Measurement in Modern Physical Science," in *Quantification: A History of the Meaning of Measurement in the Natural and Social Sciences*, ed. Harry Woolf (Indianapolis, 1961), 50, 52.

<sup>4</sup> Gustav Bergmann, *Philosophy of Science* (Madison, Wis., 1957), 69.

<sup>5</sup> G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (London, 1962), 14.

<sup>6</sup> Lawrence Stone, letter to editor, *Encounter*, XI (July 1958), 73.

Applications of quantitative techniques to historical materials have, in some cases, materially advanced the discussion of major problems. Monographs on the composition of the British House of Commons, which are now fairly numerous and cover a span of six centuries, have brought to light significant continuities and changes in the social structure of the British political elite. Crane Brinton, in his well-known quantitative study of the members of the Jacobin Clubs, reached the conclusion that the Jacobins represented "a complete cross-section of their community" and that: "The Jacobins of 1794 were not a class, and their enemies the 'aristocrats' were not a class; the Terror was not chiefly then a phase of the class-struggle, but even more a civil war, a religious war."<sup>7</sup> Donald Greer, on the basis of a quantitative analysis of the victims of the Terror, argued that the lower classes, by the definitions he used, supplied 70 per cent of the victims and the upper classes less than 30 per cent and that: "The split in society was perpendicular, not horizontal. The Terror was an intra-class, not an inter-class, war."<sup>8</sup> From the researches of Brinton, Greer, and others, crude class theories about the French Revolution have received a setback. Revisions have also been made in accepted views about American history. Richard P. McCormick published in the *American Historical Review* a set of tables, drawn from readily available election statistics, on the basis of which he was able to show that the great popular turnout of 1824 was a myth and that: "In the 1824 election not a single one of the eighteen states in which the electors were chosen by popular vote attained the percentage of voter participation that had been reached before 1824." His finding contradicts the assertion he quotes from a standard text that, in the period before 1824, "only small numbers of citizens seem to have bothered to go to the polls." It contrasts also with Charles and Mary Beard's colorful statement that, by 1824, "the roaring flood of the new democracy was now foaming perilously near the crest . . ." and with Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s reference to the "immense popular vote" received by Jackson in 1824.<sup>9</sup> Albert Ludwig Kohlmeier, using statistical data on canal and riverboat traffic, was able to show when and how rapidly the trade of the Old Northwest shifted away from the South and to the Northeast.<sup>10</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, by a quantitative analysis based largely

<sup>7</sup> Clarence Crane Brinton, *The Jacobins: An Essay in the New History* (New York, 1930), 70-72.

<sup>8</sup> Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Terror during the French Revolution: A Statistical Interpretation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 97-98.

<sup>9</sup> Richard P. McCormick, "New Perspectives on Jacksonian Politics," *American Historical Review*, LXV (Jan. 1960), 288-301, esp. 289-91; Richard Hofstadter et al., *The American Republic* (2 vols., New York, 1959), I, 391; Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (new ed., 2 vols., New York, 1931), I, 550; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), 36.

<sup>10</sup> Albert Ludwig Kohlmeier, *The Old North-West as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics* (Bloomington, Ind., 1938).

on census records, exploded various familiar hypotheses about social mobility in a Massachusetts town in the later nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup> Quantitative presentations have formed the basis for substantial generalizations by an impressive group of additional historians including Thomas B. Alexander, Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, Allan G. Bogue, Jean Delumeau, Robert W. Fogel, Frank L. Owsley, Lawrence Stone, Charles Tilly, Sylvia L. Thrupp, and Sam B. Warner, Jr.<sup>12</sup> This list of examples could be considerably extended.

These results have often been achieved by fairly simple methods; for much historical research the quantitative procedures required are not complex. Historians do not ordinarily need to deal with problems of statistical inference in which an attempt is made to ascertain the characteristics of a large population by inspection of relatively small samples. Their work is usually limited to the easier task of descriptive statistics in which the object is to portray the characteristics of a group, all members of which have been studied, and to correlate some of these characteristics with each other. The computations needed for this are not ambitious. All that is generally required are a few totals, a few percentages, and a few correlations in which the relationship between certain variables is examined while other variables are controlled. This is a simple matter mathematically, although the research may be laborious, and it is simple mechanically as well. Even so modest a use of quantitative methods can sometimes produce results of great interest and can be used to test historical generalizations of some scope on which there has heretofore been scholarly disagreement. Since only a limited amount of such research has been done, much gold is still near the surface. It may turn out, however, that richer veins lie deeper. Though it has proved extremely useful to classify, arrange, and summarize the available information, it may be even more rewarding—to judge from some of the ventures that

<sup>11</sup> Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

<sup>12</sup> Thomas B. Alexander *et al.*, "Who Were the Alabama Whigs?" *Alabama Review*, XVI (No. 1, 1963), 5-19; Thomas B. Alexander and Peggy J. Duckworth, "Alabama Black Belt Whigs during Secession: A New Viewpoint," *ibid.*, XVII (No. 3, 1964), 181-97; Bernard and Lotte Bailyn, *Massachusetts Shipping, 1697-1714: A Statistical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, 1963); Jean Delumeau, *L'alun de Rome, xv<sup>e</sup>-xix<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1962), and *Le mouvement du port de Saint-Malo à la fin du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, 1681-1700* (Rennes, 1962); Robert William Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth: Essays in Econometric History* (Baltimore, 1964); Frank Lawrence Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge, La., 1949); Lawrence Stone, "The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640," *Past and Present*, XXVIII (July 1964), 41-80, and *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford, Eng., 1965); Charles Tilly, *The Vendée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Sylvia L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Chicago, 1948); Sam B. Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

have already been made—to attempt more complex methods of descriptive statistical analysis by the use, for example, of mathematical models or of scaling techniques.<sup>13</sup>

Although substantial and interesting work has been done along these lines, much more could be attempted. Historians who have used quantitative methods have been timid in their application of them and have come nowhere near exploiting their full potentialities. Also, many historians who deal with problems for which such methods might be helpful have not tried to use them at all. Economic history is, perhaps, an exception. This field is naturally suited to quantitative research since many of the original data come in quantified form, the problems and hypotheses tend to assume a quantified shape, and, in the field of economics, theoretical analysis is more advanced. In political and social history, however, opportunities have been missed. Though the area of historical research to which these methods can be applied may be limited, it has certainly not yet been fully explored.

Furthermore, much hostility to quantitative methods still remains among some members of the historical profession. Despite what might seem the obvious advantages of these methods for certain kinds of problems, despite their notably successful application in many historical projects, and despite their long acceptance as a matter of course in several related disciplines, some historians still object to them vociferously and consider them altogether inappropriate for historical research. Questions have been raised regarding: (1) the value of the work that has been done; (2) the feasibility of this approach in view of the admittedly limited materials available to historians; (3) the reliability of the results obtained by these techniques; and (4) the usefulness or significance of the results. These objections are not wholly without foundation. It would be pointless to deny either the limitations of the method or the lapses of some of its practitioners. To concede this, however, is not to tell the whole story.

(1) Certainly the ventures of historians into this kind of research have not been uniformly fortunate. Some of these studies, far from revolutionizing historical thought, have themselves not stood the test of time and have been shown to contain imperfections of method, which, to some extent, vitiate

<sup>13</sup> On the use of models, see the review of the work of Harold Hotelling and others and the further discussion of this problem in Donald E. Stokes, "Spatial Models of Party Competition," *American Political Science Review*, LVII (June 1963), 368-77. On scaling techniques, see Duncan MacRae, Jr., *Dimensions of Congressional Voting: A Statistical Study of the House of Representatives in the Eighty-first Congress* (Berkeley, Calif., 1958), and "Intraparty Divisions and Cabinet Coalitions in the Fourth French Republic," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V (Jan. 1963), 164-211; William O. Aydelotte, "Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840s," *ibid.*, 134-63.

their conclusions. It would be unfair to mention individual monographs without a more extended discussion of their arguments than is possible in this paper. I shall have occasion to describe some of the statistical solecisms committed by a few workers in my own field in separate articles on special topics. In general, it has been contended, sometimes plausibly, that a number of the pioneers in quantitative historical research overlooked certain elementary precautions. They did not, it is said, always appreciate or remember that a sample that is small and, hence, biased or unrepresentative may distort the results, that percentages should be figured in terms of what is hypothesized to be the independent variable, that a conscientious search should be made for all possible relevant variables (though it is unlikely that they can all be found), that failure to make such a search may produce spurious correlations, or that refinements of technique cannot compensate for the inaccuracy or incompleteness of the original data. Doubtless the application of quantitative techniques to history has not paid off as well as might have been expected because of the statistical naïveté of a few of those who first tried it. To say this, however, is not to disparage quantitative methods. On the contrary, these are exactly the errors that an experienced statistician would not commit, and they arise not from an overemphasis but from an underemphasis on accepted statistical procedures. It may not be unreasonable to expect that simple technical errors of this kind will occur less frequently in the future as a new generation of historians becomes more alert to what is needed for this type of work.

(2) A more serious objection is that quantitative techniques may not be feasible at all in history, or can be used only within narrow limits, because of the complexity of historical materials and the restrictions on historical knowledge. It is difficult to get accurate information, for the sources may prove inconsistent or unreliable. Also the task of correctly recording so great a mass of data is more arduous than is likely to be believed by anyone who has not tried it; the natural proclivity of almost all men to error, to incorrect observation, has been repeatedly shown by experiment. Beyond this, however, there are formidable problems of taxonomy. A given body of data can generally be classified in any of many different ways, and skill and experience are needed to choose the categories that will prove most useful. Unfortunately it may not become apparent which these are until one is well into the research and it is too late to change. It is also no easy matter to make the categories precise and clearly distinguishable from one another. The existing vocabulary of social history is inexact, and many of the terms in common usage are too vague to permit unequivocal classification of the data.



To give one example, problems of this kind have, according to a recent review article, bedeviled research on the supposed conflict of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie during the French Revolution. The ambiguities in the definitions of these terms have had the result that:

the central doctrine of the class struggle between bourgeois and aristocrats can now only be accepted as an act of faith; for no two people can agree on who the bourgeois and the aristocrats were; no one can formulate (and few even try to formulate) a criterion for distinguishing between them that can be followed consistently, and every argument is thus liable to be at variance with easily ascertainable facts.<sup>14</sup>

Similar problems arise, of course, in the social history of other countries. If a historian tries to distribute a group of men among conventional categories of this kind, borderline cases may necessitate so many subjective judgments that the resulting classifications will not be worth much. No amount of *expertise* in the manipulation of the figures will make adequate correction for imprecision in the original data or for categories that do not adequately measure what it is claimed that they measure. A quantitative approach does not of itself ensure accuracy. Jeremy Bentham's "felicific calculus" was set forth in quantitative terms, but it is not generally regarded as a precise conceptual scheme. There is a danger, in this kind of work, of a spurious precision—giving the results, to several decimal places, of calculations based on incorrect original assumptions. If the classifications used at the start are worthless, the computations based upon them will be equally so, no matter how many times they are passed through the computer, and the situation will develop which is known in the trade as "GIGO": "garbage in and garbage out."

Furthermore, historical information is restricted. Historians who seek to use quantitative methods are, in comparison to those working with contemporary affairs, at a disadvantage. It is difficult—and the difficulty generally increases with the remoteness of the period studied—to obtain relevant data for a large enough sample of the group or "population" under consideration to make a quantitative presentation useful and effective. It is feasible, for example, to study the composition of the British House of Commons in recent centuries, though the task becomes harder as one goes back in time, but it might be less rewarding to attempt an analysis of the personnel of Justinian's army.

<sup>14</sup> Betty Behrens, " 'Straight History' and 'History in Depth': The Experience of Writers on Eighteenth-Century France," *Historical Journal*, VIII (No. 1, 1965), 125; see Greer's comments on the ambiguities of his own categories, in *Incidence of the Terror*, 88–96; for a more extended discussion of these problems, see Cobban, *Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, Chaps. III, VI, VIII–XIV.

Even some of the historians who have made conspicuously successful use of these methods complain frequently about the inadequacy of the sources with which they had to work. Brinton found the membership lists of the Jacobin Clubs incomplete, a problem heightened by the considerable turnover in membership, while the occupations of some Jacobins were not listed and the occupations of others were described in ambiguous terms. He insists that part of his information does not "have even the relative accuracy possible in a study of contemporary demography."<sup>15</sup> Greer speaks of "the impossibility of determining with any degree of exactitude the total death roll of the Terror."<sup>16</sup> Owsley found that the tax lists for many large areas of the South had not survived, while the census reports, besides being less accurate as a rule than the tax lists, were seriously incomplete except for the latter part of the ante bellum period.<sup>17</sup> Warner found rich statistical materials surviving for nineteenth-century Boston, but noted that city, state, and federal counts did not agree with each other and added the warning that: "The presence of substantial errors in the census requires the local historian to use census data with the same sophistication he would use any other source. The past tendency to check writings of individuals against other sources but to accept statistics as *prima facie* fact must be abandoned."<sup>18</sup>

Even in cases of groups for which quantitative methods can to some extent be used, it is not always possible to employ tests of sufficient refinement to verify what appear to be the most significant hypotheses. Benson, in his discussion of Beard's interpretation of the battle over the Constitution, has suggested that "we are likely to progress further if we group men, not according to their 'economic interests,' but according to various other things including, for example, 'their values, their beliefs, their symbols, their sense of identity.'"<sup>19</sup> Yet it may not be easy to obtain this kind of information for all or most members of a population of any size removed at some distance in time. It could, perhaps, be found for a few individuals on whom detailed information can be gathered from their correspondence and papers, but in statistics arguing from a few not necessarily representative examples is the great heresy. Doubtless more can be done than has always been realized, and, in another book, Benson has applied imagination and ingenuity to available materials, to draw impressive and persuasive inferences on some of

<sup>15</sup> Brinton, *Jacobins*, 48-51, 57-58.

<sup>16</sup> Greer, *Incidence of the Terror*, 37.

<sup>17</sup> Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South*, 150-51.

<sup>18</sup> Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs*, 173-74.

<sup>19</sup> Lee Benson, *Turner and Beard: American Historical Writing Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Ill., 1960), 169-70.

these difficult matters.<sup>20</sup> It can scarcely be denied, however, that these are obdurate questions, and anyone who tries to solve them has his work cut out for him; ingenuity can carry only a limited distance. For many groups in the past the kind of information needed to make such tests, much of it at least, has long since disappeared and is now irretrievable.

Clearly, formal statistical presentations are feasible only for a limited range of historical problems. The available information may be insufficient or may contain ambiguities that make it difficult to summarize in intelligible categories. Nothing is to be gained by pretending otherwise or by attempting to force the use of these methods beyond where evidence will carry. Frank Knight once observed that the dictum attributed to Lord Kelvin—"If you cannot measure, your knowledge is meagre and unsatisfactory"—has in practice been translated into the injunction: "If you cannot measure, measure anyhow."<sup>21</sup> This, of course, would be a counsel of darkness. Whether quantitative methods will be helpful on a given problem is a matter not of rule but of the strategy of research.

Though these difficulties are substantial, it would be a gross distortion to regard them as insuperable. Taxonomic problems vary in incidence, and it is mistaken to suppose that all subjects are equally difficult to quantify. Social categories may be tricky, but other kinds of information, such as votes in a legislative body, can be tabulated with some assurance. Economic and demographic data have been handled quantitatively with success for some time.

Even in the study of social history it has sometimes proved possible, as it has in scientific investigation,<sup>22</sup> to advance the argument by jettisoning subjective definitions and adopting objective ones, by disregarding earlier concepts that were too vaguely defined to admit of measurement, and by concentrating instead on categories that could be unmistakably specified—not "aristocrats," but peers and their sons; not "gentry," but men included by John Burke in his reference work *The Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*; not "businessmen," but men engaged in certain ways in certain types of business. Whether these more sharply defined categories correspond accurately to the old categories is a question that cannot be answered since the old ones are so indefinite that they cannot be said to correspond accu-

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case* (Princeton, N. J., 1961), Chaps. xii-xiv.

<sup>21</sup> Kuhn, "Measurement," 31, 34; remarks by Frank H. Knight in *Eleven Twenty-Six: A Decade of Social Science Research*, ed. Louis Wirth (Chicago, 1940), 169. The quotation ascribed to Kelvin appears on the façade of the Social Science Building at the University of Chicago. Kuhn has been unable to find these exact words in Kelvin's writings, though Kelvin expressed the idea more than once in slightly different language.

<sup>22</sup> See the discussion of the development of the concept "degree of heat" in Kuhn, "Measurement," 58-59.

rately to anything. One cannot, by using the new categories, effectively test propositions couched in terms of the old ones. Such propositions cannot, indeed, be tested at all, for an imprecise or slipshod formulation is impregnable; a statement that has no exact meaning cannot be disproved. What is feasible, however, is to study a group or an entity that might be conjectured to correspond somewhat to the old and loosely defined concept but that at least has the virtue that it can be identified. The investigator must, of course, assume the burden of showing that his new categories are viable and useful. The great step forward is to take the objective or unequivocal definition as the norm, as describing the entity that will be subjected to analysis, and to demote the subjective or vague concept to a subordinate position, to appreciate that, though it may serve as a useful starting point in the formulation of an operational definition, it may also contain variables that are difficult to measure or even to identify and that it cannot, therefore, be handled in any conclusive fashion. By this procedure one at least knows where one stands, and the problems of social measurement may become less intractable.

Nor is the argument about limitations on historical knowledge really convincing. No doubt much valuable information has been lost. It is clear enough, however, that historical materials that lend themselves to quantitative research, even if they do not cover everything, are enormously abundant. Some great storehouses of information such as census records and tax records are still relatively unused, except by a few pioneers. Other rich sources such as recorded votes in legislative bodies have been used only in a desultory and sporadic fashion, and much more could be done with them. Ample materials exist for collective biographies of groups of prominent individuals, and in some cases obscure ones too; for the economic and demographic characterization of constituencies; and for ascertaining the relationship of the facts unearthed in such investigations to political choice.<sup>23</sup> Evidence is particularly rich for social and political history, two areas in which quantitative methods have not been extensively attempted.

Furthermore, it has proved possible, again and again, to describe in quantitative terms things that were formerly thought to fall beyond the reach of this net. Matters that seemed to an earlier generation unquantifiable can sometimes be caught and measured by a change in approach or by reaching a clearer perspective concerning what it may be most profitable to measure.

<sup>23</sup> An extended account of the work that has been done and that might be attempted along this line in American history has been given by Samuel P. Hays in "New Possibilities for American Political History: The Social Analysis of Political Life," a paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1964; see also *id.*, "Archival Sources for American Political History," *American Archivist*, XXVIII (Jan. 1965), 17-30.

This applies, for example, to the study of attitudes, a field in which notable advances have been made over the last several decades. David Hume, speaking through the mouth of Philo, a man of "careless scepticism," argued that "controversies concerning the degrees of any quality or circumstance" can never "reach a reasonable certainty or precision." Thus, he says, it is impossible to settle how great a general Hannibal was or "what epithet of praise Livy or Thucydides is entitled to . . . because the degrees of these qualities are not, like quantity or number, susceptible of any exact mensuration, which may be the standard in the controversy."<sup>24</sup> Even if we cannot measure qualities of excellence, however, we can perfectly well measure opinions about them, which are all we have to go on anyway, and this is done all the time with questionnaires. Similarly, ways have been found to measure degrees of liberalism and conservatism by indexes in which men have come to place some reliance, or degrees of attachment to a particular cause or principle, or degrees of interest or apathy regarding political questions, or even degrees of patient welfare in a hospital. It has been possible to do this last by a set of objective tests that fit into a cumulative scale and that have turned out to be reliable and consistent.<sup>25</sup>

Recent quantitative research in history contains several examples of a tour de force of this kind, attempts—fairly convincing attempts—to measure what previously seemed impossible to measure. One is the effort of Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer to appraise the profitability of slavery and the efficiency of the slave labor market in the American South before the Civil War. It would be difficult to summarize here their complex and rather technical analysis, but it is interesting that their conclusions tell strongly against the long-standing though not wholly unchallenged view that the system of slavery was being undermined because of its unprofitability and because of the impossibility of maintaining and allocating a slave labor force. They found, on the contrary, that "slavery was apparently about as remunerative as alternative employments to which slave capital might have been put" and that: "Slavery was profitable to the whole South, the continuing demand for labor in the Cotton Belt ensuring returns to the breeding operation on the less productive land in the seaboard and border states."<sup>26</sup> Another example is the attempt by McCormick to describe, for the period in which he does research, the relation between the economic status of members of the

<sup>24</sup> David Hume, *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (London, 1779), Pt. XII.

<sup>25</sup> Myrtle Kitchell Aydelotte, *An Investigation of the Relation between Nursing Activity and Patient Welfare* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1960), 41-123.

<sup>26</sup> Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, *The Economics of Slavery and Other Studies in Econometric History* (Chicago, 1964), 66, 82.

electorate and their political choice. This topic, though important, is difficult for historians to study since the rich and poor in an electorate are generally buried in the anonymity of mass figures, and it is now virtually impossible to distinguish who voted for whom. McCormick, however, in attacking the problem, was able to take advantage of the dual franchise existing in North Carolina in the years 1836-1856, when only adult freemen who owned fifty acres of land within the county could vote for a member of the state senate while all freemen, including the above, who had paid county or state taxes, could vote for governor. By comparing, county by county, the size of the vote cast for governor with the comparable vote for state senators it was possible to determine the proportion of the electorate that could not meet the fifty-acre requirement. Then, by examining the distribution of each class of the electorate between the two major parties, McCormick was able to reach some conclusions on the relation of economic status to party affiliation. His finding, one of considerable interest, was that "the economic distinction implicit in the dual suffrage system had no substantial significance as a factor in determining party alignments in these North Carolina elections."<sup>27</sup>

In any case, the complexity and the limited scope of historical information are not arguments against quantification in particular. These limitations exist no matter what techniques are used. They arise from the insufficiency of the evidence and not from the peculiarities of the method. The obstacles to quantitative generalizations apply with equal force to nonquantitative ones, and what cannot be done with statistics cannot be done without them, either. No serious student of methodology would contend that a disciplined approach can overcome the inherent frailties in the data. But it hardly follows that, when the sources are suspect or the facts incomplete, an impressionistic, subjective approach can surmount these difficulties. Problems due to inadequacy of the data may be brought out more sharply and may become more apparent in a formal and systematic investigation, but they cannot in any circumstances be evaded.

(3) The objection is also sometimes made that the general conclusions of a quantitative investigation are not proved by the figures. This is, of course, true, and no one who knows anything about statistical theory would argue otherwise. To expect finality for the broader conclusions of a quantitative investigation is to misconstrue the nature of the approach. On this

<sup>27</sup> Richard P. McCormick, "Suffrage Classes and Party Alignments: A Study in Voter Behavior," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLVI (Dec. 1959), 398-403; for a review of other attempts to measure what cannot be measured directly and a discussion of the problems involved, see Robert William Fogel, "Reappraisals in American Economic History—Discussion," *American Economic Review*, LIV (May 1964), 377-89.

point some misunderstanding apparently exists for, in everyday speech, reckless claims are sometimes made as to what "statistics prove." Actually the range of statistical proof is limited. A statistical table is nothing more than a convenient arrangement of the evidence, and it proves only what it contains: that there was, for example, a relationship or, more usual, a partial relationship between two variables. Theories that attempt to account for such a relationship, in the sense of fitting the findings into a wider conceptual scheme, are not proved by the figures. They are merely propositions that appear to explain what is known in a plausible fashion and that do not conflict with any relevant evidence that can, after a conscientious search, be uncovered. This is not to say that they are nonsense, for they may be supported by persuasive arguments. Yet since, notoriously, different arguments have proved persuasive to different audiences, the broader inferences from a quantitative investigation can scarcely be accepted as final. Thus it is possible, if the information is available, to establish how people voted, but it is much more difficult to say why they voted as they did. There might, of course, even be some difference of opinion on how they voted: for example, the accuracy of the records or of the tabulations made from them might be challenged. Yet such a disagreement is clearly on a lower level than a disagreement about men's motives, and there is a greater likelihood that it could be resolved through collecting and arranging the relevant data by acceptable procedures. In regard to more general explanatory propositions, however, a statistical inquiry, like any other method of verification, can only disprove. If the hypothesis does not fit the evidence, it may be rejected; in this sense a quantitative finding can indeed be conclusive. "Once we recognize that the Jacksonians won either by narrow majorities before 1837 or by narrow pluralities after that date, or frequently failed to win by any margin, it will surely become apparent that there is no basis for explanations that tell why they were the 'popular party.'"<sup>28</sup> The absence of unfavorable findings does not, however, prove an explanatory generalization for there may be some other explanation, and it is also possible that adverse evidence may be discovered later. Strictly speaking, a generalization of this kind is never proved and remains on probation indefinitely.<sup>29</sup>

Hence there is always, in quantitative research of any scope, a gap between observation and theory. To bridge this gap it may be necessary to resort to assumptions that are not demonstrated by the evidence. Some recent

<sup>28</sup> Benson, *Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*, 289-90.

<sup>29</sup> For a further discussion of this point, see W. I. B. Beveridge, *The Art of Scientific Investigation* (rev. ed., New York, 1957), 115-22.

presentations of this kind depend not only on the figures but also on the use of hypotheses that are designed to show either what the figures measure or what their relevance is to certain general questions. The gap cannot always be bridged. Interesting findings may be obtained that are difficult to explain in the sense of devising an acceptable theory that will account for them. An example from my own research is a cumulative scale, derived through Louis Guttman's technique of scalogram analysis, that ties together votes in the House of Commons on a number of different subjects in a way consistent with the hypothesis that they all measure a single variable. Yet the nature of this variable, this larger issue that subsumes many smaller ones, has proved difficult to determine. Though the existence of the scale can be demonstrated with about as much certainty as can ever be obtained in historical research, the characterization of it can be, for the present, only tentative and hypothetical.<sup>80</sup> Comparable dilemmas have sometimes been encountered in other fields.<sup>81</sup>

The hypotheses used to connect observation and theory are, no matter how plausible they at first appear, always open to challenge. The broader conclusions of a quantitative presentation may be vulnerable regardless of the accuracy of the mathematics or the reliability of the original data, and questions may be raised about them that cannot be answered by a resort to numbers. A critic may accept the findings, but then point out that the conclusions based upon them follow only if certain assumptions are made, and go on to question these assumptions. Some of the large modern quantitative studies have been criticized exactly on this ground: that the chain of argument, the series of connecting hypotheses, was too long and too tenuous to make the conclusions convincing.<sup>82</sup>

By the same token, a quantitative investigation may not and often will not settle an argument. It may settle certain disputed points about the evidence. The discussion of larger questions of historical interpretation, however, concerns not merely what the facts were but also what may be inferred from them, and on this level controversy may continue.<sup>83</sup> A quantitative finding may be open to more than one interpretation: in some cases it can

<sup>80</sup> Aydelotte, "Voting Patterns," 148-51.

<sup>81</sup> "In spite of the great social and scientific usefulness of psychological tests it must be acknowledged that for the most part we have had very inadequate ideas as to what it is that they actually measure." (Joy Paul Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* [2d ed., New York, 1954], 470.)

<sup>82</sup> Nathan Glazer, "'The American Soldier' as Science: Can Sociology Fulfill Its Ambitions?" *Commentary*, VIII (Nov. 1949), 487-96; C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (New York, 1959), 72.

<sup>83</sup> Greer based his conclusions on a calculation of what percentage each social or occupational group constituted of the total number of victims of the Terror. If he had argued from percentages figured in the other direction—designed to show what proportion of each of the various divisions of French society was executed in the Terror—the picture would have



be used to support either of two alternative and mutually exclusive theoretical schemes.<sup>34</sup> It can also happen that quantitative results that appear to disprove an accepted theory will simply be "explained away." This procedure can be quite legitimate, since it may prove possible to achieve a reformulation of the earlier view, which preserves some of the original insights, but does not conflict with the new evidence. If contradictory findings continue to accumulate, however, it may eventually be more satisfactory to abandon the earlier position altogether.

Quantitative procedures by no means preclude, nor indeed can they possibly eliminate, the use of value judgments, speculations, intelligent guesses, or "the imagination and intuitive feel which the historian, and for that matter the social scientist, should bring to his subject."<sup>35</sup> What is gained by attempting such exactitude as the circumstances allow is not finality but reasonable credibility, not the elimination of subjective factors but the minimizing of their role. No greater claim than this would be asserted by responsible social scientists or statisticians.

These points, though they are elementary, are not always understood or remembered. Quantitative findings are impressive in appearance and may, by their psychological impact, numb or blunt the critical abilities of the reader. It does occasionally seem to happen that a statistical presentation wins acceptance not through intellectual persuasion but through a kind of hypnosis. There is, however, no magic about quantitative evidence. It may be more conveniently arranged and, on the points it covers, more complete than other forms of documentation. Its significance, however, depends on what can be inferred from it, and such inferences, like all other inferences, may be fallible.

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looked somewhat different. This is because, as Greer points out, the "proportional incidence" of the Terror was "almost directly inverse to its absolute incidence"; in proportion to their total numbers, "the nobles, the clergy, and the rich suffered far more than the lower classes." (Greer, *Incidence of the Terror*, 105-109.) This aspect of the findings has been made the ground for a sharp critique of Greer's book by Richard Louie who argues that Greer's own data contradict his principal conclusion and show "with 95 per cent confidence that the Terror was an 'inter-class war.'" (Richard Louie, "The Incidence of the Terror: A Critique of a Statistical Interpretation," *French Historical Studies*, III [Spring 1964], 379-89.) Neither way of presenting the figures is "right" in any ultimate sense; it is a matter of what question one wishes to answer and what features of the evidence it is most useful, for this purpose, to bring out.

<sup>34</sup> In case this appears puzzling, it may be helpful to summarize the hypothetical illustration given by Hans Zeisel. If Company A increases its sales volume in a year from one to two million dollars and Company B, a bigger outfit to begin with, increases its sales in the same period from four to seven million dollars, then one could argue either that Company B did better since its net increase was three times that of A, or that Company A did better since it increased its sales 100 per cent in comparison to B's 75 per cent. Which alternative is preferred depends not on the figures but on what causal assumptions are implied in making the comparison and on what kinds of questions the investigator wishes to test. (Hans Zeisel, *Say It with Figures* [4th ed., New York, 1957], 8-13.)

<sup>35</sup> James Cornford, "The Transformation of Conservatism in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies*, VII (Sept. 1963), 40.

This disadvantage is not, of course, peculiar to quantitative procedures. On the contrary, quantitative evidence stands, in this respect, on a level with all other kinds of evidence, and arguing from it is subject to the same rules and the same hazards. The danger of false reasoning from good evidence occurs in any kind of research. It is not only in the field of statistics that men may agree on the facts but disagree on the inferences to be drawn from them.

(4) Questions have been raised not merely regarding the feasibility and reliability of quantitative research in history but also regarding its usefulness. It is sometimes argued that quantitative findings, even if they can be trusted, tend to be trivial, inconsequential, and uninteresting. This is because any system of classification, such as is needed for such work, uses only a small part of the available information and leaves out the full richness of reality. Hence the ordinary statistical categories are too crude and threadbare to explain the complicated chains of events with which history is concerned. The problems in which historians are most interested are so complex that they elude these methods. One critic holds that: "almost all important questions are important precisely because they are not susceptible to quantitative answers."<sup>36</sup>

It is true, of course, that any quantitative procedure involves using only selected classes of data. It is seldom possible to include everything, or to come anywhere near this. Hence, statistical tables, though they seem impressive, may also present an appearance of bleakness or barrenness which can act as an impediment to thought. Often they will not stimulate the imagination as the detailed recital of an individual case will do. Indeed, it is useful, when one comes to an impasse in interpreting the figures, to turn to the consideration of individuals about whom much is known. Such individuals may not be representative, and one cannot generalize from them to the whole group; a study of them may, however, yield suggestions or leads, fresh hypotheses that can be tested, which will make the evidence as a whole more intelligible. It is always necessary, when working with the figures, to remember that they do not tell the whole story, that many elements of the situation are not reflected in them, and that what they do not cover may turn out to be more important than what they include. To interpret the quantitative evidence it is generally necessary to have recourse to the more conventional sources of historical information: memoirs and biographies, congressional debates, private papers, and the like.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., "The Humanist Looks at Empirical Social Research," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII (Dec. 1962), 770.

The charge that quantification abstracts and uses only limited parts of the available information, however, is not an objection to this method specifically. On the contrary, any generalization abstracts. A generalization is a comparison of a number of cases, not in terms of all the attributes of each, but in terms of certain selected attributes in respect to which the cases are comparable. This problem is not peculiar to quantification; it arises in any research in which a conscientious effort is made to substantiate general statements.

The objection that the findings of quantitative studies are not significant sometimes takes other forms. It has been alleged, for example, that this kind of research is destructive and not constructive and that: "the recent use of quantitative methods to test historical generalization has resulted in the wholesale destruction of categories that previously held sway in the historian's vocabulary without supplanting them with new generalizations of comparable significance."<sup>37</sup> As an objection to quantification, however, this argument has no weight for it applies equally to any form of verification. All verification is in this sense negative. The argument fails to distinguish between the two quite different activities involved in research: getting ideas and testing them. Quantitative inquiries are generally directed to testing hypotheses formulated in advance. It has frequently been observed that, in work of this kind, a flat-footed empiricism is not likely to rise above a fairly low conceptual level and that systematic thought will progress more rapidly when it is directed by some adequate general hypothesis. The point should not be pushed too far for it occasionally happens that important relationships are not anticipated, but emerge as windfalls after the inquiry is completed. Also, in an area in which little work has been done, the original investigations must often be to some extent exploratory. It would be pedantic to insist on a full-fledged hypothesis in every case.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, the criticism that quantitative methods destroy and do not create is clearly based on a mistaken notion of the usual role of hypothesis in research. Hypotheses and generalizations are not simple inductions that emerge of their own accord from the evidence; they have, as is now better understood, different and more complex origins.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Richard Hofstadter, "History and the Social Sciences," in *Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present*, ed. Fritz Stern (New York, 1956), 415, n. 14.

<sup>38</sup> Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier,"* ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), 133, 137-42, 161; L. H. C. Tippett, *Statistics* (London, 1943), 139-40.

<sup>39</sup> I have discussed this point at greater length in "Notes on the Problem of Historical Generalization," in *Generalization in the Writing of History*, ed. Gottschalk, 163-72.

Nor does a negative finding necessarily represent a dead end. If a generalization is wrong, it is useful to have it disproved; the disproof constitutes an advance in knowledge. As J. H. Hexter observes: "it may be worth saying that violent destruction is not necessarily of itself worthless and futile. Even though it leaves doubts about the right road for London, it helps if someone rips up, however violently, a 'To London' sign on the Dover cliffs pointing south."<sup>40</sup> A negative finding can be, in some cases, as valuable as a positive finding, depending on what theoretical inferences follow from it. Furthermore, to blame the quantitative method for disproving bad hypotheses is to blame the doctor instead of the disease. What is at fault is the mistaken opinion, not the technique that reveals when we have gone astray. The remedy is not to abandon the technique but to try to develop a new theory that fits the evidence better.

It is also sometimes argued that quantitative methods only prove the obvious, that they merely demonstrate, by an unnecessarily cumbersome apparatus, what everyone already knew.<sup>41</sup> It is admitted that they can occasionally be used to disprove certain crude generalizations that still appear in the textbooks. Yet, it is said, the crudity of such generalizations is already widely appreciated, and, on the whole, they are not accepted by sophisticated historians. In other words, quantitative techniques are useful only when historians have made fools of themselves. Their function is to clear away rubbish. However, if there is no rubbish, if scholarship in a field has been reasonably careful and responsible, a quantitative analysis is unlikely to reveal anything that is not already fairly well understood.

This criticism, also, is not well taken. Even if research merely confirms in a more conclusive fashion what some people already believe, it is good to have this additional assurance and to establish this belief on a more solid foundation. Also, on many questions that can be studied by quantitative methods, the answer is by no means a matter of course. More often there is evidence pointing in both directions, and both sides of the argument have been supported with some plausibility by different individuals. In such cases, it is useful to establish which of two contradictory statements comes closer to describing the total evidence and just how close it comes. It might be added that, in disputes of this kind, either answer will be "obvious" in the sense of being already familiar, even though the two alternative answers exclude each other. Furthermore, the results of quantitative investigations have fre-

<sup>40</sup> J. H. Hexter, "Storm over the Gentry," in *Reappraisals in History*, ed. *id.* (Evanston, Ill., 1961), 138.

<sup>41</sup> Mills, *Sociological Imagination*, 53-55, 75.

quently told directly against interpretations that had been widely accepted. Several examples have already been given; another is Fogel's attempt to appraise the role of the railroads in American economic growth, which resulted in the conclusions, disheartening to some enthusiasts, that even in the absence of railroads the prairies would have been settled and exploited, that the combination of wagon and water transportation could have provided a relatively good substitute for the railroad, and that "no single innovation was vital for economic growth during the nineteenth century."<sup>42</sup>

Whether the results of a quantitative investigation are important or trivial is and can only be a matter of opinion. The presumption of significance is based not on a demonstration of fact but on a judgment of value. This applies, incidentally, even to the so-called "tests of significance" commonly used in statistics. Properly speaking, they are evaluations of probability, and, while probability can be mathematically determined, the degree of it that will be regarded as acceptable in any study is a question not of mathematics but of the investigator's preference. A quantitative study, it might be said, is significant if the investigator thinks it is and can persuade others to share his view. Speaking simply on this basis, it seems difficult to support the assertion that the topics open to quantitative investigation are of no consequence. Far from this being the case, an intelligent use of the method opens up a host of new, potentially interesting questions that could be approached in no other way. Some of these possibilities and some of the studies conducted along these lines have already been discussed. Perhaps it is enough to say here that the substantive weight of the findings of the limited number of historians who have attempted quantitative research is already impressive enough to render the accusation of triviality something less than plausible.

It seems reasonable to argue, furthermore, that the significance of a project of research does not depend on whether it is quantitative or not. Quantitative presentations vary greatly in value. They may be significant or trivial, interesting or uninteresting, and it is incorrect to suppose that they are all on the same level in these respects. What gives them such worth as they may have are the importance of the problem, the abundance, reliability, and relevance of the available evidence, and, above all, the intelligence with which the work is executed.

In fact, what is most needed in research of this kind is not the automatic application of certain techniques but, rather, qualities of logic and imagination. The main problems here, as in all research, are not technical and mechanical but intellectual and analytical. It is not easy to make the figures

<sup>42</sup> Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth*, 219, 234.

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"talk" or to show their bearing on significant problems, and nothing is drearier than a presentation that merely summarizes the evidence. I am disturbed by students who want to do quantitative research and who seem to expect that this will solve their problems and that the application of a method will save them the trouble of thinking. This expectation is erroneous. Quantitative techniques, though they may play a crucial role in demolishing previous theories, are usually not adequate, by themselves, to establish general alternative hypotheses. They are nothing more than a means of deploying the evidence, although they perform this limited service wonderfully well. Once this subordinate and ancillary work has been done, however, the basic problems of historical interpretation still remain to be dealt with; they are not to be resolved by a gimmick. The greatest hazard in quantitative research is not that of neglecting techniques but that of becoming too much absorbed in them. This danger is particularly threatening now because of the rapid development of mechanical facilities for the processing of data. It is only too easy to become absorbed in the gadgets and to forget the ideas. The refinement and sophistication of methods, though desirable in themselves, can become a kind of escapism, an evasion or postponement of the intellectual tasks that must ultimately be faced.

In general, the discussion of quantification in history has involved much talking at cross-purposes. Many of the common objections to this approach seem to arise from a misconception of its function. They appear to assume that claims have been made for it that no responsible statistician would make. No one well versed in this line of work would argue that all historical materials can be quantified, that the figures provide any final demonstration of the broader inferences derived from them, or that the figures tell the whole story. Such assertions are clearly improper. If they are not made, however, as by informed workers in this line they are not, much of the current offensive against quantitative techniques fails. The central point around which discussion of the subject has in part revolved is not an intellectual issue but a problem of communication.

The use of quantitative methods for history presents substantial difficulties not always appreciated by enthusiasts or neophytes. Those who have employed them are likely to be less starry-eyed about their possibilities than those who have merely commended them without trying them. Indeed, quantitative projects may be more glamorous in the planning stage than they are after the results have been gathered; the findings sometimes turn out to be flatter and less revolutionary than had been hoped.

Though the difficulties are real enough, however, it is not clear that they

constitute objections specifically to a quantitative approach, or that they can be resolved by dispensing with it. The standard objections are misconceived or placed out of context when presented as grounds for rejecting these methods altogether. Properly understood, these reservations serve not to discredit quantification but to mark the boundaries of what it can accomplish. Indeed, the apparent disadvantages of quantitative research, the impediments to generalization that it presents, are actually advantages for they call attention to limits in knowledge or to flaws in reasoning that might not otherwise be perceived or fully appreciated. When all reservations have been made, quantification has still shown itself, in the light of the considerable experience we now have, to be a powerful tool in historical analysis. It helps to make the work both easier and more reliable, and, in some cases, it provides a means of dealing with questions that could not be attacked in any other way. Those wrestling with problems for which this approach is appropriate can ill afford to dispense with it. In the general intellectual twilight in which historians are condemned to spend their lives, even some small effort to render the darkness less opaque may be advantageous.

# The Middle Class in Western Europe, 1815-1848

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ABOUT twenty years ago David Thomson wrote of the middle class as "this peculiarly self-raising class" and noted that "To explain broad historical development by the 'rise of the middle classes' has become an overworked device of historians."<sup>1</sup> Today there seems to be growing dissatisfaction with the abstraction "middle class," a feeling that the concept does not adequately express what historians know about events. Alfred Cobban has recently expressed this dissatisfaction in a learned and stimulating study, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*.<sup>2</sup> David Pinkney is engaged in an interesting re-examination of the bourgeoisie in the French Revolution of 1830.<sup>3</sup>

Cobban argues that the theory of the Revolution as the overthrow of feudalism by the bourgeoisie is a historical myth. Merchants, financiers, and manufacturers did not lead the Revolution, and the Revolution did not result in the kind of legislation that would have best expressed business views and interests. The Revolution was prepared and led by the professional and official classes. Far from being a movement for capitalism, it was largely the means by which the peasant proprietors, lawyers, *rentiers*, and men of property in the towns successfully resisted the encroachments of early capitalism into French society. The result of the Revolution, Cobban concludes, was the consolidation of power in the hands of a new aristocracy of landowners.

Pinkney examines changes in the personnel of state in 1830 and finds that the *grande bourgeoisie* did not gain any significantly increased hold on public office. From this fact he argues that the Revolution did not represent, as is usually said, the accession of the *grande bourgeoisie* to power. A major

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<sup>1</sup> David Thomson, *Democracy in France: The Third and Fourth Republics* (2d ed., London, 1952), 53.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Eng., 1964).

<sup>3</sup> D. H. Pinkney, "The Myth of the French Revolution of 1830," in *A Festschrift for Frederick B. Artz*, ed. *id.* and Theodore Ropp (Durham, N.C., 1964), 52-71.



purge of government personnel did take place, but the effect of this was to give office to a different group of individuals, not to a new class. "After the Revolution the landed proprietors, the official class, and the professional men continued to predominate in the key offices of state as they had under the Empire and the Bourbon Restoration. Here the Revolution had introduced no new regime of the *grande bourgeoisie*."<sup>4</sup>

Cobban's study raises very complex problems. Here it can only be suggested that what seems to trouble him is a too close identification of bourgeoisie or middle class with the businessmen; it is as if every time middle-class victory were mentioned this had to be taken to mean a victory for the business interests, or capitalists. Yet does not the concept of the middle class just as often, and as properly, refer to the middling ranks of society, those intermediate between the laboring class and the aristocratic landowners? R. R. Palmer in *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* uses the term in that way and includes the businessmen as only one element in the middle class.<sup>5</sup> Indeed without such a usage it is hard to see how historians could generalize about the period from 1750 to 1850. It appears undeniable that basic changes in European society did take place during that time and that these changes were bound up very closely with the growth in power and importance of those who were neither laborers nor members of the traditional privileged groups. To describe such long-term changes, as Palmer does, the term "middle class" can be justified as economical and accurate. The question probably reduces itself to a matter of time perspective. It is when shorter periods of time are involved that "middle class" becomes, not wrong, but simply unhelpful, because it obscures the complex relations among the various groups within the middle class. Cobban, for example, seems to have had the direction of his work largely determined by his initial realization of how large a part was played in the French Revolution by professional men and state officials. No one has drawn attention more effectively to the role of the lawyers in the Revolution,<sup>6</sup> and in 1956 he wrote, "The class that is omitted in most interpretations of social history, the official class, may be one of the most important classes of all. . . ."<sup>7</sup> His work is most valuable to the degree that he suggests, not that the term "middle class" is meaningless and should be abandoned, but that it needs

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

<sup>5</sup> R. R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760-1800* (2 vols., Princeton, N.J., 1959, 1964).

<sup>6</sup> Alfred Cobban, *The Myth of the French Revolution* (London, 1955).

<sup>7</sup> *Id.*, "The Vocabulary of Social History," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXI (Mar. 1956), 10.

fuller study in terms of its main components, the businessmen, the free professions, and the state officials.

One would expect historians to find this question of the interrelationship among the elements of the middle class an interesting one, but there has been surprisingly little attempt to think about the problem in any systematic way. There is a considerable amount of scattered observation about the behavior of professions and officials at particular times and places, and a certain amount of speculation, much of it desultory and offhand. The attempt to formulate generalizations about the way in which these three middle-class elements interacted, however, has seldom been made. Were the three elements of equal importance, or did one dominate? Through what means did one group succeed in determining the actions of the other two? What common aims held the three together? Conversely, how did their interests differ, how much, and with what results for themselves and the greater society? Was one of the elements more exposed than the other two to the pressure of the greater society? The following discussion represents an attempt to take some of the findings of contemporary scholarship that seem relevant and to see if they can be pieced together to yield some general framework in which the West European middle class in the period 1815-1848 can be explained.<sup>8</sup>

The initially striking fact about the businessmen is their apparent lack of interest in political power; their immediate aims were profit and status. It was the realization that to achieve these goals they needed a certain type of society that led the businessmen to consider the acquisition of political

<sup>8</sup> Class is, of course, an economic category, and Karl Marx was correct, at least for the early nineteenth century, in seeing relationship to the means of production as decisive. What the members of the middle class had in common was capital, in the form of either money or skill. Marx was chiefly interested in money capital used in industry; it is probably from his emphasis that the tendency has come to identify the middle class with the businessmen and to neglect the intellectuals whose capital was their acquired specialized abilities. Max Weber's definition of class as a group who share a common chance in the market is perhaps more satisfactory. In the following discussion businessmen are defined as all those whose main occupation was manufacturing, commerce, or banking. The professions are likewise defined by enumeration; they were the lawyers, doctors, teachers, journalists, engineers, and so forth. It is usual to distinguish these as the "free professions," in contrast to the state officials. The category of state officials can be used in a broad sense to include all those whose chief occupation was the management of state affairs. It is common usage, however, to distinguish between elected officials—"politicians"—and career officials—"bureaucrats." The many minor state employees are not as a rule considered state officials, but rather professional men. Occupation is the decisive factor in classification. For example, a lawyer may be also a state official, or a state employee, or a politician; his chief occupation decides to which group he is assigned. Source of income is not considered crucial. A man whose chief occupation was the management of public affairs but who drew his income mainly from land would be considered a state official; a man whose career was teaching but who drew his income largely from business investments would be classified as a teacher. It will be immediately obvious that the landed interest is omitted as a chief component of the middle class. The omission will be discussed in the body of the article in relation to France.

power, but only so much as was necessary to achieve social equality and the right to the unrestrained search for profit. What evidence there is does not indicate that the ordinary man of business wanted to exercise political power directly and to form part of the political elite of paid officeholders and elected officials. Presumably the members of the business group had neither time nor aptitude to involve themselves in the full-time process of decision making. They did identify with the movement for representative government, but even this demand was to some extent forced upon them by the unwillingness of existing governments to provide institutions suitable for the new economy. Eighteenth-century French businessmen did not, after all, start from constitutional demands but from the desire for social and administrative reforms; it was the weakness of the monarchy and the pretensions of the nobility that pushed the reform movement in a political direction. In the same period English manufacturers and merchants showed little interest in agitation for parliamentary reform, and some apparently felt resentment at the attempt to involve them in politics. They acted promptly enough when they felt their interests threatened; William Pitt's initial condescension and lack of consideration toward the manufacturers changed in time to respect and cooperation.<sup>9</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century it was in England, if anywhere, that one would have expected the businessmen to claim predominant control in government. Instead there was a basic class harmony built largely on the businessmen's willingness to leave extensive political power in the hands of the landed interest.<sup>10</sup> In France businessmen did not predominate even in the so-called bourgeois governments of Louis Philippe.<sup>11</sup> Certainly

<sup>9</sup> Witt Bowden, *Industrial Society in England towards the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1925), 162 ff.; Simon MacCoby, *English Radicalism 1762-1785: The Origins* (London, 1955), 441. Palmer, *Democratic Revolution*, II, 24-26, judges that throughout Europe in the years just before 1800 the businessmen seldom took any initiative in bringing on revolution, but once revolution was an accepted fact they very commonly supported it and benefited from it.

<sup>10</sup> It was not until 1885 that commercial men and manufacturers outnumbered landowners in the House of Commons. (F. M. L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* [London, 1963], 276-79.) Some studies of the personnel of the House of Commons in the nineteenth century are J. A. Thomas, "The House of Commons," *Economica*, V (Mar. 1925), 49-61; S. F. Wooley, "The Personnel of the Parliament of 1833," *English Historical Review*, LIII (Apr. 1938), 240-62. W. O. Aydelotte's forthcoming study of Parliament in the 1840's should be of outstanding importance. Among his already published articles may be mentioned "The House of Commons in the 1840's," *History*, XXXIX (Oct. 1954), 249-62, "Voting Patterns in the British House of Commons in the 1840's," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, V (Jan. 1963), 134-63, "On the Business Interests of the Gentry in the Parliament of 1841-47," appendix in G. Kitson Clark, *The Making of Victorian England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 290-305.

<sup>11</sup> Ch.-H. Pouthas, "Les ministres de Louis-Philippe," *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, I (Apr.-June 1954), 102-30. In regard to elected assemblies, one notes a franchise heavily weighted in favor of the landowners and the importance of the official element among the deputies. On the franchise, see Sherman Kent, *Electoral Procedure under Louis-Philippe*

they did not in the governments of the German states before 1848.<sup>12</sup> Even the political theory of Western liberal parties reflected this unwillingness to assume the sole burden of political decision. In France theorists like François Guizot and Pierre Royer-Collard, quintessentially bourgeois in mentality, expounded the doctrine of the sovereignty of reason and warned against locating sovereign power in any one group of men.<sup>13</sup> Exponents of German liberalism assumed a division of sovereignty between a ruler and a representative assembly who were to cooperate in establishing the rule of law.<sup>14</sup> This refusal to accept the responsibilities of power could even be used as a basis for moral censure of the nineteenth-century middle class, and was so used by Karl Marx.<sup>15</sup>

If business did not choose to rule directly, how then did it exert influence? That it did exert influence seems indisputable; there is no other explanation for the restructuring of Western European society in this period to suit the convenience of business interests. In the nature of the case, the indirect exertion of power is hard to see clearly. Here it is suggested that the problem can be approached in at least three different but complementary ways: first, study of the types and functioning of business organizations; second, investigation of the personnel of government; third, analysis of the interaction of society and culture.

As for business organizations, it is obvious enough that businessmen developed a variety of pressure groups, techniques of lobbying, and methods of influencing public opinion through the press. In representative systems they helped to organize and finance political parties. Beyond such general knowledge, however, comparatively little detailed work is known to me, and, without a basis of specialized studies, significant generalization about the functioning of business organizations as a common European phenomenon in this period cannot be expected.<sup>16</sup>

(New Haven, Conn., 1937); on the composition of the Chamber, see S. Charlety, "La Restauration (1815-1830)," in *Histoire de France contemporaine depuis la Révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919*, ed. Ernst Lavisse (10 vols., Paris, 1920-22), IV, 91, 196, 331, and "La monarchie de juillet (1830-1848)," *ibid.*, V, 161, 300, 347.

<sup>12</sup> Jacques Droz, *Les révolutions allemandes de 1848* (Paris, 1957), 33 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Gabriel Rémond, *Royer-Collard: Son essai d'un système politique* (Paris, 1933); Douglas W. Johnson, *Guizot: Aspects of French History, 1787-1874* (London, 1963); Lothar Gall, *Benjamin Constant: Seine politische Ideenwelt und der deutsche Vormärz* (Wiesbaden, 1963).

<sup>14</sup> E. R. Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte seit 1789* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1957-60), II, 309-23, 371-90.

<sup>15</sup> For an interesting contemporary restatement of Marx's indictment, see Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (2d ed., Cleveland, 1958), Pt. I.

<sup>16</sup> Much more may have been done in this direction than I know. French historians in particular have recently shown great interest in special economic studies; one need only mention names such as Georges Duveau, Bertrand Gille, and Paul Leuilliot.

More can be said about the study of government personnel; here the crucial fact is certainly the predominance of professional men, lawyers above all. These were the men who accomplished business' purposes. Jean Lhomme, in his excellent study *La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir (1830-1880)*, has developed the useful idea of clientage.

Sans qu'il soit nécessaire de remonter jusqu'aux clientèles romaines, on sait que des liens unissent très souvent telles personnes à telle autre, plus puissante, par exemple plus riche. Ce sont des liens *individuels*, créés par la dépendance. Ils sont réciproques, mais asymétriques, ce qui correspond bien à l'idée d'un pouvoir. Le supérieur exerce, par définition, son pouvoir sur l'inférieur; mais, en même temps, le supérieur n'est pas sans dépendre, d'une manière quelconque, de son inférieur.<sup>17</sup>

The value of this particular concept lies in its applicability to a wide range of relationships whose essential similarity is not immediately obvious. The businessman and the professional in our period could be linked in a variety of ways, more or less direct, more or less obvious. At one extreme would be the very marked dependence of the lawyer directly employed by a chamber of commerce or the journalist editing a newspaper owned by a banker. More complex and problematical would be the case of an elected representative in England or France. He might have gained his seat by direct purchase of votes, with the purchase money coming from a rich patron, in which case his debts would be clear. He might, however, have owed a variety of obligations to party backers, press owners, and accommodating bankers; his dependency, being thus diffuse, would be masked and might lack almost any element of personal subordination. Career officials in the bureaucracy would seem to have been comparatively removed from any dependent relationship, but even they could have been subjected to pressure through promises or threats regarding promotion, and by way of direct or indirect financial aid.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Jean Lhomme, *La grande bourgeoisie au pouvoir (1830-1880): Essai sur l'histoire sociale de la France* (Paris, 1960), 254-55.

<sup>18</sup> Lhomme's approach seems fully congruent with René Rémond's interesting analysis in *La droite en France de 1815 à nos jours* (Paris, 1954). Rémond views the July Monarchy as a government of elites, the notables of birth, fortune, and intelligence; he notes the high proportion of men who rose only through talent and intelligence. As for England, for an interesting picture of the symbiotic relationship between the landlord and his various retainers, see Thompson, *English Landed Society*, 95, 151. In England patronage and purchase were the chief methods of selecting public officials until 1870. Some prominent critics of the liberals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries showed a measure of condescension or contempt for the professional. Edmund Burke charged that the lawyers worked for revolution to further their private ends, seeking the "innumerable lucrative jobs which follow in the train of all great convulsions and revolutions in the state. . . ." He saw the worst elements in the nobility betraying their fellow nobles so that in the "spoil and humiliation of their own order these individuals would possess a sure fund for the pay of their new followers." (Edmund Burke, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," in *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund*

Thirdly, understanding of the interaction of society and culture can clarify the ways in which business interests determined nineteenth-century society. In any society the importance of those who control the means of production is obvious. Direct pressure on government is hardly needed to ensure that every consideration be given to the economic elite. Such consideration, moreover, is in the main accepted as proper, not only by the wealthy but by all classes. The values of the economic elite become the common values. It is surely in this sense that Marx is to be understood when he speaks of a society's culture as the superstructure built on the material base, and the state as the executive committee of the ruling class. A bureaucracy is composed of men reared to accept the prevailing values of their society; their spontaneous tendency will be to preserve the existing society and its hierarchy. Revolutionaries do not become state officials, or, if they do, they soon cease to be revolutionaries or cease to be officials. In early nineteenth-century Europe the bureaucrat was himself in most cases a member of the middle or noble class and the product of a higher education built on dominant social attitudes and values. There was then really no paradox in the fact that governments whose personnel was never composed mainly or even largely of businessmen followed policies that were essentially more favorable to business than to other interests of society.<sup>19</sup>

Consideration of the professions may appropriately be introduced by Prince Metternich's well-known judgment, made in 1820: "In all four countries [France, Germany, Italy, Spain] the agitated classes are principally composed of wealthy men—real cosmopolitans, securing their personal ad-

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*Burke* [12 vols., Boston, 1899], III, 287, 292.) Henri Saint-Simon denounced lawyers and metaphysicians as bastard classes who sold their services to the highest bidder. (F. E. Manuel, *The New World of Henri Saint-Simon* [Cambridge, Mass., 1956], 266-67.) Baron Heinrich vom Stein planned representative assemblies composed of nobles, landowners, and peasants, but wanted to exclude lawyers and the usual men of letters. (Fritz Valjavec, *Die Entstehung der politischen Strömungen in Deutschland, 1770-1815* [Munich, 1951], 387.) Marx and Engels wrote in general of the professionals as "the ideological representatives and spokesmen of the above classes [i.e., bourgeoisie and peasantry], their savants, lawyers, doctors, etc., in a word: their so-called *talents*." (Karl Marx, "The Class Struggles in France 1848-1850," in *Selected Works*, ed. V. V. Adoratsky and C. P. Dutt [2 vols., New York, 1933], II, 194.) Marx himself might, at least at one point, have been classified as one of "their . . . *talents*" since he served as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, a paper founded in 1842 primarily to express the viewpoint of a group of leading business and professional men in Cologne. (Josef Hansen, *Gustav von Mevissen* [2 vols., Berlin, 1906], I, 245-62.) The theme of patronage appears frequently in nineteenth-century novels. It is prominent in all of Honoré de Balzac and Stendhal. In England one may note especially Maria Edgeworth's *Patronage* (1814), Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814), George Eliot's *Middlemarch* (1871-72), Anthony Trollope's *Phineas Finn* (1869). Interesting analyses of the dependent character of the professional men in the later nineteenth century in Russia and the United States are George Fischer, *Russian Liberalism: From Gentry to Intelligentsia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), and Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 135-55.

<sup>19</sup> See notes 10, 11, 12, above. A work like Emmanuel Beau de Loménie, *Les responsabilités des dynasties bourgeoises* (2 vols., Paris, 1943-47), offers strong evidence in support of the argument that France from the time of the Revolution was in actuality governed by a number of great business families.

vantage at the expense of any order of things whatever—paid State officials, men of letters, lawyers, and the individuals charged with the public education." As to the source of their agitation, "This evil may be described in one word: presumption. . . ."<sup>20</sup> Modern research supports this description. The professional men were of great numerical importance in the radical movements; their chief aim does seem to have been to better their position in society.

Here, as in the case of the businessmen, there is no evidence that the professional men started from the desire for political power. They apparently wanted profit and status, which in their case meant successful careers. As highly educated specialists they thought themselves deserving of social leadership and corresponding rewards; the example of France and the "career open to talent" could only strengthen their demands for recognition. The road to success lay through the sale of their talent. Here the political situation did become relevant, to the point where it would seem that the primary factor in determining the professionals' political allegiance was the state of the market for their skills. The lawyers provide the best illustration. On the Continent, both in the French Revolution and in 1848, they formed a high proportion of the revolutionaries, yet in England and the United States they were consistent supporters of the existing order.<sup>21</sup> Questions of the type of law practiced and the kind of legal education received may well have been involved,<sup>22</sup> but the striking fact is that there existed in England and the United States, in contrast to the Continent, a large business class that needed and paid well for a wide range of legal services.

The professions suffered where a strong business group did not exist

<sup>20</sup> Prince Metternich, *Memoirs*, ed. Prince Richard Metternich (5 vols., New York, 1880-82), III, 467, 465.

<sup>21</sup> Both Cobban and Palmer emphasize the revolutionary role of the lawyers on the Continent. (See note 18, above.) Nassau William Senior, *Journals kept in France and Italy from 1848 to 1852 with a Sketch of the Revolution of 1848*, ed. M. C. M. Simpson (2d ed., 2 vols., London, 1871), I, 313, II, 16-17, was struck by the low social position and limited prospect of advancement of lawyers in Piedmont and Naples. One must again call attention to Balzac for his extensive and varied treatment of the legal profession. For Germany, see Lenore O'Boyle, "The Democratic Left in Germany, 1848," *Journal of Modern History*, XXXIII (Dec. 1961), 377-79. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (2 vols., New York, 1945), I, 283-90, contrasted the revolutionary character of French lawyers with the conservative character of English and American lawyers and explained the contrast by the different positions held by the legal profession in the three societies. Robert Robson, *The Attorney in Eighteenth Century England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1959), 153-54, deals with Halévy's judgment that English attorneys, because of their low social standing, were a potentially revolutionary group. Walter Bagehot indicated that while in France it was the press that offered the best chance for dramatic upward mobility, in England it was the bar. ("Letters on the French Coup d'État of 1851," in *The Works and Life of Walter Bagehot*, ed. Mrs. Russell Barrington [9 vols., London, 1915], I, 126.)

<sup>22</sup> There are interesting suggestions in Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Bradley, I, 286-87, and Palmer, *Age of the Democratic Revolution*, II, 466-67.

because then they could serve only the aristocracy or the state. Noble societies, being agrarian, offered comparatively few outlets for the services of professionals.<sup>23</sup> The European nobility, moreover, was in general declining economically throughout the century, and there was apt to be a difficult period of transition before the loss to the national economy could be compensated by the growth of industry.

There remained only the state as a source of employment. Hence that enormous pressure for government office or state employment that impressed nineteenth-century observers arose. England was the single great exception.<sup>24</sup> The phenomenon was of course more marked as the observer moved east since it coincided with the delayed impact of the Industrial Revolution and the attendant lack of a business group with accessory professional jobs. It was also certainly connected with continental traditions of the absolute state built on the foundation of a great bureaucracy and the prestige associated with membership in such a bureaucracy. In Europe, moreover, the professions themselves were to some extent creations of the state, as in England and America they were creations of the middle class; in the absence of a strong middle class only the state had the resources to meet certain civil and military needs, and in the process it created a body of servants whose character was half bureaucratic, half professional.<sup>25</sup>

In the long run this situation could not completely satisfy the professionals, if for no other reason than that there were narrower limits set to expansion of the state apparatus and the number of state employees than to business enterprise. Also, the nobility exploited its traditional superiority to monopolize public office as much as possible. It may very well be that one result was an overproduction of intellectuals in certain countries during this period; there is considerable evidence pointing in this direction for France and Germany.<sup>26</sup> Ambitious young men sought a higher education as the road to success in the free professions and the state, only to find that there

<sup>23</sup> In England an enterprising and rich landed nobility was closely linked to the growth of the professions. (See Robson, *Attorney in Eighteenth Century England*; David Spring, *The English Landed Estate in the Nineteenth Century: Its Administration* [Baltimore, 1963], 56-57, 60-61, 73, 96-97; Thompson, *English Landed Society*, 153-61.)

<sup>24</sup> This apparently ceased to be true later in the century. (Frank Musgrove, "Middle Class Education and Employment in the Nineteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, XII [Aug. 1959], 99-111.)

<sup>25</sup> Fischer develops this point in regard to Russia in *Russian Liberalism*. Prussia is a perfect example of what is meant—a country whose universities in this period were intended primarily for the training of officials, and whose bureaucracy was deeply and directly involved in economic development.

<sup>26</sup> This is a problem of great interest, but relevant evidence is hard to assemble and to assess. There is the impressive study of Henri Brunschwig, *La crise de l'état prussien à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la genèse de la mentalité romantique* (Paris, 1947). I have tried in my previously cited article, "Democratic Left in Germany, 1848," to assemble some evidence on this question for the pre-1848 period in Germany. For France the subject is treated briefly by Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La Restauration* (Paris, 1955), 319-23, and touched on by



were too few jobs to go around. If opportunities in business were also inadequate or were regarded as inferior in status, then the frustration of the intellectuals could become a revolutionary factor, and does seem to have become so in 1848.

In politics the professionals had obvious grounds for cooperation with both business and officials. All three groups were egalitarian in so far as that meant the career open to talent and an end to aristocratic privilege. They shared a bias in favor of policies determined by purely rational considerations rather than tradition. Each of the three stood to benefit from any growth in the size and complexity of society since such growth meant a corresponding increase in the demands for goods and professional services. These common values and aspirations made for a degree of unity in action among the three groups that justifies use of the term "middle class." The term should not, however, be used in such a way as to obscure the differences and tensions among businessmen, professionals, and officials. Professional men could not approve the putative materialism of businessmen and some of the social consequences of business activity. Tensions also arose from the disparity in economic rewards and social prestige enjoyed by businessmen and the professions. The most important differences, however, arose between business and professional men on the one hand and state officials on the other. Businessmen and the professionals distrusted the state, resented its direction of their activities, and increasingly demanded more personal and economic freedom; state officials quite naturally tended to enlarge the sphere of state action and to judge any opposition to themselves as a reflection of group self-interest.

The role of the state officials is probably the most difficult to analyze. They were professional men, inasmuch as they had special intellectual skills and lived by the sale of them. There was, however, an ambivalence toward the dominant economic groups built into their role. On the one hand the official's chief professional obligation was to preserve the stability and well-being of the state, and accordingly he had no choice but to pay attention to the economic elite on whose functioning so much of the country's strength depended. On the other hand, since the welfare of the total society is never perfectly coincident with the interests of any one group no matter how important economically, the state official in the exercise of his profession found himself forced to override any class interest that he judged inimical to the social welfare.

While the official necessarily had an ambivalent attitude toward the

dominant economic interests, he in turn was more or less distrusted and opposed by them. In representative systems this tension was even institutionalized in the relationship between career officials and elected representatives, the career official identifying with the state, the elected official identifying with a specific social group and as a rule expressing resentment and distrust of bureaucratic regulation.<sup>27</sup> In both representative and nonrepresentative systems, however, this clash between official and nonofficial was always mitigated by common class membership, for the state official was by background and education, or by choice, almost always a member of the upper class that disputed control of the state.

The discussion has, to this point, represented an attempt to generalize at a low level about the nature and behavior of elements in the early nineteenth-century middle class. If these generalizations have any validity, they should help in understanding concrete developments in the various countries, in each of which there was a somewhat different relationship among the same three elements.

In France the Restoration saw a conflict between nobility and bourgeoisie for control of the offices of state that culminated in 1830 with the victory of the middle class.<sup>28</sup> Itself bourgeois, the bureaucracy could be expected to serve the bourgeoisie rather than the aristocracy or the laboring class. The character of this French bourgeoisie has puzzled historians. The chief difficulties may perhaps be reduced to two: the weakness of French industry and the predominance of landowners in the population.<sup>29</sup>

Compared to England, French industry was a minor element in the total economy and was unprogressive in method and spirit. This was to remain true until the time of Napoleon III. The financiers constituted the leading group in the business world, and even they were not notably venturesome. These truths can, however, be overemphasized. French industry grew steadily, if unspectacularly. It always contained a significant group successfully involved in innovation and expansion. Moreover, industry now operated in the different psychological climate and legal framework brought about by the Revolution. With proper reservations made as to any sweeping victory of "capitalism" over "feudalism," the fact remains that the Revolution did

<sup>27</sup> This point is developed by Thomson, *Democracy in France*, 58-64.

<sup>28</sup> Rémond, *Droite en France*, 55-57.

<sup>29</sup> For an excellent summary of economic development, see Guy de Palmade, *Capitalisme et capitalistes français au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1961); see also D. S. Landes, "French Entrepreneurship and Industrial Growth in the XIXth Century," *Journal of Economic History*, IX (May 1949), 45-61. An acute analysis of Cobban's *Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* is made by Jeffry Kaplow in the *American Historical Review*, LXX (July 1965), 1094-96.

bring about a new conception of property that cleared the way for capitalistic practices. The picture of the French bourgeoisie is then of a small business group, a substantial contingent of professional men and state officials, and a large group of landowners. There is difficulty in treating this group as a middle class only if one insists on identifying middle class with businessmen.

The fact that France, even after the Revolution, remained predominantly a nation of landowners lies at the base of Cobban's contention that the Revolution merely substituted one landowning aristocracy for another. Yet the use of the word aristocracy is hard to accept. Cobban himself notes that the new holders of land were of a different class and type from the old. It is true that information about the transfer of land during the Revolution is inadequate, but surely it is impossible to deny that in the early nineteenth century much land was held by peasants who had benefited from legal changes that gave them outright ownership of land and by a *rentier* group who owned land but could scarcely have been classified as professional farmers.

The small and medium peasant proprietors whose occupation was farming and who held land in private ownership must surely be accounted middle class. The question is whether, particularly in view of their numbers, they should not be treated as a main component of the middle class along with business, the professions, and the officials. The decision not to treat them as such is based on the observation that the peasantry in France, as in other countries, was as a rule a passive rather than a dynamic factor, held back from effective action by lack of organization. "Their mode of production isolates them from one another," wrote Marx, "instead of bringing them into mutual intercourse. . . . the great mass of the French nation is formed by simple addition of homologous magnitudes, much as potatoes in a sack form a sackful of potatoes."<sup>30</sup> The landowning peasantry seldom acted positively in its own right; it could more effectively prevent than initiate change.

The *rentier* group constitutes a genuine difficulty for analysis. There existed a category of persons who drew an income from land and who, even if as individuals they belonged to one of the three main occupational groups of the middle class, may well have had a kind of function and influence different from that of either business, the professions, or the officials. The existence of this group blurs the outline of a middle class neatly divided

<sup>30</sup> Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *Selected Works*, ed. Adoratsky and Dutt, II, 414-15.

into three elements. It is clear, however, that this category of landowners was very closely bound up with the business, professional, and official groups. Many townspeople bought land because it was still regarded as the safest of investments, but continued to act as businessmen and to live in the towns. A number bought land as a symbol of status, but again this did not necessarily mean that they abandoned all connections with business. Many who did live on the land practiced concurrently as professional men or held official state positions. In view of these considerations it does not appear necessary to treat the *rentier* group as a fourth basic component of the middle class, at least not until further investigation demonstrates that the landowners did in fact have a psychology and interests differing significantly from those of business, the professions, and the officials. Provisionally it seems justifiable to retain the accepted picture of a bourgeoisie composed of bankers, officials, merchants, landowners, and professional men, held together by wealth and common values, and cut off equally from a laboring class to whose sufferings it was singularly oblivious and from the remnants of an aristocracy that no longer represented significant social power.<sup>31</sup> The tone of the new age was brilliantly reflected in the descriptions of one of its great novelists, Balzac, and in the attacks of one of its great critics, Marx.

An examination of the way in which France was governed confirms the picture of bourgeois ascendancy. A legal framework recast by the Revolution favored the middle class at the expense of the rest of the people. French officialdom was homogeneous, a group confined within their class culture to such an extent that they seem to have lost the necessary sense of the good of the whole. Their failure to rule France responsibly pointed to the possibility that the victory of the middle class had been too complete a triumph. No organized and effective group remained outside of the bourgeoisie to put pressure on the bureaucracy. Political life was largely limited to conflict within the bourgeoisie, and the conflict centered less on matters of principle than on a fierce competition for the spoils of office.

This struggle for office that was such a marked feature of the period in France is explicable in terms of the conjunction, peculiar to France, of a comparatively undeveloped industry with a political system based on recognition of popular sovereignty. Ambitious young men without appreciable means found few openings in business. Study for the professions was expensive, and competition within them was very keen. The former sense of government as something apart from and even opposed to the people had

<sup>31</sup> Nothing could better demonstrate the middle-class lack of sympathy and understanding for the workers than the comments of so liberal and astute an observer as Tocqueville on the Revolution of 1848. (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. J. P. Mayer [New York, 1949].)

been all but lost, while the career open to talent made possible a positive valuation and lively expectation of upward social mobility. Government office retained the prestige built up through centuries of absolutism and culminating in Napoleon. When it is remembered in addition that the French population was appreciably younger than it was to be later,<sup>32</sup> and that in 1815 much of Napoleon's machinery of government had to be discarded as superfluous, then the extent and vigor of the demand for public office become understandable.<sup>33</sup> Influence was needed to get and retain office, a fact that worked against any strong sense of official independence. Personal ambition rather than principle tended to absorb men's energies.<sup>34</sup>

The English prided themselves on having no important group of salaried officials and relied in both central and local government on the largely unpaid services of the aristocracy. Here, if anywhere, one might have expected to see class rule in unadulterated form. Such, however, was not the case.

Several factors acted to qualify the class character of English government. One was the tradition of state service that the English aristocracy shared with the Prussian. Another characteristic the English aristocracy shared with their Prussian counterpart was a limited readiness to admit successful commoners into their ranks, thus broadening aristocratic thinking and adding to aristocratic reserves of talent. Of crucial importance—and here again there is the parallel with Prussia—was the fact that certain elites emerged from the aristocracy to devote themselves almost completely to the management of public affairs. It is true that in England these elites were not organized into a bureaucracy as they were in Prussia, obviously an important difference. They had, however, the same basic commitment to government as an occupation, and they thus formed a group at least analogous to the state officials of Europe. It was because some of England's aristocracy developed a professional attitude toward government that the aristocracy as a whole displayed the capacity repeatedly to rise above narrow class interests.<sup>35</sup> If this is not understood, then English developments in this period

<sup>32</sup> Bertier de Sauvigny, *Restauration*, 319. Relatively young men had been given administrative posts during the revolutionary and Napoleonic period and even under the Restoration; thus still younger men were blocked indefinitely from advancement.

<sup>33</sup> Contemporary witnesses to this competition for office were numerous. As revealing a statement as any is Tocqueville's frequently quoted remark: "The truth—the deplorable truth—is that a taste for holding office and a desire to live on the public money is not with us a disease restricted to either party, but the great, chronic ailment of the whole nation. . . ." (Tocqueville, *Recollections*, ed. Mayer, 31–32.)

<sup>34</sup> See note 11, above. Government majorities in the Chamber under the July Monarchy were notoriously dependent on the votes of the official deputies.

<sup>35</sup> There was a differentiation within the ruling class akin to that indicated by historians of England who use the terminology "aristocracy and gentry" and "court and country," though the expressions have also more extended and varied meanings.

would seem in the main paradoxical: Lord Liverpool advocating laissez faire; the Duke of Wellington forcing through Catholic emancipation; Lord Grey reforming the franchise to admit businessmen to a share in government; a Tory government (led by the son of a cotton manufacturer) carrying the repeal of the corn laws.<sup>36</sup>

Later in the century England did develop a true bureaucracy. Professionalism in general had increased throughout the eighteenth century, as an aspect of society's growing complexity, and in the nineteenth century a salaried state bureaucracy was revealed as a necessity in an industrial society. To study this process is to see how a profession imposes certain ways of thinking on those who practice it. The men who entered the civil service had been educated in the school of laissez faire, in which individualism and self-help were axiomatic bases of policy. Exposed to the realities of English society, they gained a new understanding of how society determines the individual's fate and ended as exponents of state action to help the powerless.<sup>37</sup>

One more feature of English society should be mentioned. Unlike France, England preserved a landed aristocracy that was cohesive and strong, and accordingly England never developed the overwhelmingly middle-class tone of French society.<sup>38</sup> Aristocracy and middle class shared the benefits of privilege, but they also checked each other. In practice this meant that the different groups within the ruling class were driven to bid for popular support against each other, and the lower classes often benefited from the competition.

Turning to Prussia one finds the same marked orientation of the nobility toward state service as in England, but social patterns were very different. The particular interest of the Prussian case lies in the shifting relationship between a very strong nobility on the one hand and a highly developed bureaucracy on the other.

<sup>36</sup> Thus arose Halévy's questions about the two-party system. George Kitson Clark, *Peel and the Conservative Party* (2d ed., Hamden, Conn., 1964), and Norman Gash, *Mr. Secretary Peel: The Life of Sir Robert Peel to 1830* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), have both made the contrast between the man of party and the administrator central to their interpretation of Peel.

<sup>37</sup> David Roberts, *Victorian Origins of the British Welfare State* (New Haven, Conn., 1960), 152-85.

<sup>38</sup> On the ability of the English nobility to impose its values on the wealthy middle class, see Rupert Wilkinson, *Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and the Public School System* (London, 1964). Matthew Arnold noted that students of the established professions in England attended the small number of great schools and universities, and so were attached to the aristocracy and cut off from the industrial middle class that received an inferior education. Arnold contrasted this with the situation on the Continent, where the upper and middle classes were brought up on the same plane. (Matthew Arnold, "Schools and Universities on the Continent," in *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, ed. R. H. Super [5 vols. to date, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1960- ], IV, 308-309.)

Prussian officials came from the nobility or middle class in proportions that varied under successive rulers.<sup>39</sup> The decisive factor, however, was not class origin. Officials from the middle class were so strongly attracted by the prospect of noble status that they desired nothing so much as assimilation into the nobility, and since the Prussian nobility was, like the English, a relatively open one, it absorbed the best talents of the middle class who made their way up in the bureaucratic hierarchy. In effect the Prussian nobility succeeded in capturing the bureaucracy. Accordingly the growth of bureaucracy did not lead to a loss of aristocratic privilege so much as to a growth of aristocratic power.<sup>40</sup>

Still, a slight shift of focus raises a question. One can emphasize the feudalization of the bureaucracy, but could one not as easily argue that the nobility was bureaucratized? However close, the nobility's ethos of state service was not the same as the official's sense of professional responsibility for the state. A certain degree of role conflict for the noble-bureaucrat or bureaucrat-noble was unavoidable and can be traced throughout modern Prussian history. Was he primarily a noble or an official? If in the eighteenth century the officials identified with the nobles against the king on the issue of serf emancipation,<sup>41</sup> nevertheless, in the period before 1806, many officials became increasingly aware of the need for reform and moved, if too hesitantly, in that direction.<sup>42</sup> In the face of disaster in 1806 reformers and reform plans were there to be used, and it was the bureaucracy that rebuilt the state; no period better illustrates the coexistence within officialdom and nobility of considerations of self-interest and a disinterested concern for the good of the whole.<sup>43</sup> In the end the bureaucracy was forced to make substantial concessions to the nobility, and the *Junkers* preserved more of their privileges than was probably good for the state. Nonetheless the state was

<sup>39</sup> W. L. Dorn, "The Prussian Bureaucracy in the 18th Century," *Political Science Quarterly*, XLVI (Sept. 1931), 403-23, XLVII (Mar., June 1932), 75-94, 259-73; Hans Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy, Aristocracy and Autocracy: The Prussian Experience 1660-1815* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*; Nikolaus von Preradovich, *Die Führungsschichten in Österreich und Preussen (1804-1918) mit einem Ausblick bis zum Jahre 1945* (Wiesbaden, 1955).

<sup>41</sup> They did not do so for purely selfish reasons, however; there were objective considerations relating to the effect of emancipation on tax collection and the labor supply that played a part in official thinking. (G. F. Knapp, *Die Bauernbefreiung und der Ursprung der Landarbeiter in den älteren Theilen Preussens* [2d ed., 2 vols., Munich, 1927], I, 81-117.)

<sup>42</sup> Otto Hintze, "Preussische Reformbestrebungen vor 1806," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXVI (No. 3, 1896), 413-43.

<sup>43</sup> W. M. Simon, *The Failure of the Prussian Reform Movement, 1807-1819* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1955), 12-13, 233; Rudolf Stadelmann, *Scharnhorst. Schicksal und geistige Welt: Ein Fragment* (Wiesbaden, 1952), 60-65; Friedrich Meinecke, *Das Leben des Generalfeldmarschalls Hermann von Boyen* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1896-99), I, 173-74, 195-96, 288, 290-92, 411. Meinecke concludes that the nobility as a whole could have moved decisively in the direction of either reform or reaction, depending on the attitude of the king. (*Ibid.*, II, 355.)

reformed. Prussia remained a great power, guided by a governing class composed of nobility and bureaucracy in partnership. The loser was the monarch; the officials won their long struggle to make his arbitrary intervention in affairs of state next to impossible.<sup>44</sup> The bureaucracy, now servants of the state rather than the king, ruled with notable efficiency, a regard for legality and established procedures, and a concern for the interests of both capital and labor. In time the Prussian bureaucracy lost its monopoly of power through its very success; 1848 showed that it had furthered social growth to the point where society felt strong enough to do without bureaucratic direction and demanded to rule itself.<sup>45</sup>

An argument might even be made that the bureaucracy remained the core of the ruling class in Germany up to 1917. No genuine parliamentary government evolved, political parties increasingly assumed the character of interest groups, and the officials remained as the only group permanently concerned with the good of the state as a whole. It is true that Count Leo von Caprivi failed when he tried consciously to base his rule on the bureaucracy; his failure would seem to indicate that the bureaucracy did not represent independent power and could not for any length of time oppose powerful groups such as the *Junkers*.<sup>46</sup> Yet the study of German political life in the second half of the century also suggests that the state apparatus was at no time under the undisputed control of any one social group and that it always acted to some extent as an independent mediator among the interests. The *Junkers* enjoyed an unhealthy degree of influence within the bureaucracy, and this led to dangerous social strains, but it seems unwarranted to conclude that the nobility, as such, ruled Germany. In the last analysis, does not the evidence suggest that Germany was ruled by career officials who always thought and acted as professional civil servants at least as much as members of a social class?<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Rosenberg, *Bureaucracy*, 173 ff.; Huber, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, II, 16-19.

<sup>45</sup> Reinhart Koselleck, "Staat und Gesellschaft in Preussen 1815-1848," in *Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz 1815-1848*, ed. Werner Conze (Stuttgart, 1962), 79-112; Jacques Droz, *Le libéralisme rhénan 1815-1848* (Paris, 1940).

<sup>46</sup> J. A. Nichols, *Germany after Bismarck: The Caprivi Era, 1890-1894* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958).

<sup>47</sup> Nineteenth-century Russia may be mentioned here as showing a variant of the type of service nobility. The Russian nobility had a strongly marked bureaucratic stamp from an early period, having been traditionally treated as paid servants of the state rather than as nobles enjoying independent power based on the control of land and local government. The service ethos, though, seems not to have gone very deep, no doubt because service had been too often extracted by coercion from above, and when they were permitted to do so in the eighteenth century, many nobles simply withdrew from state service and settled down to live on their estates. Important groups, however, retained the bureaucratic mentality, which led them to think of themselves primarily as career officials in the imperial service, relying on their landholding for revenue rather than power. While the majority of nobles in the nineteenth century showed little aptitude or will to preserve their economic and political power, the bureaucratic



The states of southern and western Germany in this period showed yet another balance of forces. There the aristocracy was not so strong as in Prussia and England, and the middle class not so developed as in France. The state officials came from both nobility and middle class. In the late eighteenth century the state officials more than the purely middle-class elements took the lead against the aristocracy, their aggressiveness reflecting both their commitment to Enlightenment ideas and their resentment against the aristocratic monopoly of high office. The officials had much their own way under the Confederation of the Rhine, when they enjoyed an opportunity to modernize their states by reconstructing them on the Napoleonic model. Bureaucrats and middle class in general cooperated because their interests coincided; significantly, the first suggestions for representative institutions came from officials who saw them as a means to limit noble power.<sup>48</sup>

In the post-1815 period both elected assemblies and bureaucracies represented much the same social group, the patriciate of title and wealth, and they were interlocked through the large number of officials who sat as deputies in the assemblies. The importance of these bureaucratic deputies was enormous. For one thing they were the most esteemed and experienced element in a middle class made up largely of professors, lawyers, and journalists. Their aims as officials coincided, moreover, with the aims of the rest of the middle class; all wanted a modern, antifeudal state. Along with this often went, somewhat inconsistently, a common traditionalism in economic matters, a tendency to think in terms of small enterprise and to distrust and fear the rising plutocracy.<sup>49</sup>

This identity of interests had its limits. Predictably, opposition crystallized around the officials' tendency to give primacy to the interest of the state, as they conceived it, over any class interest. The business and professional middle class grew increasingly resentful of bureaucratic restrictions and raised demands for greater economic and intellectual freedom. The conviction spread that the bureaucracies were not up to the economic demands of the time, while such things as government censorship began to seem intolerable.<sup>50</sup> Thus the middle-class official in southern Germany found him-

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nobility identified with the state so closely that they sacrificed their own economic interests as serf owners in an attempt to check the state's decline. It was the bureaucratic nobility and the absolute monarch, rather than any strong middle class, that forced serf emancipation on the reluctant majority of the aristocracy. Here were an aristocratic officialdom limiting the powers of its own class, and an absolute state, in the interests of Russia's survival and growth, encouraging those middle-class elements that were sure to oppose absolutism.

<sup>48</sup> Valjavec, *Entstehung der politischen Strömungen*, 77-87.

<sup>49</sup> See note 12, above; see also Wolfram Fischer, "Staat und Gesellschaft Badens im Vormärz," in *Staat und Gesellschaft*, ed. Conze, 143-72.

<sup>50</sup> Wolfgang Hock, *Liberales Denken im Zeitalter der Paulskirche: Droysen und die Frankfurter Mitte* (Münster in Westfalen, 1957).

self involved in much the same kind of role conflict as his noble colleague in Prussia. The conflict was brought into the open by continuing controversy in all the German states regarding an official's right to take leave of absence from his regular duties to attend the *Landtag* as a deputy. Probably this ambivalence of role weakened the liberal movement, for it was difficult for a liberal deputy to oppose the same government he simultaneously served as an official. Also the prominence of the official element in the liberal movement may well have been connected with the strain of glorification of the state found in much German liberal thought.

In conclusion, it may be suggested that the above analysis has a bearing on problems of social stability and social change in this period.

Businessmen, professionals, and state officials helped to preserve a stable society because each group worked for the same ends and each profited from the success of the others. The businessmen used and rewarded the intellectuals to perform those functions for which business direction was unsuited. In return the intellectuals worked toward the creation of a type of society in which the economically dominant groups could function securely: the bureaucrat ran the political machinery; the teacher and journalist propagated appropriate values; the lawyer was the indispensable middleman between business and the state. The universities formed the bureaucrat; in turn the bureaucrat determined how the universities were to function. All in all, each relationship among the different middle-class groups confirmed adherence to a common set of values, strengthened the unity of the middle class, and made possible the emergence of middle-class, nineteenth-century society.

At the same time, the existence of a measure of independence in the functioning of the bureaucracy and the professions was apparent; it was in this way that necessary social change could be translated into political and moral terms. The crucial factor was the way in which professional interest cut across class affiliation. This is not to be explained in terms of the supposed disinterestedness of the professions as contrasted with the selfish search for profit on the part of businessmen or landowners.<sup>51</sup> The professional man wanted success and economic rewards just as the businessman did. It was rather that the professional person worked against his own success if he neglected professional considerations, and thus he found himself at some points required to act in ways that might not directly satisfy the economically dominant groups. The bureaucrat provided the clearest example of this

<sup>51</sup> See Talcott Parsons' now-classic essay, "The Professions and Social Structure," in *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill., 1949), 185-200.

conflict; he could not be totally subservient to the ruling class without harming the state, which it was his professional obligation to safeguard. Similarly, the teacher's obligation was not only to indoctrinate students with prevailing values but also to help them to think objectively and critically, activity as apt to subvert as to consolidate. A successful journalist had to maintain some standards of objectivity. Even the lawyer, who was doubtless tied most closely to the economic elite, had to work within a framework of existing law that was not subject to endless manipulation in his client's interest.

Those who paid for the intellectuals' services may not always have been pleased with what the intellectuals did. Their acceptance of what was done must have involved a belief that it was necessary for the attainment of larger purposes; there was no getting around the fact that without social stability there would be neither private profit nor social status. Moreover, a profession by definition involves esoteric knowledge and special skills; thus outsiders are for the most part incapable of intelligent supervision. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries witnessed a great expansion of the professions, and a striking feature of this growth was the way in which the professions succeeded in becoming largely self-regulating. They developed a high degree of control over the admission of new members, the setting of standards of competence, and the definition of operating procedures. In the case of the state official the acquisition of tenure gave considerable security against interference from both politicians and the public. Clearly this marked an enormous advance in independence against even the most economically powerful.

The hypothesis may be considered that where this professionalism did not develop, government became dangerously identified with one social interest. Class considerations then outweighed the sense of professional responsibility. This seems to have been the case in France before 1848.

# Winston Churchill versus the Webbs: The Origins of British Unemployment Insurance

BENTLEY B. GILBERT\*

AMONG the several legislative experiments that constitute the social reform program of Herbert Asquith's prewar Liberal administration, the measure most wildly empirical, most fraught with economic and political danger, was compulsory insurance against unemployment, which appeared as Part II of the National Insurance Act of 1911. Never before had a nation required its citizens to insure against the vagaries of the labor market. Even the Germans, whose influence on British social welfare experiments was critical, had been unwilling to attempt unemployment insurance.<sup>1</sup>

Although many publications dealing with the general topic of compulsory unemployment insurance in Great Britain have appeared, the political and ideological origins of the measure have been only slightly explored. Because the mass unemployment of the 1920's and 1930's destroyed the program for a time as a plan of insurance, modern histories have neglected the prewar problems that unemployment insurance had been designed to solve and have underestimated the very real legislative craftsmanship and political daring involved in framing the measure.<sup>2</sup>

The intent of this study is to show that the attack on unemployment marked a significant departure in Liberal welfare planning, the beginning of what may be termed the pioneering phase of social reform. The early

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<sup>1</sup> Only one political authority, the Swiss canton of Saint Gallen, ever attempted compulsory unemployment insurance. Within two years, between 1895 and 1897, the Saint Gallen scheme went bankrupt. In its last year, claims for benefit were over twice the income from contributions.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the fullest investigation of the early history of unemployment insurance is Helen Fisher Hohman, *The Development of Social Insurance and Minimum Wage Legislation in Great Britain* (Boston, 1933), 214-23. But the author confines herself largely to the parliamentary politics of the measure and admits bewilderment on its origins. "Unlike the other measures of Liberal social reform, the Unemployment Insurance Act is anonymous." (*Ibid.*, 216; see also Charles W. Pipkin, *Social Politics in Modern Democracies* [2 vols., New York, 1931], I, 231-42.) Generally the writers of the thirties tried to find a connection between unemployment insurance and the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws. Neither of the two above recognized Winston Churchill's importance in this field. The best-informed, but very brief, account is William H. Beveridge's *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry* (2d ed., London, 1931), 264. Unfortunately, Beveridge confines himself to a description of the scheme and some of the administrative problems, although he does emphasize Churchill's contribution.

measures of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's administration—the feeding and medical inspection of school children and noncontributory old-age pensions—had been discussed and approved by philanthropic politicians and social thinkers of all parties long before the Liberals ever came to power. Unemployment insurance and the measures with which it was associated were wholly the product of planning within the government. They were conceived by professional civil servants, and by politicians, many of whom were acquainted with current social thinking and were aware of external pressures for reform but who had as their more important goals personal advancement and Liberal political advantage.

By the mid-1880's unemployment had become what it would remain for the next half century: Great Britain's most intractable economic problem. While philanthropists could point to unhealthy school children or neglected old people as an accusation against the British social conscience, unemployment was a blot on the capitalist system itself. Here the inexorable laws of economics, not the improvidence of individuals, were the causes of hardship. Classical economists, businessmen, and socialists all tended to agree that a pool of unengaged workmen, desperate for jobs, was vital to efficient functioning of the free enterprise system. Henry George's equation of progress and poverty seemed to be an unhappy fact. Short of the abolition of capitalism, partisans of both Left and Right concluded little could be done about unemployment.

Yet whatever were the opinions of academic and socialist theoreticians, well before the turn of the century practical politicians had understood that something would have to be done about the unemployed, if not about unemployment. No matter what the cause of the idle man's condition, after 1885 he was a man with a vote. Moreover, he was now a man who could read pamphlets and newspapers that encouraged him to try to better his condition, either by the use of his vote or, finally, by the threat of violence.<sup>3</sup> The West End Riot of February 1886, although small by European standards, marks the end of complacency about the unemployed poor.<sup>4</sup> After the riot

<sup>3</sup> Sidney Webb had warned the Royal Commission on Labour in 1892 that collectivism was "the economic obverse of democracy." Asked why, he answered: "It appears to me that if you allow the tramway conductor to vote he will not forever be satisfied with exercising that vote over such matters as the appointment of the Ambassador to Paris, or even the position of the franchise. . . . He will more and more seek to convert his political democracy into what one may roughly term an industrial democracy, so that he may obtain some kind of control as a voter over the condition under which he lives." (Quoted in Helen M. Lynd, *England in the Eighteen Eighties* [New York, 1945], 185–86.)

<sup>4</sup> Lord Elton's assessment of the demonstration on February 8 deserves to be repeated: "This was not the last riot in Trafalgar Square at which the Socialists would assist. But hereafter even head-breaking would be but head-breaking: never again the glimpse of chaos, the sudden

the poor were more to be feared than pitied, and money formerly given in charity was now paid as ransom. At the same time both parties sought to adapt their political programs to the new element in the electorate. The Liberal party's Newcastle Program and Joseph Chamberlain's old-age pension proposals are two of the more familiar among the many political responses to the growing power of the worker.

While the pressure for social reform subsided briefly during a period of good economic conditions around the turn of the century, by 1903 the number of men out of work began again to increase. By 1905 trade-union unemployment stood at 5 per cent, the highest figure in over ten years.<sup>5</sup>

The Balfour government responded with a program of work relief, the Unemployed Workmen Act of 1905. The provision by the local authorities of work in public parks, roads, or forests had been the rule in hard times since the riots of 1886 when Joseph Chamberlain had issued a circular permitting counties and boroughs to engage the unemployed on temporary public works projects. Whether the work provided was pleasant, inexpensive, or useful did not matter. There was only one stipulation: it must not pauperize. The Unemployed Workmen Act was the last attempt to use the device of artificial work to maintain the respectable unemployed through periods of economic depression.

Work relief was a failure, as William Henry Beveridge would show in 1909, because it was based on a mistaken conception of the nature of unemployment. A numerical rise in the amount of unemployment, Beveridge pointed out in his classic statement, *Unemployment: A Problem of Industry*, did not mean that a certain number of men, formerly steadily employed, suddenly lost their jobs.<sup>6</sup> It meant, rather, that men for whom work was always irregular found the interval between engagements longer and their standard of living nearer the subsistence level. The problem was not unemployment, but "underemployment." Work relief, as an alternative to the poor law, was of little use to the thrifty artisan whose unemployment was

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dread which had clutched for a moment at the heart of London. London would not lose its head again, although there would remain, no doubt, many citizens who privately believed that the revolution might yet be." (Godfrey Elton, *England Arise: A Study in the Pioneering Days of the Labour Movement* [London, 1931], 135.)

<sup>5</sup> Trade-union unemployment figures, although providing the only uniform and continuous data on the state of British employment before the end of the First World War, are far from satisfactory. (For a discussion, see Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 16-28.) Not until the end of the century did unemployment become clearly separated for the public and political world from the general problem of "distress" and from pauperism. R. C. K. Ensor notes in his *England, 1870-1914* (Oxford, Eng., 1936, 112), that the word "unemployment" did not appear in the *Oxford English Dictionary* until 1888. "Unemployed" as a separate category arrived in the index of the parliamentary debates only in 1902, and "unemployment" in 1908.

<sup>6</sup> Beveridge, *Unemployment*, 189-90.

no fault of his own. The respectable workingman, put out of work by the bankruptcy of his employer, bad weather, a technological advance, or sheer bad luck, could rarely be induced to apply for a position spading flower beds with casual laborers whom he despised.<sup>7</sup> He would use up his savings and deprive his family first. Suddenly, perhaps as the result of sickness or some other domestic emergency, he found himself without an alternative to parochial relief. His application to the poor law signified he was a beaten man.

Social reformers of every party agreed this degradation would have to stop. If the Unemployed Workmen Act could not prevent pauperization of the respectable workingman, and clearly it did not, Parliament had better find a plan that did. The working classes, moreover, were not disposed to wait for timid politicians. The election of January 1906 brought into Parliament, besides an overwhelming Liberal majority, fifty-three workingmen, of whom twenty-nine had been elected on the Labour Representation Committee platform, which had promised, unlike the Liberal program, a variety of social reforms.<sup>8</sup>

The bright prospects with which the Liberals took office in the winter of 1905-1906 began to fade within a year. Frustration by the House of Lords, the recovery of several normally Unionist seats in by-elections, and, finally, after a providentially prosperous year in 1906, the arrival in 1907 of the American depression, "The Rich Man's Panic," all combined to destroy the enthusiasm of the previous year. Then, in April 1908, Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman resigned, to die within the month. He was succeeded by Herbert Asquith, who took the opportunity of his succession to reshuffle the cabinet, moving the focus of power in the government toward the Left. David Lloyd George, the most important radical in the cabinet, received the Exchequer; Winston Churchill, at this time Undersecretary in the Colonial Office and a Liberal of only four years' standing, was offered the choice of several offices and eventually entered the cabinet at the Board of Trade.

<sup>7</sup> A sampling of typical districts offering work relief under the Unemployed Workmen Act in 1906 showed that: 87 per cent of the applicants for work relief were unskilled; 47 per cent could be classed as "of indifferent efficiency"; 37 per cent were unemployed because of "inefficiency" or "bad character"; only 22 per cent had "good" previous working records; 16 per cent had been members of trade-unions; only 14 per cent gave any evidence of ever having tried to save money through a friendly society or slate club. (Many categories overlap.) (C. J. Hamilton, "The Unemployed," *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* [London, 1906], 651.)

<sup>8</sup> For some reason a few historians still insist that the Liberals came to power pledged to social reform. (See, e.g., Harold E. Raynes, *Social Security in Britain, A History* [2d ed., London, 1960], 181.) The Liberal attitude on the specific problem of unemployment is illustrated in a letter from Campbell-Bannerman to Herbert Asquith about a week before the Liberals took office. "I had excellent meetings in Glasgow. I found that much mischief was being done by the notion that we had little or nothing to say about the unemployed. So I risked one foot upon the ice, but was very guarded and spoke only of enquirey and experiment." (Campbell-Bannerman to Asquith, Dec. 1, 1905, Herbert H. Asquith Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Charles Masterman, a younger man whose reputation was then growing almost as rapidly as Churchill's, reluctantly accepted the undersecretaryship at the Local Government Board in the vain hope that he could induce its president, John Burns, to take action about the unemployed.<sup>9</sup> These three men became at this time the closest personal friends, and from their association evolved a new phase of Liberal reform of which unemployment insurance would be a most important part.

Unemployment insurance was the handiwork of Churchill.<sup>10</sup> It constitutes, perhaps, the major legislative justification for his reiterated claim that he was, at heart, a social reformer.<sup>11</sup> But far more important, in moving into the new area of social insurance, Churchill disregarded nearly all previous thinking on social welfare and departed from the precepts of his own mentors concerning this subject, the two people who had taught him most about the principles and techniques of reform legislation, Sidney and Beatrice Webb. To a more experienced social reformer, unemployment insurance would have appeared impossibly dangerous. With a less persuasive advocate, the project might have died from a party veto. Under a minister more influenced by the social thinking of his time, unemployment insurance might never have been considered. No one, least of all Churchill himself, knew how or whether compulsory unemployment insurance would work. In the attack on unemployment, Churchill, whose penchant for political gambling was as marked as his contempt for social theories, led the Liberal cabinet into a dangerous wilderness.

Unemployment insurance signified both Churchill's arrival as a first-rank political figure and his maturation as a social reformer in his own right, independent of the Webbs. This study does not contend that the couple had no influence upon Churchill's social thinking, or that after Churchill's appointment to the cabinet the Webbs were never consulted. They turned him from his previous preoccupation with imperial affairs and demonstrated the political importance of social legislation. They taught him the concept of the national minimum, which was manifest in much of his early writing on reform and which appeared fully developed in the Trade Boards Act of 1909.<sup>12</sup> As, perhaps, their most important specific contribution, the Webbs

<sup>9</sup> Masterman to Asquith, Apr. 13, 1908, *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Lord Beveridge, whose differences with Churchill have been many, asserted on several occasions that the Liberal schemes for unemployment served as an example of the influence that a truly energetic minister could have in a few critical months on a highly technical legislative project, even when dealing with a staff of expert civil servants. (William H. Beveridge, *Power and Influence* [New York, 1955], 87.)

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., his BBC speech on the Beveridge Report on Feb. 21, 1943.

<sup>12</sup> The Trade Boards Act was by no means founded solely upon the Webbs. It was modeled on a program already in effect in Australia, and Sir Charles Dilke had been bringing in bills like it for years.



explained to Churchill the usefulness of labor exchanges, and, by introducing him to Beveridge, they established the partnership that would bring labor exchanges into being as a part of the general attack on unemployment. But after courting him for two years with austere dinners at 41 Grosvenor Road, after applauding his appointment as president of the Board of Trade, and after placing Beveridge beside him, they saw him slip from their grasp. How this happened, and the effect of this occurrence on British welfare legislation, is the substance of this study. In losing Churchill, the Webbs lost perhaps their last opportunity to direct the beginnings of the British welfare state. Social insurance became the alternative to Fabian socialism.

Unemployment insurance grew, first of all, from the Liberals' need for a new party program in the spring of 1908. To Churchill and the other radicals whom Asquith brought into the government, another installment of social reform was the surest way to combat the waning momentum and enthusiasm that had overtaken the party. The Liberal party, Churchill argued, ought to take up the fight for the individual citizen's economic liberty as it had long guarded his political liberty. Old-age pensions, school feeding, and medical inspection had provided the beginning of a solution for the problems of the helpless. But these programs were hardly the sole property of the Liberals; reformers of all parties had advocated them for decades. The political and social explosive of thousands of unengaged workingmen, however, still stood as an immediate problem. The failure of the Unemployed Workmen Act was patent. The government should undertake a broad-scale attack on unemployment from every side. Here lay, as Churchill entitled a long letter to the *Nation* on March 7, 1908, "The Untrodden Field in Politics." Less than a week later Churchill received the offer of the Local Government Board from Asquith and used his letter of refusal to bring his ideas on social reform again to the attention of the Prime Minister designate. This letter is notable first because it illustrates in detail Churchill's ideas on social planning at a time when he was still under the influence of the Webbs, before the intimacy with Lloyd George, and second because of its attention to the example of Germany, which would color all future British social planning.<sup>13</sup>

... attempts to grapple with the evils of unemployment must be concerted between all departments. Youth must be educated and disciplined and trained from 14 to 18. The exploitation of Boy Labour must be absolutely stopped. The Army must be made to afford a life-long career of State Employment, to at least at any

<sup>13</sup> Winston Churchill, "The Untrodden Field in Politics," *Nation*, III (Mar. 7, 1908). Mrs. Webb, in fact, gave her husband credit for the *Nation* letter in *Our Partnership* (New York, 1948), 404.

rate a larger proportion of its soldiers on leaving the colours. Labour must be decasualized by a system of Labour Exchanges. The resultant residuum [*sic*] must be curatively treated exactly as if they were hospital patients. The hours of labour must be regulated in various trades subject to seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. Means must be found by which the State can, within certain limits, and for short periods, augment the demand for the ordinary market for unskilled labour so far as to counterbalance the oscillations of world-trade. Underneath, but not in substitution for, the immense disjointed fabric of social safeguards and insurance which has grown up by itself in England, there must be—at a low level—a sort of Germanized network of state intervention and regulation.<sup>14</sup>

Churchill's admiration for German social institutions was evident in all his writing. Very likely this interest turned Lloyd George toward the study of the German welfare program. The Chancellor's famous trip to Germany in August 1908 was the result; from this trip came the basic institution of the new phase of Liberal reform: social insurance.

Although the Germans did not insure against unemployment, Lloyd George's observations of that country's old-age and sickness insurance programs clearly provided the idea for using the same system for attacking English unemployment.<sup>15</sup> Probably neither Lloyd George nor Harold Spender, who accompanied him on this trip, nor Churchill understood, or even knew of, the arguments against unemployment insurance. But although the Chancellor later regretted that he had "in a weak moment" given the idea for unemployment insurance to Churchill, who had taken it to the Board of Trade and produced his own scheme, it is clear that in one way or another—probably from conversations between Lloyd George and Churchill—there grew the proposal for using the "magic of averages" as a remedy for economic distress in Great Britain.<sup>16</sup> It is unimportant whether Lloyd George actually provided Churchill with the germ of the plan; the production of the scheme was Churchill's entire responsibility. Not only would he be most important in inducing a reluctant, divided, and rather frightened Liberal

<sup>14</sup> Churchill to Asquith, Mar. 14, 1908, Asquith Papers. Churchill, Masterman, and Beveridge had dined with the Webbs only four days earlier. This meeting may have settled his decision. Edward Marsh, then his private secretary, records that Churchill remarked of the Local Government Board: "I refuse to be shut up in a soup kitchen with Mrs. Sidney Webb." (Edward Marsh, *A Number of People, A Book of Reminiscences* [New York, 1939], 163.)

<sup>15</sup> In 1906 the Imperial Labour Office had investigated possible schemes of compulsory unemployment insurance and had advised against all of them.

<sup>16</sup> On Lloyd George's claim for the original authorship for unemployment insurance, see Arthur C. Murray, *Master and Brother, Murrays of Elibank* (London, 1945), 88. Even though Churchill has never acknowledged any debt to Lloyd George for unemployment insurance, and Murray's account in the biography of his brother contains several details that cannot be true, it would appear that Lloyd George's claim may be substantially correct. Sidney Buxton gave Lloyd George credit for the "first idea" for unemployment insurance in his speech on the second reading of Part II of the National Insurance Bill. (*Official Report, House of Commons Debates*, 5th Ser., XXVI [May 24, 1911], col. 272.)

ministry to begin the attack on unemployment as the best means of reviving party morale, but when in 1909 Lloyd George was diverted by the struggle over the budget and the second chamber veto, Churchill became the sole active representative of social reform in the cabinet.

Early in the fall of 1908, without official cabinet sanction, the Board of Trade began consideration of schemes of unemployment insurance. On October 14, 1908, spurred on by a terrifying rise in unemployment in the autumn, and over the protests of John Burns, the cabinet established a committee on unemployment. Three weeks later, having received secret but authoritative information of the government's interest in social insurance, the Trades Union Congress sent a committee of union leaders, headed by its president, David Shackleton, to Germany to study that country's social insurance program. Shackleton's report, rendered at the end of a year, removed one potentially fatal objection to all forms of national insurance: that government sponsored welfare programs might weaken the hold of trade-unions over their members. Shackleton concluded that "The introduction of state insurance of workmen against sickness invalidity and old age has in no way exercised an injurious effect upon the trade unions of that country [Germany]."<sup>17</sup>

At about the same moment that reformers' hopes were buoyed by trade-union approval of their plans, the House of Lords rejected the licensing bill, with which the Liberals had hoped to fulfill a long-standing promise to the strong nonconformist element in the party to reduce the number of England's public houses. Here was warning of a new difficulty that could upset the reformers' schedule. Second chamber reform might have to take precedence over social reform. "We shall send them such a budget in June as shall terrify them," growled Churchill to Lucy Masterman at dinner in the House of Commons on November 26. Stabbing furiously at his bread, he continued:

"They have started a class war, they had better be careful." I asked him how long he felt the government had to live. "If they thurvive the next budget, two or three years. That'll be the teeth."<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> D. J. Shackleton *et al.*, "Workmen's Insurance Systems in Germany, December 19, 1908" (Printed Dec. 28, 1908), 4, William J. Braithwaite Papers, London School of Economics. In transmitting Shackleton's report to the Prime Minister, Churchill had remarked that the party was deeply indebted to the trade-union leader. When Churchill became Home Secretary in February 1910, Shackleton resigned from the House of Commons and was appointed "Senior Labour Adviser" to the Home Office. After a time on the National Health Insurance Commission he became Permanent Secretary to the new Ministry of Labour in 1916.

<sup>18</sup> Lucy Masterman, *C. F. G. Masterman* (London, 1939), 114. The government considered a dissolution over the licensing bill. (Asquith to Edward VII, Dec. 9, 1908, Asquith Papers.)

At the end of a year, however, the Unionists were publicly scoffing at the idea that the Lords would ever reject a finance bill, and with the favorable report on social insurance from Shackleton and his colleagues, Churchill began a campaign to push the cabinet immediately into a full-fledged program of reform. "There is a tremendous policy in Social Organization," he wrote to Asquith on December 29.

The need is urgent and the moment ripe. Germany with a harder climate and far less accumulated wealth, has managed to establish tolerable basic conditions for her people. She is organized not only for war, but for peace. We are organized for nothing except party politics. The Minister who will apply to this country the successful experiences of Germany in Social Organization may or may not be supported at the polls, but he will at least have left a memorial which time will not deface of his administration. It is not impossible to underpin the existing voluntary agencies by a comprehensive system—necessarily at a lower level—of state action. We have at least two years. We have the miseries which this winter is inflicting on the poor classes to back us.<sup>19</sup>

And oddly enough, the key class of legislation which is required is just the kind the House of Lords will not dare to oppose. The expenditure of less than ten millions a year, not upon relief, but upon machinery, a thrift-stimuli would make England a different country for the poor.

As Churchill saw them, the priorities for action were:

- I. Labour Exchanges, and unemployment insurance:
- II. National infirmity insurance, etc.:
- III. Special expansive State Industries—Afforestation—roads:
- IV. Modernized Poor Law, i.e., classification:
- V. Railway Amalgamation with State Control and guarantee:
- VI. Education compulsory until Seventeen.

These measures, Churchill argued, would not only "benefit the state, but fortify the party." Even if such a program could not be carried out, it would be a good way to go down. "I say—thrust a big slice of Bismarckianism over the whole underside of our industrial system, and await the consequences, whatever they may be, with a good conscience."<sup>20</sup>

On the one hand, Churchill had to convince a heterogeneous and distrustful Liberal cabinet that the word "reform" could refer to other things than Welsh disestablishment, Irish Home Rule, limitation of "pub" licenses,

<sup>19</sup> In September trade-union unemployment, which was usually lower than the general unemployment rate, had leaped to the terrifying figure of 9.8 per cent, the highest point it had touched since the grim year of 1886. (Winston S. Churchill, "Memorandum on the State of Employment and Trade during the First Nine Months of 1908," Nov. 2, 1908, 1, Public Record Office, Cabinet 37/96 [hereafter cited as PRO, Cab.], No. 143.) In the fall of 1908 a Home Office White Paper reported that forty-six people within the administrative county of London had died of starvation during the previous winter. (*Daily News*, Sept. 3, 1908.)

<sup>20</sup> Churchill to Asquith, Dec. 29, 1908, Asquith Papers.

or a reduction of the power of the House of Lords, and that the adjective "German" could describe anything but terrifying militarism. On the other, he had to free himself from the influence of Sidney and Beatrice Webb and their allies in the higher ranks of the civil service, in the Left Wing of the labor movement, and among the Liberal intellectuals in the constituencies.

Social insurance directly contradicted the Fabian conception of "conditional relief." Churchill and Lloyd George never admitted that the function of the nation's welfare institutions was to teach cleanliness or providence or to attempt to improve in any way the character of the poor so that they would not need relief. Moreover, insurance, the chosen instrument of welfare, gave its benefits as a right to all contributors and thus could never be used to improve the character of the insured. Unemployment insurance could not keep a man from losing his job; nor, so far as Churchill was concerned, ought it to try. If it inquired into the reasons for an individual applicant's unemployment, it might do so only on the grounds that the individual workingman's inefficiency was an incalculable, and hence an uninsurable, risk. The fund could only concern itself with unemployment resulting from external, predictable, economic factors. Social insurance might never be concerned with the causes, only with the results of economic accident.

In June 1909, about a month after receiving official cabinet approval for the consideration of insurance against unemployment, Churchill wrote a classic definition of the aims of nonconditional social insurance legislation operating within a capitalist and free enterprise society. This came as part of an attempt to quiet the fears of his Permanent Secretary, Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, who argued that the only way to safeguard the unemployment insurance fund would be to exclude absolutely all claims deriving from the unpredictable failings of human nature.<sup>21</sup>

Although his remarks here were addressed to his chief professional adviser and were concerned specifically with the amount of control the state might seek to exercise over the individual in protecting the unemployment insurance fund, Churchill's remarks apply equally to all social welfare institutions that have followed and demonstrate his complete intellectual independence from the Webbs. Until the productive system could be organized so as to provide work for all who wanted it, the Webbs tried to strengthen the workingman through training, through enjoinderment, and finally through

<sup>21</sup> Llewellyn Smith's arguments for the limitation of the scheme are outlined in Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, "Memorandum on a Scheme for Unemployment Insurance," Apr. 1909, 3, PRO, Cab. 37/99, No. 69. Much of this memorandum appeared sixteen months later in Llewellyn Smith's presidential address to the economics section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. (See Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, "Economic Security and Unemployment Insurance," *Economic Journal*, XX [Dec. 1910], 513-29.)

discipline. They thought always in terms of preventing, rather than treating, poverty, of improving the social habits of the individual so that he could better stand the vagaries of capitalism, at least until the system itself could be abolished. Churchill's interest was, conversely, in the freedom of the individual. Perhaps less sure of the perfection of his own character, he was concerned about the treatment of the man who did, in fact, lose employment through his own negligence. Churchill's preoccupation was rather with the fate of the sinner than with the possibility of redemption. He wrote:

I do not feel convinced that we are entitled to refuse benefits to a qualified man who loses his employment through drunkenness. He has paid his contributions; he has insured himself against unemployment, and I think it arguable that his foresight should be rewarded irrespective of the cause of his dismissal, whether he has lost his situation through his own habits of intemperance or through his employer's habits of intemperance. I do not like mixing up moralities and mathematics.

A disposition to overindulgence in alcohol, a hot temper, a bad manner, a capricious employer, a financially unsound employer, a new process in manufacturing, a contraction in trade, are all alike factors in the risk. Our concern is with the evil, not with the causes. With the fact of unemployment, not with the character of the unemployed.

In my view, the Insurance Office must stand the racket to the full, on the worst possible hypothesis within the conditions it prescribes, and its conditions should be based upon the assumption that the least satisfactory possibilities will result.

These are the reflections which occur to me this morning upon the paper on malingering, and I will only add one other of a general character. We seek to substitute for the pressure of the forces of nature operating by chance on individuals, the pressure of the laws of insurance, operating through averages with modifying and mitigating effects in individual cases. In neither case is correspondence with reality lost. In neither case are pressures removed. In neither case is risk eliminated. In neither case can personal efforts be dispensed with. In neither case can inferiority be protected. Chance and average spring from the same family, both are inexorable, both are blind, neither is concerned with the character of the individuals or with ethics, or with sentiment. And all deviation into these paths will be disastrous. But the truly economic superiority of the new foundation of averages over the old foundation of chance arises from the fact that the processes of waste are so much more swift than those of growth and repair, that the prevention of such catastrophes would be worth purchasing by the diminution in the sense of personal responsibility: and, further, that as there is no proportion between personal failings and the penalties exacted, or even between personal qualities and those penalties, there is no reason to suppose that a mitigation of the extreme severities will tend in any way to a diminution of personal responsibility, but that on the contrary more will be gained by an increase of ability to fight than will be lost through an abatement of the extreme consequences of defeat.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Churchill to Llewellyn Smith, "Notes on Malingering," June 6, 1909, William H. Beveridge Papers, London School of Economics.

Always coupled in Churchill's mind with compulsory insurance were voluntary labor exchanges. The failure to provide an adequate system of exchanges had wrecked the Saint Gallen unemployment insurance plan. "... a system of public Labour Exchanges stands at the gateway of industrial security," he told the cabinet on November 30, 1908. Besides the necessary support for insurance, it would provide the data needed for further extensions of the plan. It would enable the government to distinguish between seasonal and cyclical fluctuation, between the unemployed and the underemployed, between the worker and the loafer, between permanent contraction and passing depression. Labor exchanges, he concluded, should be "the Intelligence Department of Labour."<sup>23</sup> Exchanges would be to the nation's economic health what the General Register Office was to the prevention of contagious disease: a means of collecting the data for government action.

Perhaps because unemployment insurance was incorporated with health insurance in a single bill when it was finally enacted, the important connections between unemployment insurance and labor exchanges have been insufficiently stressed by histories of British welfare institutions. In fact, Churchill originally intended to make unemployment insurance and labor exchanges a single measure. At least he hoped to make a commitment to insurance in a labor exchange bill, either as a simple declaration of intent or as blank schedules that could be filled in at a subsequent parliamentary session.<sup>24</sup> The storm that blew up over Lloyd George's 1909 budget prevented the introduction of the two measures together, although for some weeks after the budget's introduction Churchill still publicly promised an unemployment bill the next year.<sup>25</sup> Even a year later, Sidney Buxton, Churchill's successor at the Board of Trade, looked forward to putting down an unemployment bill in 1910 under the ten-minute rule, although by that time the Irish had effectively canceled all progress on social reform by threatening to unseat the ministry unless it took steps that year to curb the power of the House of Lords.<sup>26</sup>

In summary, the two measures were part of a single legislative package that would begin the new phase of Liberalism. This the party offered as its

<sup>23</sup> Winston S. Churchill, "Unemployment-Insurance: Labour Exchanges," Nov. 30, 1908, 4, PRO, Cab. 37/96, No. 159.

<sup>24</sup> Churchill's timetable for labor exchanges is fully explained in a letter to Asquith. (Churchill to Asquith, Dec. 26, 1908, Asquith Papers.)

<sup>25</sup> See "The Budget and National Insurance," Speech, May 23, 1909, at Free Trade Hall, Manchester, in Winston S. Churchill, *Liberalism in the Social Problem* (London, 1909), 311.

<sup>26</sup> See the covering note by Buxton with "Unemployment Insurance Bill," Mar. 8, 1910, PRO, Cab. 37/102, No. 8; Asquith to Edward VII, Feb. 10, 1910, Asquith Papers.

own means of attacking unemployment, a competing program to the scheme that appeared in February 1909 as the minority report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws.<sup>27</sup>

Richard Burdon Haldane, who almost alone among the Liberal leaders remained consistently loyal to the Webbs, warned the couple very early that the cabinet was preparing "a comprehensive scheme of reform." The immediate projects—labor exchanges and insurance—were scheduled for 1909 and would provide a platform for a general election the next year. Mrs. Webb pretended to scoff at the government's intentions. "My own idea is that the Liberals will adumbrate the scheme," she wrote on November 15, 1908, "but the Tories will carry it out, which I should prefer in many ways—there would be no nonsense about democracy!"<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, a month later on December 13, 1908, Sidney Webb submitted a confidential memorandum to Churchill urging his own plan for the handling of unemployed workers. This paper illustrates the wide difference between the Webbs' and the Board of Trade's opinions on the proper relationship of exchanges and insurance and in a larger sense symbolizes the basic contradiction between the social philosophies of prevention and of alleviation of distress. Webb argued that labor exchanges, when they came, should be made compulsory; unemployment insurance should be voluntary. If an employer could hire workers only through labor exchanges, he suggested, and the workingman could find jobs nowhere else, the government would have at hand the instrument for organizing the labor market. Moreover, the exchange could easily control the malingering he feared on any scheme of unemployment insurance. With a compulsory exchange there would be no doubt that a man applying for unemployment insurance was genuinely without work. On these grounds, said Webb:

my wife and I had come to the conclusion that compulsory insurance was impractical unless we had a compulsory labour exchange; and that, along with a compulsory labour exchange, compulsory insurance was unnecessary. . . . Hence our proposal is:

1. National labour exchanges compulsory to employers of casual labour as defined.

<sup>27</sup> The report was published in February 1909, but the ministry had been aware for many months of the recommendations that would appear in the minority report. Beatrice Webb had been leaking confidential documents of the royal commission to Asquith for well over a year before the report was published. Late in 1907 she gave Asquith, through Richard Burdon Haldane, a preview of the report as it eventually came to be with labor exchanges as its central administrative agency. ("Memorandum by Mrs. Sidney Webb, *Highly Confidential*," n.d. [printer's mark shows Dec. 1907], *ibid.*) Nevertheless both Beveridge and the Webbs state that the government adopted labor exchanges as a result of the royal commission report. (Beveridge, *Power and Influence*, 4; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Poor Law History: Part II: The Last Hundred Years* [2 vols., London, 1929], II, 663.)

<sup>28</sup> Webb, *Partnership*, 418.



2. Trade union insurances and optional, but encouraged by subvention of fifty percent. of the out-of-work payments of the preceding year.
3. Decasualization of labour by "dovetailing" of all short jobs and discontinuous employments.
4. Maintenance of such men as are in distress, and for whom labour exchanges cannot discover places; but under carefully graduated conditions.
5. For such men, who have not insured or saved, there will be—
  - (a) Compulsion to register at labour exchange, and accept job offered.
  - (b) Home alimnt for wife and family (superseding school-feeding).
  - (c) Meals for the man; who must be compulsorily in attendance for *training*; either
    - (i) At Central Labour Depot (for labour at call); or
    - (ii) Training depots—day only; or
    - (iii) Farm colonies of various sorts; or
    - (iv) Detention settlement; or
    - (v) Employment colony for crippled, defective, or infirm employable.<sup>29</sup>

Compulsory labor exchanges, Webb concluded, plus subsidized voluntary insurance, and disciplinary training for men fallen into distress and who had failed to insure, was a better scheme than compulsory insurance and voluntary labor exchanges. Finally, he argued, it would be more difficult to induce employers and trade-unions to consent to compulsory insurance than to compulsory labor exchanges.

For Webb, then, the labor exchange would be the central institution around which to organize all relief of the able-bodied workmen. Besides being a place to look for work, it would be an educational and a disciplinary institution. For Churchill, the labor exchange was, as it eventually became, only a subsidiary service to unemployment insurance, in fact, an institution that might not become effective until unemployment insurance forced the workers to use it.<sup>30</sup>

Mrs. Webb regretted the disappearance of the old, easy comradeship with Churchill, Masterman, and Lloyd George. On June 18, 1909, she wrote sadly of the estrangement insurance was causing between the Liberals and her husband and herself.

We are wrong, and likely to become wronger with Lloyd George and Winston Churchill over immediate issues. We do not see our way to support their insurance schemes. We shall not go against them directly, but we shall not withdraw our criticisms in the Minority Report. If their schemes can be carried out we should not much object. Both have good consequences. But we still doubt the practicability, and some of the necessary conditions strike us as very unsatisfac-

<sup>29</sup> Sidney Webb, "Unemployment Insurance Criticisms," Dec. 13, 1908, Beveridge Papers.

<sup>30</sup> In the cabinet memorandum of November 30 quoted above, Churchill had adduced as an argument for unemployment insurance that the measure was necessary to provide "a motive for the voluntary support of Labour Exchanges." (Churchill, "Unemployment-Insurance," PRO, Cab. 37/96, No. 159, 2-3.)

tory. The *unconditionality* of all payments under insurance schemes constitutes a grave defect. The state gets nothing for its money in the way of conduct, and it may even encourage malingerers.<sup>81</sup>

By this time the struggle over the 1909 budget had begun, and the year 1910 saw very little progress on unemployment insurance. Only after the general election of December did the Board of Trade begin active preparation of an unemployment measure, which the cabinet decided in January 1911 to join in one bill with Lloyd George's health insurance scheme. While the details of the plan that became law on December 16, 1911, are not important to this study, the insurance framework it incorporated has provided the pattern for British welfare institutions and ought briefly to be described in so far as it bears on the argument advanced here.

Generally the plan proposed to collect two and a half pence per week both from employers and employees in the specific list of trades selected for insurance; these were building, the construction of works, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, iron founding, the construction of vehicles, and sawmilling. To the five pence thus collected in behalf of each workman the government added approximately one and two-thirds pence. The total sum was deposited in an insurance fund, which would pay an eligible, unemployed workman seven shillings per week for fifteen weeks after a one-week waiting period. In the beginning, by design, the act applied only to trades in which the cyclical fluctuation of employment was relatively predictable, but which were also trades demanding a high degree of skill that gave a certain stability of personnel. Benefits were to be paid normally through labor exchanges, in certain cases through trade-unions. The workman who refused an offer of employment in his own trade at the prevailing wage was dropped from benefit. Except that it was aimed principally at keeping the respectable workman from falling into destitution, insurance had nothing to do with the poor law. More important, so long as a man was available for work found for him by the labor exchange, the act took no notice if he squandered his benefits in drink and gambling. Section 87 (2) of the measure stipulated, to be sure, that an applicant for compensation should not have lost his engagement through "misconduct," but the penalty in such cases was only the denial of benefit for six weeks, and should the workman dispute the nature of his misconduct the case would be referred to an umpire pending whose decision the workman was entitled to claim benefit.<sup>82</sup> So far

<sup>81</sup> Webb, *Partnership*, 430.

<sup>82</sup> In cases where the decision of the umpire was against the workman, the Board of Trade was empowered to proceed for the recovery of sums paid. The act, however, did not require it do so. (See A. S. Comyns Carr *et al.*, *National Insurance* [London, 1912], 418-19, and Section

as the act concerned itself at all with the workingman's behavior, it did so not for the benefit of the workingman but to protect the fund itself. The mild restriction embodied in Section 87 hardly interfered with the right of a freeborn Englishman to be dirty if he wished. The act did not, as Churchill had specified, "mix up moralities and mathematics."

Thus, out of Llewellyn Smith's actuarial caution and Churchill's legislative daring, unemployment insurance was formed. Although Part II of the National Insurance Act was completely overshadowed by health insurance during its passage, it was perhaps the greatest legislative triumph in the program of the New Liberalism. In attempting to solve the problem of destitution by relieving the unemployed rather than by preventing unemployment, the Liberal scheme showed a characteristically British and Churchillian disregard for social theorizing. It was the most prosaic solution possible to a problem generally conceded to be insoluble. Even the disasters of the twenties and thirties, which caused the unemployment program practically to disappear for a time as a plan of insurance, left Churchill's work largely intact when good times returned. With labor exchanges, it is the only major social welfare institution to survive from the New Liberalism without basic modification.

By the time unemployment insurance became law, Churchill was First Lord of the Admiralty, demanding oil-fired battleships with the same energy and enthusiasm for innovation he had shown for social reform three years earlier. In his short period at the Board of Trade and at the Home Office, between April 1908 and August 1911, Churchill put the stamp of his generous view of mankind and its failings upon the nascent British welfare state. While he drew upon the Webbs for ideas and particularly for technical help, the traditions that came out of this period were peculiarly his own and peculiarly British. He refused to let the state use its power over those in distress for any purpose except to relieve distress. The state could never be permitted to distinguish the worthy and the unworthy among its citizens; it might never penalize an applicant for aid, no matter how dirty, ignorant, or improvident, by requiring him to reform. The most it could do was to provide permanent agencies to which a mature workman might apply for aid and direction, not only in emergency, but indeed to prevent emergency.

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101 [5] of the act.) In practice, benefit seems rarely to have been denied on this account. Workmen who habitually misbehaved quickly exhausted their benefits, as Churchill intended they should. For a detailed, and unofficial, description of unemployment claims procedure in its early days, see John Hilton, "Statistics of Unemployment Derived from the Working of the Unemployment Insurance Act," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, LXXXVI (Mar. 1923), 154-93.

The departure made to prevent distress during unemployment drew England back from the contemplation of the network of social and economic controls advocated by Sidney and Beatrice Webb and provided instead a cushion, or a net, of welfare institutions onto which those who had failed economically might fall. Instead of state socialism, unemployment insurance and labor exchanges provided state social service.

# The History of American Science— A Field Finds Itself

A. HUNTER DUPREE\*

AMERICAN civilization and modern science occupy the same span of history. Many pay lip service to the overwhelming role of science in the mid-twentieth century, and the rise of the United States to world eminence both politically and culturally is equally a self-evident proposition in contemporary history. Yet few people expect to find a connection between the two phenomena, and fewer still have any sense of the possibility that science is a thread woven into the very fabric of American civilization from the beginning. Indeed, a respectable current of opinion still assumes that nothing of importance in the history of science ever happened in the United States (this despite the events of the last quarter century), and hence the whole subject of the history of American science may be dismissed as trivial. In addition, those with a burning belief that the scientific community is a true state that knows not boundaries or alternative allegiances are quick to condemn the subject as immoral because traitorous to internationalism. Those who see the history of science as an autonomous succession of ideas taking place in a social and intellectual void cannot understand the qualification of "American" as having any relevance to their inquiries.

Yet in two important respects the phrase "American science" without any equivocations such as "science in America" has a prima-facie validity. In the first place, the term or its equivalent has in fact been used from very early times, and the history of American science has in fact been the object of important reflections. In the second place, since science has meant much to American civilization, the indebtedness would not change if a watertight proof were made that American civilization had been woefully inept or even a complete failure in its contributions to science. The history of American science has a place among interdisciplinary studies of American civilization even if the extreme Europophiles are allowed full scope for the most irresponsible manifestations of their snobbishness.

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The temptation is great to be satisfied with a secure but humble position for the history of both American science and American technology as an esoteric specialty, a subdivision of a subdiscipline. "What an unusual field you have, professor!" If a scholar is, as John A. Kouwenhoven fears we all are, excessively preoccupied with verbal evidence,<sup>1</sup> he can conveniently attach the history of American science to American intellectual history. If he interprets American democratic culture as being, in Alexis de Tocqueville's words, "more addicted to practical than to theoretical science,"<sup>2</sup> he can readily make science the handmaid to technology and attach the whole as a subdivision to economic history. Such concepts of the history of American science do much to explain the paucity of formal courses in the subject even at the largest universities.

A completely different way of looking at the subject has, however, long haunted those who have contemplated the development of American civilization and who have wondered what made it unique.

History, as generally written, is but an account of the wars and contentions by which dynasties have striven for the mastery of nations. It imparts little or no information in respect to the social conditions or material progress of the people themselves. . . . Inasmuch, however, as the nature, the institutions, and the administration of the American nation are different from all others, so must its history be in an entirely different style. . . . If we have no ALEXANDER, or CAESAR, or BONAPARTE, or WELLINGTON, to shine on the stormy pages of our history, we have such names as FRANKLIN, WHITNEY, MORSE, and a host of others, to shed a more beneficent lustre on the story of our rise. The means by which a few poor colonists have come to excel all nations in the arts of peace, and to astonish the people of Europe with their achievement through the development of their inventive genius, are true subjects for a history of the United States.

Not only is this passage venerable, appearing in the preface of a work entitled *Eighty Years Progress of the United States* and published in 1866; it also served Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., as the introduction to an article, "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," published in the shadow of the atomic mushroom in 1946.<sup>3</sup> As an editor of the *History of American Life*, Schlesinger had, by emphasizing the broad range of experience that the whole life of a people embraced, provided a framework for the study of American science as he had for American religion, American law, American popular literature, and many other neglected facets of American civilization. The history of American science and technology as

<sup>1</sup> John A. Kouwenhoven, *American Studies: Words or Things?* (Wilmington, Del., 1963).

<sup>2</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, ed. Phillips Bradley (2 vols., New York, 1954), II, 42.

<sup>3</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," *Isis*, XXXVI (Oct. 1946), 162-63.

a central theme in American studies is thus no new idea, but one with a long tradition, even if its occasional celebration has been the signal for long periods of almost total neglect.

Schlesinger felt that the neglect of science and technology as a central theme came about because the historians who flourished after 1866 continued to write about American Caesars and Wellingtons, leaving science and technology to specialists in various branches and to popularizers.

Those who wrote with expert understanding generally talked above the heads of lay readers, while the popularizers, seeking romance and drama in every new conquest of Nature, generally overplayed the facts or garbled the underlying principles. Both sets of writers, moreover, have tended to look at their theme with blinders, failing to correlate scientific achievement with the broader movements of history—as though the investigator or inventor lived and labored in a social vacuum.<sup>4</sup>

This analysis of why little history of American science was written in the eighty years before 1946 inevitably raises the question of who has written on the theme in the eighteen following years, when the role of science in modern society has been extolled continuously by almost everyone. Schlesinger had taken the position that the experts in the various branches of science could not do the job. On the other hand, the reigning generalization among historians of science, a professional group that has grown more prominent if not more secure in the nearly two decades since World War II, has been the opposite. George Sarton laid down the classic and uncompromising rule in Draconian terms. The one indispensable requirement for Sarton was that a historian of science

should be deeply familiar with at least one branch of today's science and he should have a more superficial acquaintance with various other branches. By deep familiarity is meant work at the front, experimental work in the laboratory or observational work in the observatory or in the field. . . . His scientific experience would guarantee his adequate treatment of scientific subjects and would give him the needed authority to talk about them in the presence of young scientists. Nothing can be worse in the teaching of the history of science than learned discussion of which the instructor has no inward knowledge; the more learned, the worse it is.<sup>5</sup>

The acceptance of Sarton's rule is not limited to historians of science, many of whom have had firsthand experience in the pitfalls of trying to convince people that one possesses "inward" knowledge, or to scientists, some of whom are aware of the limitations of perspective imposed on them by their position within their own discipline. Many humanists and social

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>5</sup> George Sarton, "Is It Possible to Teach the History of Science?" *A Guide to the History of Science* (Waltham, Mass., 1952), 60.

scientists accept the Sarton rule precisely because lack of firsthand experience makes them willing to accept the essential impenetrability of science by outsiders. They have not themselves entered the mansion of science, from which they infer a glory and consistency of interior decoration observable only by the owners of the house. For instance, Kouwenhoven, in his pamphlet *American Studies: Words or Things?* hints that he would, if pressed, side with Sarton on the ground that the laboratory is the place where one can find the "things" of the history of American science. "Word-thinking has become the basis of our educational system—except in those areas (notably the exact sciences) where vagueness and generalization are intolerable. In those areas apprenticeship, laboratory or studio work, or some other system of acquiring first-hand familiarity with specific particulars, has necessarily been retained."<sup>6</sup> A strict enforcement of the Sarton rule would ensure that only men in touch with the hard facts of nature would become the historians of American science, and hence the subject would be free of those raised in the verbal traditions of history.

Nothing is more evident in examining the scholarship of the last eighteen years in the history of American science than the fewness of numbers and modesty of accomplishment of the investigators as they try to swim in the surging tides of their subject. It has changed almost beyond recognition, altering as it goes many familiar landmarks in American history. Why should only a corporal's guard be tackling the background and setting of the historical events which by common consent stand at the center of twentieth-century history? By all usual measures one would expect that the history of American science would be among the most challenging and intellectually attractive studies in our graduate schools today, that it would have a prominent place in American history teaching from the first grade up. Yet no one can maintain that it is more than an esoteric specialty. The application of the Sarton rule must have something to do with this disparity. Historians do not go into the history of American science because they are not scientists. Scientists and humanists alike wait for those with direct experience at the frontier of research to emerge and take up the burden. Yet they do not come, perhaps because having achieved research careers in the sciences they are better supported to continue there than voluntarily to read themselves out of their shining mansion to cohabit with the penurious humanities.

When one looks at the corporal's guard who do make contributions to the history of American science, one finds, in contrast to the situation in

<sup>6</sup> Kouwenhoven, *American Studies*, 17.



the history of science generally, that most of the investigators entered the field despite Sarton's rule and not because of it. Schlesinger's article of 1946 was not sufficiently noted at the time even to draw a refutation from the editor of the journal in which it was published—Sarton himself. Yet when an American history graduate student presented himself to Schlesinger and said he wanted to work on the history of American science, the answer was not, "How much science do you know?" but rather, "Good." To make a roll of Schlesinger's students, and of the students of Schlesinger's students, who have made contributions to the history of American science is to draw up an incomplete but quite representative bibliography of the subject over the last two decades.<sup>7</sup> Imagine the state of studies in this field if one had shot all the members of the corporal's guard who were let into the history of American science by Schlesinger's disregard of Sarton's standard.

Large numbers of scientists and their humanist allies—men like Kounhoven, who admire the laboratory route to things and deprecate the historians' dependence on words—may object that standards have been lowered by Schlesinger's unbarring of the door. Or they may point to those among his students who by chance had some technical or scientific background. Or they may deny the existence of a split by telling an individual who has proved himself by historical scholarship in the field: "You are different. We shall confer upon you the title of 'honorary scientist.'"

Schlesinger himself, quite aware of the barrier between science and history, wished to surmount it by changes on both sides.

<sup>7</sup> Students of Schlesinger: G. W. Adams, *Doctors in Blue* (New York, 1952); Ralph S. Bates, *Scientific Societies in the United States* (New York, 1945); John B. Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston, 1630-1822* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959); Carl Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942) (science chapters) and *The Colonial Craftsmen* (New York, 1950); Merle Curti, *Growth of American Thought* (New York, 1943) (science chapters); A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray, 1810-1888* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), *Science in the Federal Government* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), and *Science and the Emergence of Modern America, 1865-1916* (Chicago, 1963); Leonard K. Eaton, *New England Hospitals, 1790-1833* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957); Donald Fleming, *John William Draper and the Religion of Science* (Philadelphia, 1950) and *William H. Welch and the Rise of Modern Medicine* (Boston, 1954); John C. Greene, *The Death of Adam* (Ames, Iowa, 1959) and *Darwin and the Modern World View* (Baton Rouge, 1961); Bert James Loewenberg, "Controversy over Evolution in New England," 1859-1873, *New England Quarterly*, VIII (June 1935), 232, "Reaction of American Scientists to Darwinism," *American Historical Review*, XXXVIII (July 1933), 687-701, and "Darwinism Comes to America, 1859-1900," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (Dec. 1941), 339-68. Students of students (sometimes reflecting strength of influence rather than formal direction of dissertation): Kendall Birr (Curti), *Pioneering in Industrial Research: The Story of the General Electric Research Laboratory* (Washington, D. C., 1957); James Cassedy (Fleming), *Charles V. Chapin and the Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962); Brooke Hindle (Bridenbaugh), *Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1956) and *David Rittenhouse* (Princeton, N. J., 1964); Edward Lurie (Loewenberg), *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* (Chicago, 1960); *The Politics of American Science, 1939 to the Present*, ed. J. L. Penick, Jr., et al. (Dupree) (Chicago, 1965); William R. Stanton (Fleming), *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815-59* (Chicago, 1960); Donald C. Swain (Dupree), *Federal Conservation Policy, 1921-1933* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1963).

On the one hand, professors of history must surrender jealously guarded interests in order to make room for a new type of subject matter. On the other hand, their colleagues from the laboratory must co-operate by packaging *their* wares for a new type of customer. Since the historical student is not planning to become a specialist in any scientific field, his needs call for a different kind of instruction.<sup>8</sup>

Not direct laboratory experience or guild membership but a special education in science tailored for historians is needed not only to make a despised nonscientist palatable to the scientist, but also because the "historian, even when insufficiently informed as to the data of science and technology, can often perceive social implications and interrelations which specialists in those branches are unaware of or disregard."<sup>9</sup>

Schlesinger's call for a special education in science for historians in place of Sarton's insistence on a professional scientist's training as a necessary precondition has made little formal headway. The basic reason for the lack of such a special education is that it is a subspecies of a much larger problem: the education in science of all sorts of laymen.<sup>10</sup> Most scientists agree that all citizens of the age of science should appreciate science, even though public education specifically directed to this aim is little supported and little regarded. Sarton's instinct was certainly correct in looking for the best available education in science in the professional training programs.

At the same time lay education of those who have to make decisions about scientific policy and consider scientific factors in making all sorts of other decisions has loomed up as a major problem in American society. Special education in science for historians is precisely the same as special education in science for Presidents, cabinet members, congressmen, business executives, and stockbrokers. Historians of science who were trained in history are in a parallel position to science administrators. The scientific community in theory insists that its affairs are really safe only when a scientist is in control; hence its members celebrate the appointment of Glenn T. Seaborg as chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission because it honors their sense of the integrity of the scientific community.

For a long time, however, the scientific community has found it convenient at least occasionally to ignore the theory because of the desperate need for administrators who can by their divergent backgrounds see things that scientists cannot—a form of the insight that Schlesinger recognized in the social historian. A good example of such an administrator is Irvin

<sup>8</sup> Schlesinger, "An American Historian Looks at Science and Technology," 163.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> A. H. Dupree, "Public Education for Science and Technology," *Science*, CXXXIV (Sept. 1961), 716-18.

Stewart, who as executive secretary managed the Office of Scientific Research and Development during World War II even though his competence was that of a political scientist. James R. Killian is often described as "trusted by the scientists" to indicate his nonscientific upbringing. Possibly the ideal of a special education in science for historians will become a reality only when American society develops more adequate techniques in several kinds of public education in science.

Much of the misunderstanding concerning the role of scientific knowledge in the pursuit of the history of American science would disappear with a clarification of what things the historian should be studying. He is not interested in the subject matter of the sciences per se. John Dewey long ago made the distinction neatly when he said, in describing the use of selection by the historian,

He elects to write the history of a dynasty, of an enduring struggle, of the formation and growth of a science, an art or a religion, or the technology of production. . . . There is no event which ever happened that was *merely* dynastic, merely scientific, or merely technological. As soon as the event takes its place as an incident in a particular history, an act of judgment has loosened it from the total complex of which it was a part, and has given it a place in a new context, the context and the place both being determinations made in inquiry, not native properties of original existence.<sup>11</sup>

Put another way, and strongly enough to evoke dismay, the history of science properly does not concern itself with the things of science: the plants, the animals, the molecules, the atoms, the ether, the quanta, or even the law or the equation. The only object of study in the history of science is *Homo sapiens*, and since a scientist without communication is hard to conceive of, it is *Homo sapiens* in a social context that is the sole object of the historian's study of science. Hence all history of science—internal and external, technical and popular—is social history. The scientists study the things; the historians study the scientists.

Objection to this generalization will be immediately forthcoming from many who fall into the European tradition of the history of science, especially those conditioned by the stimulus given to the study in the 1930's in Great Britain by J. D. Bernal, J. G. Crowther, Lancelot Hogben, and others who applied Marxist concepts. Those who reacted unfavorably to the Marxist school, originally led by men such as John R. Baker and Michael Polanyi, tend to see in any study of the social setting of science an entering wedge to a Marxist determinism which views science not as an autonomous body of

<sup>11</sup> John Dewey, "Historical Judgments," quoted in *The Philosophy of History in Our Time*, ed. Hans Meyerhoff (Garden City, N.Y., 1959), 168-69.

thought with a logic of its own but as a mere reflection and rationalization of economic forces. The American tradition of the social history of science owes little, however, to the British Marxists. Crowther's lone attempt in the 1930's to say something about American science was far from successful.<sup>12</sup> Dirk Struik's influential *Yankee Science in the Making* is thoroughly in the American tradition, a book that can be, and often is, read without reference to the Marxist debate at all. The debate between one of the most distinguished of American historians of medicine, Richard H. Shryock (who, incidentally, began his career as a student of the Reconstruction period), and Herbert Dingle neatly illustrates how the American insistence on social factors can be interpreted as an attack on a proper conception of the history of science.<sup>13</sup>

Other objections come all too readily to mind because they have been so often advanced and so carefully polished for just such occasions. People who speak about science never compare favorably with those who perform scientifically. How can one say anything about an atomic bomb if he does not know calculus? Mathematics is, after all, the true language of the physicist. And finally the things of science exist (either really or operationally, according to one's school); thus how can the historian write about that which he knows not of? Perhaps we must wait, after all, for the scientist, with the future in his bones and more grants than he can administer, to get around to elaborating the history of American science.

The many humanists who are anxious to please their betters offer no resistance to this counsel of despair and cooperate eagerly against those of their own numbers who question the *mystique* of the Sartre rule. Yet before retreating in confusion, let us ask a few questions about the consequences of turning the history of American science over to the scientists in terms of whether the capitulation would shift the emphases from an unhealthy verbalism to a direct confrontation with reality.

Many people who thoughtlessly conceive of science in comfortable nineteenth-century clichés see experiment as all-important, see the facts speaking for themselves, and see the structure of ideas in which they reside as either self-evident by induction or nonexistent. Robert A. Millikan could say that, "Historically, the thesis can be maintained that more fundamental advances have been made as a by-product of instrumental (i.e., engineering) improvement than in the direct and conscious search for new laws. Witness: . . .

<sup>12</sup> J. G. Crowther, *Famous American Men of Science* (New York, 1937).

<sup>13</sup> "Conference on the History, Philosophy, and Sociology of Science," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIX (Oct. 15, 1955), 327-54; Herbert Dingle, "History of Science and the Sociology of Science," *Scientific Monthly*, LXXXII (Mar. 1956), 107-11.

relativity and the [A.A.] Michelson-[E.W.] Morley experiment, the Michelson interferometer came first, not the reverse."<sup>14</sup> The thoughtful observer will see as a main drift in twentieth-century thought a movement away from the simple positivism of Millikan's generalization. Students of the philosophy of science now point to the many barriers that science itself places between the observer and his experimental data. What the observer sees is not raw nature, but a selection of sense perceptions determined by the structure of his ideas, the paradigm. Laws are but the social consensus reached by the practitioners of the subdisciplines. The data presented in the textbook are selected to celebrate the consensus already reached in the arena of research. The much-vaunted experiences gained by the beginning student in the laboratory are prearranged exercises with the answers already known. If the student's senses tell him something different from the manual, he knows he has made a mistake, not a discovery.<sup>15</sup>

One of the products of the sociological system within which the scientist exists is a mountain built of words, otherwise known as science information. Reality among the sciences is written in thousands of journals, hundreds of thousands of citations, and a whole apparatus of increasingly automated catalogues and digests for control and retrieval. Far from finding himself in touch with reality, the investigator must penetrate a swarm of symbols more abstract than words—in Fortran as well as English and Russian—before he can even begin the interpretation of experiments. If the historian, impressed that he must be a scientist, makes the fatal assumption that he must conquer the science information system before beginning to write history, he is lost in a tangle of words the like of which the history profession, with its own technology still preindustrial, has no notion. The quest for reality and hard material things among the hard sciences seemed reasonable in the nineteenth century; it is madness in the twentieth.

If we return, chastened, to the proposition that the history of American science is the proper concern of the historian and that the historian deals with the affairs of men and women, we can start our quest anew. A good historian never has illusions that words take the place of actions and events. He must in many, perhaps most, cases depend upon verbal descriptions, but he can evaluate the word by the closeness to the thing it describes. In a scale of closeness to the event in the history of American science, the paper in the learned journal is farther away than informal sources such as manuscript letters and notes. A botanist, if he had the patience and humility

<sup>14</sup> Robert A. Millikan, *Autobiography* (New York, 1950), 219.

<sup>15</sup> See Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

to forget most of what he knows and transmigrate to the nineteenth century, might be able to make more out of the plant descriptions in Asa Gray's *Plantae Wrightianae* than a historian. But there is more to be learned about Charles Wright's journey from central Texas to El Paso in 1849 in the letters that passed between him and Gray than in all the published scientific results of the journey.<sup>16</sup> Only a physicist can follow in detail the series of papers by Enrico Fermi, Lise Meitner, Otto Hahn, Nils Bohr, and the rest, which led to the discovery of nuclear fission. Yet only good historians would know what to do with the plentiful informal records that document the making of the atomic bomb, the decision that led to its use, and the diplomatic quest for its international control.<sup>17</sup> The historian, possessed of the ancient tools of his craft, knows better than the scientist how to search for the informal records and what to do with them when he finds them.<sup>18</sup>

Historians, in going after the sources concerning the men and societies they study, have long recognized, at least in theory, the importance of the nonverbal source. In the history of American science it is important to recognize that the totality of things making up the experimental data of science is not identical with the nonverbal source, which must illuminate in some way the social process of science as carried on by men and women. Francis Parkman had his theory of the importance of all the senses in his imaginative re-creation of the struggle between France and England in North America. Samuel Eliot Morison in our own day has literally put to sea in order to feel and understand the position of Columbus and the naval personnel of World War II.

Richard Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., in their work *The New World*, which in its way opens a new era in historiography as truly as did the discovery of fission in physics, are explicit both in their use of physical survivals and in their awareness of the tradition of which they are a part.

More than a century ago, Francis Parkman demonstrated how important it was for the historian to visit the scene of his narrative. We have tried to follow his example and to know not only the geographical setting of the wartime project but also the buildings and equipment which have survived. We located the Washington offices of many project leaders. We visited the campus laboratories at Columbia, Chicago, and Berkeley. In Oak Ridge, we lived for three weeks in the Guest House in sight of the Manhattan District "castle" and Jackson Square. We toured the production sites and clambered through K-25, Y-12, and X-10, studying the converters, the calutrons, the pile, and the separation pilot plant.

<sup>16</sup> See Dupree, *Asa Gray*, 204-206.

<sup>17</sup> See Richard G. Hewlett and Oscar E. Anderson, Jr., *The New World, 1939-1946* (University Park, Pa., 1962).

<sup>18</sup> See A. Hunter Dupree, "What Manuscripts the Historian Wants Saved," *Isis*, LIII (Mar. 1962), 63-66.

At Hanford, we savored the desert air, explored the foundations of the dismantled construction camp, and checked our understanding, based on reports and drawings, of the great B pile itself, still in operation as a tribute to the skill of the engineers and craftsmen who built it. We even rode in the huge bridge crane above the concrete canyons where the plutonium for Trinity and Nagasaki was separated. Finally, we went to Los Alamos. Few technical buildings of the early nineteen-forties still stand, but the mountains, mesas, and canyons endure to help the visitor understand the lives of the men who built the bomb.

We hope that the days spent inspecting the physical survivals add to the value of this book. We know that we write with greater confidence for having extended our research beyond the written and spoken word.<sup>19</sup>

Fundamental to the historian's use of sense data from physical survivals is his recognition that in most cases he cannot experience the thing itself, in the fullness of its being, in a time long past. Rather he must re-create imaginatively by analogical experience the thoughts and feelings of other men in other times. Morison was not Columbus and could not re-create all facets of the great navigator's experience. Parkman could pace the walls of Fort George, but he had to live with nineteenth-century Sioux on the Great Plains to try to understand the seventeenth-century Hurons and Iroquois. Vicarious experience, not actual participation, makes history possible and renders man different from animals.

Even Morison, the officer on active duty, did not learn all that a historian needs to know because he rode a ship in the operations about which he was to write; only a small part of the Okinawa operation took place within eyesight of the flag bridge of the U.S.S. *Tennessee*. To write of the very naval operations that he observed directly required vicarious experience quite as much as to write about Columbus.

Hewlett and Anderson truly saw their role when they tried to "understand the lives of the men who built the bomb." The restrictions of compartmentation rendered them better able to see the whole complex development than were any of the individual participants. Had some of the men who built the bomb become trained and sensitive historians after the war they might have done the job that Hewlett and Anderson did, and they might have been able to take some short cuts because of their technical competence. The fact remains, however, that the Atomic Energy Commission did not find its historians among the physicists at all, but among those who possessed the skill to be historians. If they had to study hard on technical matters at an age when many men have ceased to educate themselves, they at least did not have to unlearn the myths that a scientist would have

<sup>19</sup> Hewlett and Anderson, *New World*, 664.

uncritically incorporated into his mental equipment before he saw the light of historical conversion.

The historian, then, if he pursues his quest with sufficient vigor and with the tools that his craft has developed for him, will use all the evidence he can find in his imaginative re-creation of the history of American science. He will, because he is a historian, assume the thankless task of trying to preserve the informal records that the scientist with all the virtue and certitude of his calling is often bent on destroying systematically. He will rejoice that the National Academy of Sciences has opened its archives to scholars for the period before 1914. He will attempt to reduce the chaos of manuscript cataloguing by supporting the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections and similar efforts. He will assist those universities fortunate enough to have equipment from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to refurbish and display it as Princeton has its Rittenhouse orrery. He will urge the feeble archives of the universities to consider the papers of scientists, laboratories, and departments as an important part of the historical record. He will urge manuscript repositories to follow the lead of the American Philosophical Society in giving adequate attention to science.

All of these worthy endeavors, however, do no more than make the history of American science a possibility even as a limited specialty. The present corporal's guard working in the field cannot do much more than the house-keeping chores for the future. The care of artifacts as a part of the historical record of American science is probably, thanks to the Smithsonian Institution and a few other museums, no worse done than the care of manuscripts. If the history of American science is to become, as the editor of *Eighty Years Progress* suggested in 1866 and Schlesinger echoed in 1946, a central theme of American history, the corporal's guard of professional historians working on the subject are not enough. Schlesinger saw the atomic bomb as stimulating a reappraisal of the place of science in history. In eighteen years such a task has only begun, while the penetration of science into the affairs of men and women at all levels of society has gone on at an ever-accelerating pace. Science has become a central theme of American history in the mid-twentieth century, whether the historian wishes to incorporate it or not. To relegate science to the scientist alone is not within the historian's power.



# Great Britain and the African Peace Settlement of 1919

WM. ROGER LOUIS\*

- A. J. Balfour: . . . The French and the Italians. They are not in the least out for self-determination. They are out for getting whatever they can.  
Lord Robert Cecil: They are Imperialists.  
A. J. Balfour: Exactly.

December 1918<sup>1</sup>

. . . I am inclined to value the argument of self-determination because I believe that most of the people would determine in our favour. . . . if we cannot get out of our difficulties in any other way we ought to play self-determination for all it is worth wherever we are involved in difficulties with the French, the Arabs, or anybody else, and leave the case to be settled by that final argument knowing in the bottom of our hearts that we are more likely to benefit from it than anybody else.—

Lord Curzon, December 1918<sup>2</sup>

ON the eve of the Paris Peace Conference the British government decided in principle to accept the proposal for a "mandates system." The reason for this decision was complex. In former wars Britain like other powers when victorious had pursued the straightforward procedure of acquiring territories believed to have strategic or commercial importance. These con-

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<sup>1</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 18, 1918, Milner Papers, New College, Oxford. On the Eastern Committee, see Richard H. Ullman, *Intervention and the War* (Princeton, N.J., 1961), 307, n. 16. The Milner Papers most recently have been used by A. M. Gollin in an incisive study of Lord Milner: *Proconsul in Politics: A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power* (London, 1964). The main source upon which this article is based is a collection of unbound documents in a dispatch box marked "Mandates Peace Conference" in the Milner Papers not used by Gollin (or to my knowledge by any other historian) that reveal for the first time the full details of the British role in the African peace settlement of 1919. Subsequent references to the Milner Papers are to this set of unbound documents unless otherwise indicated. I am grateful to the Cabinet Office for allowing me to publish excerpts from them. All quotations from unpublished official British documents are derived from the Milner and other collections of private papers.

<sup>2</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 5, 1918, Milner Papers.

siderations weighed no less heavily in the deliberations of the British statesmen at the end of the First World War than at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. But in 1919 the urge for simple territorial aggrandizement was checked by the popular belief that "imperialism" was a cause of war and that the rivalry of the Great Powers in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia jeopardized the peace of the world.

President Wilson championed this point of view. He believed that a just peace was one without annexations. He doubted, nevertheless, whether Germany's colonies should be restored. Perhaps he believed that the Germans had forfeited their moral right as colonial rulers; perhaps he thought that the elimination of Germany from colonial affairs would contribute toward a stable world; or perhaps he merely recognized that the Allied Powers would never permit the return of the German colonies. In any case Wilson urged that the former Turkish territories and German colonies should be administered as a "sacred trust of civilization" under the League of Nations.<sup>3</sup> By accepting mandates the British seemed to bring their aims into alignment with the nonannexationist policy of the United States.

Wilson himself did not define precisely what mandatory obligations would involve. As interpreted by the members of the British Imperial War Cabinet, mandates did not mean international administration but merely a sort of international control. According to the Minutes of the Imperial War Cabinet:

... As to the precise distinction between the occupation of territory in a "possessory" and in a "mandatory" capacity. . . . it was generally agreed that "mandatory occupation" did not involve anything in the nature of condominium or international administration, but administration by a single Power on certain lines laid down by the League of Nations. These lines would naturally include equality of treatment to all nations in respect of tariffs, concessions, and economic policy generally.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> On Wilson's views toward colonialism I have profited from reading Arthur Walworth's draft chapter on the mandates in "The United States at the Paris Peace Conference" (forthcoming). I have also benefited from another unpublished essay, Gaddis Smith's "British War Aims and the German Colonies in Africa, 1914-1919," in "British and German Colonialism in Africa," ed. Prosser Gifford and W. R. Louis (forthcoming). See also George Curry, "Woodrow Wilson, Jan Smuts, and the Versailles Settlement," *American Historical Review*, LXVI (July 1961), 968-86. On Wilson's advisory staff, see Lawrence E. Gelfand, *The Inquiry: American Preparations for Peace, 1917-1919* (New Haven, Conn., 1963); and W. R. Louis, "The United States and the African Peace Settlement of 1919: The Pilgrimage of George Louis Beer," *Journal of African History*, IV (No. 3, 1963), 413-33; on the development of "The Idea of Colonial Trusteeship" during the First World War, see Henry R. Winkler, *The League of Nations Movement in Great Britain, 1914-1919* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1952); on whether this trusteeship should be exercised through international control or international administration, see W. R. Louis, "De la controverse au sujet du Congo au système mandataire: Sir John Harris et son idée de tutelle," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* (forthcoming).

<sup>4</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918. Copies of these minutes may be found in several collections of private papers, but they are most easily accessible in those of Sir

By attaching this meaning to mandates the British Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, believed that the British could get their share of the spoils, but not commit themselves to obligations any more stringent than those Britain had already incurred in tropical Africa under the Berlin and Brussels Acts of 1885 and 1890.<sup>5</sup> By accepting mandates along the lines of these acts, he hoped to pay little for an object of great value: American friendship in colonial affairs. He calculated that it would be wise to invite the Americans themselves to accept mandatory responsibilities: "If America were to go away from the [Peace] Conference with her share of guardianship, it would have a great effect on the world. . . . by making the offer to America we would remove any prejudice against us on the ground of 'land-grabbing.'"<sup>6</sup>

The other powerful advocates of an Anglo-American colonial understanding were Sir Robert Borden of Canada, General Jan Smuts of South Africa, and Lord Milner (War Secretary during the last part of the war, Colonial Secretary during the Peace Conference). Borden, like Wilson, did not believe that the war had been fought "in order to add territory to the British Empire." He was prepared to support the annexationist claims of the southern Dominions (South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand), but he thought that if the result of the war were merely a scramble for territory by the Allies "it would be merely a prelude to further wars." Borden, like Lloyd George, urged that the conquered enemy's colonial territories (apart from South-West Africa and the former German colonies in the Pacific) should be entrusted to mandatory powers under the League of Nations. He hoped that the United States would accept "world wide responsibilities in respect of undeveloped territories and backward races."<sup>7</sup>

By contrast Smuts conceived of American participation in a mandates

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Robert Borden and Sir George Foster, National Archives of Canada. In final form commercial equality was secured only in the "A" and "B" mandates of the Middle East and tropical Africa and not in the "C" mandates of South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands. The other prominent anomaly was the French "nigger army" clause (Lloyd George's phrase), by which France reserved the right in the Cameroons and Togoland to raise troops "in the event of a general war." (On these points, see Paul Birdsall, *Versailles: Twenty Years After* [New York, 1941], Chap. III; and H. Duncan Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship* [Washington, D.C., 1948], 66-69 *et passim*.)

<sup>5</sup> In this connection, see W. R. Louis, "African Origins of the Mandates Idea," *International Organization*, XIX (Winter 1965), 20-36, which attempts to trace the origins of the mandates in relation to the Berlin and Algeiras Acts.

<sup>6</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; David Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* (2 vols., London, 1938), I, 118. That Lloyd George published this and other similar quotations in his memoirs bears evidence that he tried to fulfill his boast of publishing his account of the Peace Conference without "suppression or distortion of any relevant fact or document." So far as colonial problems are concerned, he seems to have suppressed little. But, owing to the limited number of sources he appears to have had at his disposal when he wrote his memoirs, his account is now of interest less because of the evidence presented than because of the insight it gives into his personality.

<sup>7</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Nov. 26, Dec. 20, 1918.

system in which responsibilities would be limited to the fallen empires of Eastern Europe:

... The thing would work out like this. The League of Nations, for the larger purpose, would step into the shoes of the old Turkish and Russian Empires. These peoples, so far as they are of any vitality, would become little autonomous States. . . . some particular Power belonging to the League of Nations should be indicated as the tutelary Power, the guardian Power, in respect of one or the other of these States.

The result would be, supposing America were to undertake this job, America would keep a large general control over Georgia. . . . in such a way that the general supervision which America exercises over Georgia would be in the general interest not only of Georgia, but of the world as a whole. . . . My point is to try and get America on to our side.<sup>8</sup>

By late 1918 Smuts was also willing to include parts of German Africa in this scheme. Along with Borden and Milner he was especially anxious for America to have a share (to use one of Milner's favorite phrases) in the "white man's burden." All three attached supreme importance to an Anglo-American "colonial alliance." According to Milner: "the future peace of the world depended on a good understanding between us [Britain and the United States], and [he] regarded this policy of a mandate by the League of Nations, not as a mere cloak for annexation, but as a bond of union . . . between the United States and ourselves."<sup>9</sup>

Smuts and Milner, however, were reluctant to establish the US as the mandatory power in German East Africa. In Smuts's opinion:

The British Empire was the great African Power right along the eastern half of the continent, and securing East Africa would give us through communication along the whole length of the continent—a matter of the greatest importance from the point of view of both land and of air communications. . . . It was not only on the grounds of our conquests and sacrifices, but on the obvious geographical situation, that we were entitled to make a strong claim to being the mandatory in that region. Personally he [Smuts] would give up very much in order to attain that. . . . He would prefer to see the United States in Palestine rather than East Africa.<sup>10</sup>

Lloyd George objected to this proposal. Though he originally had supported

<sup>8</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 2, 1918, Milner Papers; see also Lt. Gen. the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, *The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion* (New York, 1919), and Sir Keith Hancock, *Smuts: The Sanguine Years, 1870-1919* (Cambridge, Eng., 1962), Chap. xx.

<sup>9</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 122.

<sup>10</sup> "Mr. Balfour suggested that the line of argument pursued by General Smuts was perhaps playing a little fast-and-loose with the notion of mandatory occupation." Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; quoted in Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 119-20.

the idea of shoving the United States into Palestine, by December 1918 he had changed his mind:

It would involve placing an absolutely new and crude Power in the middle of all our complicated interests in Egypt, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Everyone with any complaint to make against British administration would rush off to the United States, who would not be able to resist the temptation to meddle. Every Bedouin would be going to the Americans, and we should be put into the humiliating position of continually giving in to the Americans on every complaint raised by them, up to a point when we could stand it no longer, and then might find ourselves involved in a serious quarrel.<sup>11</sup>

Lord Milner thought that Armenia might be a possible American mandate. "The mere fact that we did not want it ourselves was no reason for not assigning the responsibility of it to the United States."<sup>12</sup> Winston Churchill considered, however, that it would be dangerous to entrust even Armenia to the Americans: "... If America were introduced in the heart of European politics, in Armenia, or anywhere else in the Mediterranean region, this would be an incentive to her to make herself the greatest Naval Power."<sup>13</sup> If the British had to give up any territory to the Americans, Churchill was "strongly in favour of giving up German East Africa."<sup>14</sup>

The Imperial War Cabinet thus did not agree on where the US should become a "mandatory power." In any case the point remained theoretical because the United States never offered to accept mandates.<sup>15</sup> There was complete accord in the Imperial War Cabinet, however, on two other important points: that President Wilson's principle of self-determination had little or no relevance for territories outside Europe and the Middle East; and that South-West Africa and the former German colonies in the Pacific should not be placed under the mandates system, but annexed by the British Dominions that had conquered them. A. J. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, stated in December 1918 in regard to the first point:

<sup>11</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> "Admiral Wemyss supported this argument, and said the Admiralty would regard a large American fleet in the Mediterranean with greater apprehension than anywhere else. An American occupation of Palestine, or Armenia, would inevitably lead to her building up a fleet in the Mediterranean, with bases and lines of communication." *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*; Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, I, 121.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson's colonial adviser, George Louis Beer, urged that the US should assume mandatory responsibility in the Cameroons. This scheme failed, not only because of Wilson's reluctance to see the US become involved in colonial affairs, but also because the French had no intention of giving up the Cameroons. See the typescript copy of Beer's diary at the Library of Congress. This manuscript is invaluable in tracing the attempts made to cement the "Anglo-American colonial alliance" and in understanding the American role in the African peace settlement. The Edward M. House Papers and the Sir William Wiseman Papers, Yale University, are also useful in this regard. Unfortunately the Woodrow Wilson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, are difficult to use for so specialized a topic as this because of the cumbersome classification system.

We must not allow ourselves to be driven by that broad principle [of self-determination] into applying it pedantically where it is really inapplicable, namely, to wholly barbarous, undeveloped, and unorganised black tribes, whether they be in the Pacific or Africa. Self-determination there, I do not say it has not even a real meaning, but evidently you cannot transfer formulas more or less applicable to the populations of Europe to different races.<sup>16</sup>

Later in the same month Prime Minister William Hughes of Australia stated emphatically that any attempt to apply "self-determination" to South-West Africa or the Pacific Islands would be "futile." He thought that any sort of mandatory interference in the former German colonies in these regions would jeopardize the security of the British Empire.

As regards the German colonies in the Pacific, he [Hughes] thought that the President was talking of a problem which he did not really understand. New Guinea was only 80 miles from Australia.<sup>17</sup>

. . . To the northward lie the teeming millions of Asia. . . . Australia is deeply convinced of the strategic importance to her of the islands which lie like ramparts to the north and east. . . . Australia must have unfettered control. . . .<sup>18</sup>

As is well known, Hughes's unyielding attitude on this point brought him into head-on collision with Wilson and in January 1919 nearly disrupted the Peace Conference.<sup>19</sup> With great reluctance Hughes and his colleagues

<sup>16</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 5, 1918, Milner Papers. The most prominent British humanitarian who denounced German "colonial atrocities" during the war, John H. Harris, Organizing Secretary of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, was more confident. "Upon the outbreak of War," Harris wrote in March 1917, "the German administration, which is always militarist, hanged without trial very large numbers of native chiefs, not upon any definite charge, but merely upon the suspicion that they were friendly to the Allies. . . ."

"If this were so upon suspicion, one trembles to think what would happen on the restoration of the Colonies to Germany. No International safeguards the mind of man could conceive would save other Chiefs. From the information in our possession, and it increases every month, the native chiefs in the occupied territories have assisted the 'conquerors' in a wholehearted manner, supplying money, carriers, foodstuffs and even soldiers, and have thus quite unwittingly laid themselves open to trial for treason, and you can be quite sure that such trial and sentence would be vigorously carried out."

In those circumstances Harris knew that the native chiefs would opt for British rule—a triumph of the logic of self-determination. (Harris to J. G. Alexander, Mar. 2, 1917, Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society Papers, D 3/16, Rhodes House, Oxford. These papers are especially valuable in tracing the development of the mandates idea during the course of the war.)

<sup>17</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 30, 1918.

<sup>18</sup> Hughes memo, Secret, Feb. 6, 1919, Milner Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Among the more important works that have dealt with the mandates negotiations at the Peace Conference are: Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement* (3 vols., New York, 1922); Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston, 1921); David Hunter Miller, "The Origin of the Mandates System," *Foreign Affairs*, VI (Jan. 1928), 277-89; *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, ed. Charles Seymour (4 vols., New York, 1926-28); Quincy Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations* (Chicago, 1930); Seth P. Tillman, *An lo-American Relations at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919* (Princeton, N.J., 1961); and the works cited in footnotes above. The best general work on the subject is Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship*. For a discussion of these and other works concerning the mandates system, see my chapter in *British Empire-Commonwealth Historiography: Reassessments and Prospects*, ed. Robin W. Winks (Durham, N.C., 1966).

from New Zealand and South Africa finally yielded to Wilson's fervent insistence that all conquered colonial territories be placed under the mandates system. As Hughes had feared, he found himself, in his opinion, being "dragged quite unnecessarily behind the wheels of President Wilson's chariot."<sup>20</sup> On January 30 the Peace Conference decided to place the German colonies as well as the former Turkish territories under the mandates system.

Yet Wilson's triumph was not all he might have wished. He forced the conference to accept a universal application of the mandates system, but he did not succeed in establishing "self-determination" as the basis of this system.<sup>21</sup> And in return for the acceptance of the mandates system by the representatives of the southern Dominions, he acquiesced in Smuts's proposal that there should be various types of mandates. The "simple and straightforward" "C" mandates of South-West Africa and the Pacific Islands, according to Milner, would differ in little other than name from normal colonial possessions. The "B" mandates of tropical Africa and the "A" mandates of the Middle East bound the mandatory powers to more stringent obligations,<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 30, 1918.

<sup>21</sup> If indeed this was Wilson's intention. The slippery phrase of self-determination was interpreted in a great variety of ways. On the one hand it could mean eventual independence of the peoples concerned; on the other hand it could merely take into consideration the interests and welfare of the indigenous inhabitants. In the mandates charter (Article 22 of the League Covenant), "self-determination" was implicit in the clauses relating to the peoples of the Middle East but not in those concerning Africa and the Pacific Islands. Wilson apparently resigned himself to the absorption of those latter regions by the mandatory powers—provided this was the wish of the indigenous inhabitants. As he illustrated this point before the Council of Ten: "It was up to the Union of South Africa to make it [natural union between the two territories] so attractive that South-West Africa would come into the Union of their own free will. . . . if successful administration by a mandatory should lead to union with the mandatory, he would be the last to object." (On this point, see Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeship*, 123–24.)

<sup>22</sup> There has been so much written on the mandates negotiations at the Peace Conference that it seems unnecessary to give a detailed exposition of them here. The basic published source is *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: The Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (13 vols., Washington, D. C., 1942–47); for a lucid account, see Tillman, *Anglo-American Relations*. The Milner Papers nevertheless provide such interesting supplementary information that perhaps it is justified to give a brief summary of Milner's views about "mandates." In a powerfully written memorandum of March 8, 1919, he stated: "in the C mandate the obligations incurred by the mandatory Power, the limitations to its sovereignty, are very few and simple." Apart from obligations to combat the slave trade and the arms traffic, and to refrain from erecting fortifications, "this class of mandate contains no restrictions upon the legislative and administrative authority of the mandatory Power."

"... The country handed over to it becomes an integral part of the territory of that Power. It follows, that the commercial and fiscal system prevailing in the existing territory of the mandatory Power may be applied to the mandated territory without reservation or restriction."

The "B" mandates of tropical Africa (designed for German East Africa, Togoland, and the Cameroons) were more complicated than the "C" mandates. In Milner's opinion there were two important differences between the two classes:

"(1) Under mandates of the 'C' Class the laws of the mandatory Power are *ipso facto* applicable to the mandated territory, whereas in mandates of the 'B' Class the mandatory Power is only made 'responsible for the administration' of the mandated territory. This no doubt implies that the mandatory Power may make laws for the territory. . . . But this

but these were accepted by the French as well as the British with the conviction that there was "no real difference between a colony and . . . [a] mandated area." "You will see," said one of the French delegates to Wilson's colonial adviser, "what these mandates will develop into in ten years."<sup>23</sup>

The purpose of the above remarks has been not only to illuminate British attitudes toward the founding of the mandates system, but also to explain why Britain simply did not annex the German colonies and to provide the background of the territorial settlement. During the war as during the Peace Conference, in the Pacific as in Africa, British territorial ambitions remained fairly constant. The basic aim was to absorb German territories in the vicinity of the southern Dominions. In 1915 the Colonial Secretary, Lewis Harcourt, in a memorandum aptly entitled "The Spoils," had written: "It is out of the question to part with any of the territories now in the occupation of Australia and New Zealand. . . . German South-West Africa . . . must ob-

will have to be special legislation, and must in practice differ materially from the laws in force in the country exercising the mandates.

"(2) In Class 'B' mandates the mandatory Power is under very much more extensive obligations than in mandates of Class 'C', especially with regard to fiscal and commercial matters. . . . It thus appears that under mandates of the 'B' Class, the position of a mandated territory very much resembles, if it is not absolutely identical with, that of certain existing British Protectorates such as Nigeria and East Africa, in which equality of trade conditions has already been established under existing treaties."

If the "B" mandates were more complex than those of the "C" group, there was also, in Milner's words, a "broad distinction in character" between these two classes on the one hand and the "A" class on the other. The "B" and "C" mandates of tropical Africa and the Pacific for all practical purposes could be regarded as colonial possessions. They were trammelled only by certain international obligations such as those to combat the slave trade, to submit reports to the League of Nations, and, in the case of the "B" mandates, to ensure equality of commercial opportunity. Once the principles of the mandates system had been accepted by the Peace Conference in regard to the "B" and "C" territories, the delegates had little difficulty in drafting the terms of the mandatory obligations. This was entirely untrue of the "A" mandates of the Middle East, which were, in Milner's words, "by far the most difficult and complicated."

" . . . It is really impossible to frame a single form of mandate which would be applicable, or even approximately applicable, to all the Territories in question. They differ so radically from one another in essential particulars that no one system of Government can be devised which will suit them all. . . . When we have settled the number of states into which the Turkish Empire is to be divided, the question of the boundaries between these states will arise, and here there is . . . room for the greatest difference of opinion. . . . Ethnic affinity will no doubt be regarded as a basic principle, but this alone affords very insufficient guidance, for in almost every case, notably in that of Armenia, different, and indeed hostile races are intermixed. On the other hand we have in fixing the boundaries of Syria and Mesopotamia, to deal with the exactly opposite problem, viz., how to escape or at least to minimise the administrative difficulties of dividing authority over one and the same race between two different mandatory Powers." (Milner memo, "Mandates," Secret, Mar. 8, 1919, Milner Papers.)

The solution to the problem of the drafting of the "A" mandates eluded the ingenuity even of Milner, and the Middle Eastern settlement was not concluded until long after the Peace Conference had adjourned.

<sup>23</sup> Beer diary, July 7-13, 1919.



viously be retained as part of the British Empire. . . ."<sup>24</sup> These words were echoed in the report of the Imperial War Cabinet's Committee on Territorial Desiderata of April 1917:

The restoration to Germany of South-West Africa is incompatible with the security and peaceful development of the Union of South Africa, and should in no circumstances be contemplated. . . .

The retention of the German islands and colonies in the Pacific south of the Equator, in order to eliminate all possible future German naval bases in this region, is required for the security of the British Australasian Dominions.<sup>25</sup>

The British government at the beginning of the war had agreed to permit Japanese occupation of the German islands north of the equator. With similar bitterness as in the 1880's (when in an analogous way the Colonial Office had restrained the Queensland government from annexing eastern New Guinea), the Australians and New Zealanders watched the Japanese take over islands in the Pacific that they regarded as a threat to their security if occupied by a hostile power.<sup>26</sup> At the Peace Conference the remaining islands south of the equator were apportioned in the way that had been obvious since practically the beginning of the war: Samoa to New Zealand, the rest to Australia. Nor was there any doubt about South-West Africa: in 1919 not even Wilson challenged South Africa's claim.<sup>27</sup>

In the other African settlements Britain was the only power with interests at stake in both the east and the west of the continent. The French claimed part of Togoland and most of the Cameroons, the Belgians part of German East Africa. The Portuguese and the Italians, though they had conquered no territory in Africa, nevertheless demanded a share of the spoils. The Italians justified their claims on the basis of the Treaty of London of 1915 (which promised the Italians "equitable compensation" in colonial areas).

<sup>24</sup> Harcourt memo, Secret, Mar. 25, 1915, Herbert H. Asquith Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Asquith Papers are essential for understanding colonial problems at the beginning of the war.

<sup>25</sup> Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Report, Secret, Apr. 28, 1917, Austen Chamberlain Papers, Birmingham University. This is one of the very few, if not the only, collection of private papers containing the minutes of this committee.

<sup>26</sup> There is no satisfactory account of Anglo-Japanese relations during the First World War, but on the problem of the Pacific, see especially Russell H. Fifield, *Woodrow Wilson and the Far East* (Hamden, Conn., 1965 ed.), and Roy Watson Curry, *Woodrow Wilson and Far Eastern Policy, 1913-1921* (New York, 1957); also W. R. Louis, "Australia and the German Colonies in the Pacific, 1914-1919," *Journal of Modern History* (forthcoming), which is based on various unpublished papers in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

<sup>27</sup> Nor did Wilson interfere in the issues concerning Egypt and Morocco. The settlement of these questions followed the basic pattern of the *Entente* agreement of 1904: Britain received recognition of the protectorate declared over Egypt in 1914; France strengthened its hold over Morocco, and in addition regained in full sovereignty the two slices of the Cameroons ceded to Germany by the 1911 Moroccan agreement. (These points are discussed in my article, "United States and the African Peace Settlement.") The Peace Conference not only founded the mandates system, but also consolidated and extended the European empires in Africa.

The Portuguese had no treaty engagement, but could see no reason why their empire should not grow along with those of the other powers at Germany's expense. The French and the Belgians held a far stronger position: their troops actually occupied African territory. By contrast, however, with the Belgians (who had tried in vain to make a bargain with the British before the beginning of the Peace Conference), the French even possessed agreements by which Britain recognized French rights to administer "provisionally" parts of Togoland and the Cameroons.<sup>28</sup>

The origins of the Anglo-French West African agreements are still obscure. Perhaps these arrangements resulted merely from the necessity to establish provisional spheres of administration, but probably (at least in regard to the one concerning the Cameroons) they were connected with the problem of the Middle East. In West Africa the French tentatively received, in Milner's phrase, "the lion's share"—half of Togoland, nine-tenths of the Cameroons—even though a large part of the Cameroons including the port of Douala had been overrun by British troops. Following the traditional pattern the British gave way in the west of the African continent to secure their lines of communication in the east. In 1917 Smuts thought that

... If there were a choice between keeping German East Africa or the German West African colonies, he [Smuts] considered it much more important to make sure of the safety of the eastern route from South Africa, more particularly as the retention of German East Africa included the provision of a land communication with Egypt, and also secured the Red Sea route to India.<sup>29</sup>

About the importance of West Africa itself, opinion was divided between the officials in England and those in the British West African territories. According to the Colonial Secretary in 1918, Walter Long, Douala was "the best port on the West Coast of Africa, and possessed great importance as a potential base for coal and supplies, and a wireless station." In the opinion, however, of the governor-general of Nigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard: "... The portions of the Cameroons we had from time to time been anxious to get were of little value, and he [Lugard] would be inclined to give the whole of the Cameroons and Togoland to France."<sup>30</sup> In 1919 this conflict of views was resolved along the lines of the recommendation of the Imperial War Cabinet's Committee on Territorial Desiderata:

<sup>28</sup> See the copies of the Anglo-French agreements of Sept. 13, 1914, and Feb. 28, 1916, for Togoland and the Cameroons, respectively, in the Records of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, National Archives, 185.115/24. On the Cameroons agreement, see Margery Perham, *Lugard* (2 vols., London, 1956-60), II, 544-45.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 18, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

<sup>30</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918; for Lugard's earlier views, see Perham, *Lugard*, II, 544-45.

The Committee concluded that the Cameroons should not be restored to Germany under any circumstances except those of imperative necessity, and that in our dealings with France the utmost importance should be laid on the greatness of the concession made to France, and its provisional character insisted on to secure, at the least, the [boundary] modifications specified by the Colonial Office.<sup>31</sup>

The issues at stake were not great. As a representative of the Admiralty had pointed out in 1917, "in French hands Duala might be a very great inconvenience to us, though he could hardly call it a very serious menace."<sup>32</sup> By December 1918 the British had resigned themselves to handing over most of the German West African territories to the French. Smuts pointed out that "it was really only a question of boundaries."<sup>33</sup>

The settlement of these West African "boundary" questions took place in Paris during the spring of 1919.<sup>34</sup> Like the other African territorial problems, they were mainly dealt with, in Milner's phrase, "out of court"—not as part of the formal conference. On March 7 Milner met with Henry Simon, the French Colonial Minister, to discuss the Cameroons and Togoland. "M. Simon stated that his Government would be found very accommodating in the Cameroons, but could not adopt the same policy in Togoland."<sup>35</sup> In the Cameroons the French willingness to accommodate the British amounted to making boundary adjustments, which were necessary, according to Milner, because (writing in reference to Togoland and German East Africa as well as the Cameroons),

the boundaries between the different spheres of occupation are haphazard and, as a permanent arrangement, would be quite intolerable.

They cut across tribal and administrative divisions, take no account of economic conditions, and are in every way objectionable. . . .<sup>36</sup>

Apart from several minor adjustments designed to make this partition less artificial, the final settlement between Britain and France in the Cameroons was substantially the same as the provisional one of 1916.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Minutes of the Second Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 18, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Imperial War Cabinet Minutes, Secret, Dec. 20, 1918.

<sup>34</sup> Though the decision to establish the mandates system was taken in late January, the mandates were not allocated until May. Wilson attempted to postpone this question as long as possible, partly because he wanted to avoid the impression of dividing the spoils at the Peace Conference, partly in order to retain bargaining power. Unable to withstand the increasingly sharp demands of the French and British delegates, he finally yielded. On May 7 he agreed that the German colonies should be "entrusted" to Britain and France—an arrangement that ignored the claims of Italy, Belgium, and Portugal and that brought the colonial question again to the fore. The British and French delegates had already begun the technical process of partition. (See esp. Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," Mar. 7, 1919, Milner Papers.)

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Milner memo, "Mandates," Secret, Mar. 8, 1919, *ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> See Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," May 29, 1919, *ibid.*, which was written shortly after he had reached agreement with Simon on these questions. The final details, however, were not settled until late June.

The Togoland negotiations were more acrimonious:

As to Togoland, M. Simon said that, to be quite frank, France wanted the whole of it.<sup>38</sup>

The French justified this claim on grounds that Dahomey had only a small seaboard "and urgently required more." Simon believed that Togoland was "an entirely artificial creation," a situation best rectified in his opinion by French annexation. Milner did not respond favorably to this suggestion:

Lord Milner observed that he had the impression that in return for extreme accommodation on our part in the Cameroons, the French were shewing great exigence in Togoland. . . .<sup>39</sup>

Milner and Simon finally agreed that the best solution would be simply to partition Togoland between Britain and France, but to improve, as in the Cameroons, the "very hastily fixed" provisional boundary of 1914. France received the larger part (60 per cent of the territory, containing approximately four times the population of the British sector), which included the only good port in the colony, Lomé, and the railways running to it. Summarizing these negotiations, Milner wrote:

While . . . the settlement is generous to France, and while we can well afford to take credit for it in any other negotiations with the French about territorial adjustments—in Syria for instance—the position from the British colonial point of view is not a bad one. We shall not, indeed, have added much to our possessions in West Africa, either in the Cameroons or in Togo. But the additional territory we have gained, though not large in extent, has a certain value in giving us better boundaries and bringing completely within our borders native Tribes which have hitherto been partly within British territory and partly outside it.<sup>40</sup>

Neither the Cameroons nor Togoland lay contiguous to a British Dominion, a geographical fact that largely explains the relatively indifferent British attitude. Yet German East Africa, which also fell into this geographical category, was crucial to British security. In Smuts's opinion German East Africa was less important than German South-West Africa, but nevertheless "very materially concern[ed] the safety of the British Empire as a whole."

He [Smuts] drew attention to the evidence which had been produced with regard to German designs of creating a great Central African Empire, which, in conjunction with German control over Turkey, might eventually be used to threaten the British position in Egypt. He also attached great importance to the securing of continuity of territory by land between British South Africa and British North Africa. . . .<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," Mar. 7, 1919, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> Milner memo, "Cameroons and Togoland," May 29, 1919, *ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> Minutes of the First Meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet Committee on Territorial Desiderata, Secret, Apr. 17, 1917, Chamberlain Papers.

German East Africa was the "missing link" in the chain of British possessions from the Cape to Cairo; this consideration preoccupied British statesmen throughout the war, as is indicated by the sustained interest shown by Harcourt:

14, Berkeley Square,  
W.1.  
February 13th, 1919

My dear Milner,

I think I ought to warn you, as I did your two predecessors [Bonar Law and Walter Long], that in the Peace settlement of German East Africa the province of Ruanda at the North-western corner of G.E.A. should on no account go to the Belgians or in any way pass out of British control. It is the only possible route for the Cape to Cairo railway, if that project is ever realised. . . .

Yours very sincerely,  
(sgd) Harcourt<sup>42</sup>

In conjunction with the British offensive against German East Africa of 1916, Belgian troops had moved into the northwestern part of German East Africa, occupying territory that extended to Lake Victoria in the east and Tabora in the south, and that included the western part of the central railway to Lake Tanganyika. Following occupation the Belgian government demanded British recognition of the Belgian right to dispose of this territory for advantages elsewhere. The British refused on these grounds:

- (1) because the successful invasion of the north-west part of German East Africa by the Belgians was only made possible by British assistance and as the result of British efforts;
- (2) because the Belgian view was contrary to the agreement by which all conquered territory was to be held for disposal in the peace negotiations;
- (3) because there are reasons specially affecting the future of British rule in East Africa which made it imperative to avoid any recognition such as the Belgians sought of their position in the territory occupied by them. (Among these reasons are:—(i) the difficulty of administering German East Africa without the north-west provinces, which form an integral part of the German Protectorate, (ii) the necessity of maintaining our land communications between the south and the north (Uganda and the Sudan) on the one hand, and between the east and the west (the Indian Ocean to Lake Tanganyika) on the other, (iii) the importance of our sharing equally with the Belgian Congo the control over Lake Tanganyika and the communications on the Lake.<sup>43</sup>

Whatever the validity of these reasons, Belgian occupation rankled the British mainly because the Belgians had secured "the richest and most populous

<sup>42</sup> Milner Papers.

<sup>43</sup> Colonial Office memo, African No. 1066, Confidential, "Belgian Occupied Territory in German East Africa," Oct. 27, 1918, *ibid.*

districts of German East Africa" and had blocked the Cape to Cairo route.<sup>44</sup> In Milner's opinion, this was "intolerable."<sup>45</sup>

He so informed the colonial adviser to the Belgian Foreign Ministry, Pierre Orts, on May 12, 1919.<sup>46</sup> He argued that the extension of Belgian dominion into German East Africa was objectionable because it would violate the "natural frontier" between East and Central Africa, and he stated "most emphatically" that the British would not tolerate the Belgians "sitting" on their "lines of communication from East to West and from North to South." Orts, after considerable skirmishing, "admitted the force" of Milner's argument. He said that his government was prepared to hand over the territory necessary for British "communications," but that Belgium must retain most of the districts of Ruanda and Urundi. This concession satisfied Milner so far as strategic considerations were concerned, but he was far from happy about Belgian retention of Ruanda and Urundi:

... The districts of Ruanda and Urundi, though small in extent, are in some respects the best part of all German East Africa. They are healthy highlands, very fertile, and well cultivated as East African cultivation goes. They have a very large population, something like 3 millions, which is about 40% of the total native population of German East Africa. They are also particularly rich in cattle. ...<sup>47</sup>

Still, Milner was willing to concede these districts to Belgium:

... I should be prepared, especially in the case of a small power like Belgium, to err if I must err on the side of generosity; and I feel that with the enormous extent of mandated territory which the Peace settlement is likely in any case to leave in our hands, we can well afford to do without Ruanda and Urundi.<sup>48</sup>

Milner knew, however, that the Belgians were merely using Ruanda and Urundi as a pawn. What they really wanted was not part of East Africa but a strip of territory at the mouth of the Congo on the west coast.

They are extremely embarrassed by the very narrow sea front of their enormous Congo territory, and by the fact that they only possess one,—the Northern—bank of the Congo.

If they could get a strip of land on the south of that river, extending as far as Ambrizette, I believe that they would be willing to give up almost the whole

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> Milner memo, "Negotiations with Belgium about German East Africa," n.d. [May 1919], *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> These negotiations are discussed in detail in W. R. Louis, *Ruanda-Urundi, 1884-1919* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), Chap. XXI.

<sup>47</sup> Milner memo, "Negotiations with Belgium about German East Africa," n.d. [May 1919], Milner Papers.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

of Ruanda and Urundi, and this would be from every point of view the best solution.<sup>49</sup>

This proposed solution to the "East African tangle" (as Milner referred to it in his diary)<sup>50</sup> involved persuading the Portuguese to part with the southern bank of the Congo. They would do this only in return for a substantial *quid pro quo* elsewhere. Milner therefore proposed to give the Portuguese some territory in the south of German East Africa: thus Belgium would receive the southern bank of the Congo River; Portugal would expand into southern German East Africa; and Britain would acquire Ruanda and Urundi. This bargain failed to materialize, however, because the Portuguese refused to be bought off, in their opinion, with worthless territory. After "troublesome and time wasting" negotiations, in Milner's words, Belgium was left with Ruanda-Urundi,<sup>51</sup> as was agreed upon by Orts and Milner on May 30, 1919. Despite the protest of the American representative, George Louis Beer, and of the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society, the Milner-Orts agreement proved final.<sup>52</sup>

Thus, far from being willing to give up the southern Congo bank for part of German East Africa, the Portuguese demanded the southern portion of the latter territory as a mandate. Milner thought this was preposterous:

The Portuguese have in my opinion no claim whatever to receive a mandate for any portion of German East Africa on the score of what they have done in the conquest of it. . . . they even failed to defend their own boundaries against Von Lettow[-Vorbeck, the German commander in East Africa], when our operations rendered his position in East Africa untenable, and by that failure prolonged the war in East Africa about a year.<sup>53</sup>

At a meeting of the Mandates Commission on July 12, 1919, the Portuguese were told that they could have no part of German East Africa as a mandate, but to silence them, they were given full sovereignty over a scrap of territory

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Entry for May 14, 1919, *ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Except for a strip of territory in eastern Ruanda that was handed over to Belgium in 1923.

<sup>52</sup> At the meeting of the Mandates Commission on July 16, Beer pointed out "its [the Milner-Orts agreement's] absurdity from the geographical, ethnographical and political stand-points." He later wrote: "This agreement cannot be defended except on grounds of merest expediency. It is contrary to the fundamental principles upon which these colonies were to be disposed of in that no attention at all was paid to native interests." (Beer diary, July 13-Aug. 4, 1919.) The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society protested that "past experience of Belgian proceedings in the Congo does not encourage an extension of the rule of that nation over large portions of Africa," and Harris complained that talk of the "sacred trust" in this regard was "manifest hypocrisy." (On Beer's and Harris' attempts to influence the territorial settlement, see Louis, "United States and the African Peace Settlement," and "De la controverse au sujet du Congo au système mandataire.")

<sup>53</sup> Milner memo, May 29, 1919, Milner Papers.

called the "Kionga Triangle" in northern Mozambique, which rounded off the Portuguese territory at the natural frontier of the Ruvuma River.<sup>54</sup> This was done, in Milner's words, "as a matter of grace and convenience."

The Portuguese were extremely suspicious of the machinations of the other imperial powers. It is now clear from the British records that these suspicions were justified. At the Peace Conference the Portuguese learned that the Italians were pressing the British to support their efforts to establish a "trading company" in Angola. According to a British memorandum written in March 1919:

The Italian Delegate was unable to explain satisfactorily why the good offices of H.M.G. should be required in order to enable them to carry on trade with a Portuguese Colony. On being pressed however it appeared that . . . the real aim was political. The Italian Delegate has now explained that Italy wishes H.M.G. to conclude with Italy an agreement similar to the secret agreement with Germany of 1898, whereby in the event of a disruption of the Portuguese colonial possessions part would fall to H.M.G. and part (including Angola) to Germany.<sup>55</sup>

The British refused on grounds that "Imperialism" was dead. ". . . Such an arrangement in the present altered state of the world," wrote a Colonial Office official, "would be quite unthinkable."<sup>56</sup>

Though the British rebuffed Italian overtures regarding the Portuguese colonies, they were bound by the Treaty of London to consider the more general problem of "equitable compensation" for Italy in Africa. On May 7, 1919, the Supreme Council appointed an Inter-Allied Committee composed of Milner, Simon, and an Italian delegate, Silvio Crespi, to discuss Italian territorial claims, which extended over a large part of Northeastern Africa. Most of the regions claimed by Italy were, as Milner described them, "mainly desert," but even so the British and the French were reluctant to hand them over to the Italians. The remarkable feature that struck Milner about Italian ambitions was the extent to which they involved British territory:

from the first it was Great Britain that was asked to make the principal sacrifices. In Libya the area claimed from Great Britain was three or four times as large as that claimed from France. . . . In asking for the whole of British and French Somaliland, Italy was asking us to give up a country ten times as large as France

<sup>54</sup> See H. B. Thomas, "The Kionga Triangle," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, XXXI (July 1951), 47-50.

<sup>55</sup> Italy similarly demanded a "free hand" to trade in Abyssinia. "In this matter as in others the Italian Government are using trade as a cloak for political aims." (R. Sperling memo, Mar. 11, 1919, Lothian [Philip Kerr] Papers, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh. These papers contain valuable information about the creation of the mandates system as well as the settlements in Africa and the Middle East.)

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* On Italian colonial aims in the First World War, see Robert L. Hess, "Italy and Africa: Colonial Ambitions in the First World War," *Journal of African History*, IV (No. 1, 1963), 105-26.



was asked to give up. Finally in Jubaland the territory asked for by Italy was exclusively British.<sup>57</sup>

Milner was willing only to make a rectification of the Libyan frontier in Italy's favor and to cede the region in the north of British East Africa called the Juba Valley, which he described as "a fertile district capable of growing large quantities of cotton. . . ." In Somaliland Milner "declined to budge" on grounds that Britain had already given away more than France. He did not see "why we should continue to make all the sacrifices." In fact he wanted to yield as little as possible:

I may say I was rather glad that the French took up an uncompromising attitude about Jibuti (French Somaliland), as if they had been more yielding about it, I might have found it difficult to refuse Berbera [in British Somaliland] and the part of British Somaliland adjoining it.

"Ultimately I presume," Milner wrote, "Italy will have to be satisfied with what France and Great Britain are prepared to give up."<sup>58</sup> The main points of the final settlement included only the cession of the Juba Valley by Britain and a few oases in the Sahara by France.<sup>59</sup>

This niggardly attitude of Britain and France was largely determined by the putative strategic importance of Northeastern Africa and the unsettled state of affairs in Abyssinia. According to Milner: "As long as the fate of Abyssinia, which is one of the most serious international problems of the near future, remains undecided, neither France, Italy nor England can be expected to give up any positions now held by them, from which they can exercise an influence on the future of that country."<sup>60</sup>

At the bottom of the Abyssinian problem was the question of the Nile:

We . . . have one absolutely vital interest; it is to safeguard the head waters of the Blue Nile. . . . When the time comes to liquidate the Abyssinian situation, we must be in a position to stipulate for the security of this water supply.<sup>61</sup>

. . . It is vitally important to Egypt to retain undisputed control of the Nile.<sup>62</sup>

As in the days of Lord Salisbury, British statesmen at the Peace Conference believed that the power in possession of the Nile Valley controlled Egypt and the route to India. By the end of the First World War the ramifications

<sup>57</sup> Milner memo, "Equitable Compensation' for Italy in Africa," May 30, 1919, Milner Papers.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*; see also Milner's memo in Lloyd George, *Truth about the Peace Treaties*, II, 898-901.

<sup>59</sup> See Hess, "Italy and Africa."

<sup>60</sup> Milner memo, "Equitable Compensation' for Italy in Africa," May 30, 1919, Milner Papers.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Sperling memo, Mar. 11, 1919, Lothian Papers.

of Salisbury's Nile policy had led Britain into a large part of the Middle East and German East Africa as the "mandatory power." Even in the disposal of the former German West African colonies, protection of the "other" route to India was a primary consideration. As Balfour said in December 1918: "Every time I come to a discussion—at intervals of, say, five years—I find there is a new sphere which we have got to guard, which is supposed to protect the gateways of India. Those gateways are getting farther and farther from India."<sup>63</sup>

Apart from the representatives of the southern Dominions, British statesmen in 1919 did not regard the establishment of the mandates system as a threat to the security of India or of the Empire as a whole. Nor did the apportionment of the mandates affect the repartition of Africa. The continent was divided mainly along the lines of conquest. To the regret of the British delegates at the Peace Conference, there was little room for maneuver. According to Cecil: "I know that if Mr. Balfour or myself makes any proposition with regard to Africa, we shall be told that it is the oldest colony, or it will bitterly offend some New Zealand politician if we don't, or something of that kind. It is always the same."<sup>64</sup>

Thus the First World War ended in the same way as other wars, in Balfour's words, with "a map of the world with more red on it." In his opinion the reason was geographical. But the expansion of the British Empire, he said, "might not be ascribed in other countries to its geographical cause."<sup>65</sup>

Whatever its cause, imperialism at the Peace Conference was not easy to disguise, even by the founding of the mandates system. The fate of the Turkish territories and German colonies was determined, in Milner's frank words, by "a huge scramble." From their superior geographical position the British merely led the race.

<sup>63</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Dec. 9, 1918, Milner Papers. ". . . Why should England do this?" asked Lord Curzon. "Why should Great Britain push herself out in these directions? Of course, the answer is obvious—India." (*Ibid.*)

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Eastern Committee Minutes, Secret, Apr. 24, 1918, *ibid.*

\* \* \* \* *Reviews of Books* \* \* \* \*

General

IDEAS IN HISTORY: ESSAYS PRESENTED TO LOUIS GOTTSCHALK  
BY HIS FORMER STUDENTS. Edited by *Harold T. Parker* and *Richard  
Herr*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 380. \$10.00.)

READERS of this volume would do well to read the last essay first. In his modestly titled "Conclusion" Richard Herr states the book's main theme and summarizes the contributors' thinking about it, thus providing a guide to the preceding fourteen essays. It is, however, much more than a mere conclusion or summary. It is an analytical, and unusually provocative, essay on the role of ideas in history that deserves to be read in its own right. What exactly do we mean when we talk about ideas playing a role in history? What kinds or types of ideas are we talking about? Who holds the ideas? Herr tries with some success to bring precision to a subject that is, to say the least, "elusive" (see also Robert Palmer's telling remarks on its elusiveness). Among other things Herr distinguishes three types of ideas, which he labels concepts, images, and predispositions and which may be held by an individual, a group, or even a whole society. He also makes some rather good suggestions for further research in the field and urges the historian's collaboration with psychologists and social scientists. My only quarrel with Herr is that he does not leave the reviewer enough to do—at least not in a brief review such as this.

By calling attention to the concluding essay I do not mean to downgrade the others, which constitute most of the book and seem to me to be of nearly uniform excellence. Unfortunately, space permits only the briefest reference to their special content. The majority of them deal, appropriately in view of Professor Gottschalk's lifelong interests, with Frenchmen and French ideas, more especially of the eighteenth century. Two are on Spain, however, and three others describe topics as varied as Bentham's plan for a model prison, the dissolution of German "historism," and comparative views of Diderot by Soviet and "bourgeois" American historians. Possibly because of my own special interests I found particularly illuminating the two essays on historiography by Karl Weintraub and Georg Iggers. The former puts into sharp relief the varieties of Enlightenment historiography, represented here by Voltaire and Condorcet. The latter discusses the interrelationship between "historism" and German politics and the change in the German historical climate since the late nineteenth century.

Altogether, this is a worthy and stimulating *Festschrift*, centering on a problem with which Gottschalk has wrestled throughout his life. In the introductory essay Harold Parker describes Gottschalk's professional career and, as the blurb on the jacket says, places him "in the context of the developing American historiography of the twentieth century." There is a bibliography of his books and articles at the end of the book.

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FRANKLIN L. BAUMER

SCEPTICISM AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE. By *Jack W. Meiland*. [Studies in Philosophy.] (New York: Random House. 1965. Pp. vii, 209. \$1.95.)

THE author contrasts "the Discovery Theory of History" with "the Construction Theory of History," and it is the latter that he seeks to establish as correct. He characterizes this theory in terms of two main features: "a claim that the historian should not be regarded as trying to discover facts about an independently existing realm of past events"; and "a claim that history is nevertheless important and significant because it attempts to deal with a certain class of present entities (which we call 'documents' and which includes artifacts, memoirs, records, and memory beliefs) in a certain way." Thus, as he repeatedly emphasizes, it is his view that "each historian creates the past, or a part of the past in writing history."

Early in the book Meiland discusses Croce, Oakeshott, and Collingwood as examples of the construction theory, and he gives a plausible account of their views in these terms. These interpretations, however, while distinctly helpful, do not afford a careful, full, and historically correct account of why each of these theorists held the views that he did. The author's argument for the construction theory is not tied to idealism, as were the arguments of Croce, Oakeshott, and Collingwood. Nor is his argument tied to historical relativism. Meiland defines relativism as the view that historical judgments are inescapably biased, and he attempts to show that even though some of the critics of relativism (Ernest Nagel and Isaiah Berlin) fail to establish their views, relativism is itself an untenable position. What underlies his construction theory is not relativism, but, as he says, skepticism. In other words, his position is not that we are biased when we make historical judgments, but that such judgments create the past, and the past has no reality apart from our present acts of judgment.

The heart of the book lies in Chapters vi-x, where Meiland offers arguments in favor of historical skepticism. Each of his arguments is of a general epistemological nature, rather than being primarily directed toward the historian's discipline. As he says of these arguments, "if any one of the arguments for scepticism given in Part IV is sound, then there can be no historical knowledge at all about any aspect of, or event in the past, even if innumerable documents, artifacts, and ruins are available." As an example of such an argument, Meiland attempts in Chapter vi to show that skepticism is inevitable since historical knowledge is, by definition, knowledge about the past that is based upon evidence, and no present fact can, he argues, be correlated with a fact that is past. Thus, "nothing can serve as evidence about the past." If this general epistemological thesis were to be accepted, however, much besides historical knowledge would fall prey to skepticism. In the absence of any consideration of the further implications of the arguments offered in support of constructionism, many readers may feel that these highly general epistemological arguments are less relevant to the specific nature of history as a discipline than the author takes them to be.

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MAURICE MANDELBAUM

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN WORLD HISTORY. *Shirley H. Engle*, Editor. [Thirty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies.] (Washington, D. C.: the Council. 1964. Pp. xvi, 667. Cloth \$6.00, paper \$5.00.)

THE "Thirty-Fourth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies," designed for secondary-school teachers of world history, differs markedly from its counterpart of fifteen years ago: the "Twentieth Yearbook." Then the editors devoted their space to pedagogy and problems of course organization; now the stress lies upon content, and most of the contributions are the work of recognized specialists in their several fields. Part I contains essays on "ideas and movements" in world history; Parts II and III deal, respectively, with historical periods and regions of world cultures. Only Part IV, "New Perspectives in the Study and Teaching of World History," has an avowedly methodological aim. As many readers of the *American Historical Review* will recognize, the shift from method to content reflects a changing emphasis in secondary-school teaching.

On the whole, this is a commendable volume; editor and contributors have wasted little of the limited space at their disposal. In Part I, Marie Boas Hall contributes an excellent survey of recent scholarship in the history of science. Together with its companion essay, "The Technological Revolution and Social Reforms," by Melvin Kranzberg, it will compensate for weak spots in the training of many who teach world history or (for that matter) college level Western civilization courses. Readers will probably find the other two contributions in this part ("Main Currents in World Thought" and "Democracy in the History of Man") less fresh and of less practical use than the more specific offerings of Hall and Kranzberg.

For most readers the core of the book will lie in the two succeeding sections. With the exception of the first essay ("The Idea of Mankind in Decisive Periods of History"), all of the contributions are substantial, ranging in quality from the thoroughly adequate to the outstanding. Within the latter category, I would include John B. Wolf's "The Early Modern Period, 1500-1789," and Albert D. Mott's "Western Europe, 'The New Europe.'" Perhaps because his has been a neglected period, viewed until lately with contempt by the spiritual heirs of the French and American revolutionaries, Wolf has much to say about new interpretations, and he says it well. Mott's thoughtful synopsis of European developments since 1945 proves that we are far enough away from the postwar era to make substantial and suggestive generalizations about it.

Two flaws mar an otherwise valuable collection of essays. Since movements, periods, and regions overlap, information on specific points may be found in several places; unfortunately, no index provides access to the several references. The second flaw is a major one, traceable, perhaps, to an editorial oversight: since Wolf ends his essay at 1789, and Anderson takes up the tale of nineteenth-century Europe at 1815, the French Revolution and Napoleon are left in limbo.

Mount Holyoke College

JOHN L. TEALL

HYSTERIA: THE HISTORY OF A DISEASE. By *Ilza Veith*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 301. \$7.95.)

CERTAIN difficulties must be anticipated and faced in studying the history of diseases. The very concept of a disease and what causes it have changed so much that it is often difficult if not impossible to decide which modern disease coincides with an illness described centuries or millenniums before our time. How far then can current terminology be applied to ancient accounts? Thought and behavior

with respect to illness in earlier times, moreover, are often obscure and difficult to interpret because of the fragmentary and not infrequently ambiguous nature of the evidence. Furthermore, to what extent is it possible to establish the incidence and prevalence of a disease in earlier periods and in various parts of the world? After all, reasonably adequate statistical data on health and disease exist only in economically developed countries, and even in those for only the past 100 or 150 years.

The issues raised above are specifically appropriate in reviewing the history of hysteria by Ilza Veith. Beginning almost four thousand years ago with some cases recorded in Egyptian papyri, the account moves through classical antiquity, and medieval and modern Europe, finally concluding in the twentieth century with a discussion of hysteria in relation to the evolution of psychoanalysis. Hysteria is a term derived from the Greek words *hystera* (the womb) and *hysterikos* (an adjective applied to women suffering from a disorder of the womb and exhibiting symptoms associated with such a condition). Today hysteria refers to a state of dissociation of mental and/or physical function, where the dissociated function may operate alongside normal consciousness or may exclude it entirely. The symptoms produced as a consequence may be highly flamboyant and dramatic, for instance, paralytic, spasmodic, and convulsive disturbances or sensory disorders such as blindness, deafness, or dumbness. The disorder is basically a result of mental conflict, related most often to sexuality, and there are connections between the conflict and the symptoms.

Hysteria has had many ramifications—social, religious, political, medical—throughout history and thus represents a difficult challenge to the historian. The author must be highly commended for her courage in undertaking this task, even though the result cannot be pronounced a complete success. Medical thought, that is, what physicians in different periods have said about the pathogenesis, diagnosis, and treatment of hysteria, provides the central core of Veith's work. In so far as Veith deals with medical authors, she provides a useful summary of theories and views on hysteria, even though she tends to assess more favorably those who emphasized psychic factors in the pathogenesis of hysteria.

However, when Veith endeavors to go beyond the strictly medical sources and to deal with the relationship of the disorder and medical thought to society, the basic weaknesses of this work in terms of method and content are clearly patent. One is the lack of a clear delineation of what the term hysteria actually covered in behavioral terms at various periods. This vagueness makes it difficult to evaluate such clinical material as is presented in terms of its own period as well as in relation to modern categories. This weakness is most glaring in the discussion of witchcraft. How significant it was in relation to other disorders and factors is never really made clear. The second weakness is that practically no use is made of a varied nonmedical literature. Again in her discussion of witchcraft, the author relies on rather weak secondary sources and is apparently unaware of such basic source collections as those of Hansen and Lea.

In summary, this is a useful compilation of medical thought on hysteria. As a history of a disease, it is incomplete and inadequate.

ÉTUDES ET CHRONIQUE DE DÉMOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE, 1964.  
 ([Paris:] Société de Démographie Historique. [1964.] Pp. 285. 18 fr.)

THIS first publication of the *Société de Démographie Historique* is uneven in quality, but is not without great interest. It is divided into four major sections: studies, chronicle, analyses and bibliography, and documents.

The studies vary most in quality. R. Étienne's defense of the demographic sources of the ancient world is fragile and unconvincing. He used the family records of Ausonius, the fourth-century *Bordelais* poet, to argue that the average age of death in that family was consistent with that derived from tombstones in a few other areas. He also argues that Ausonian marital characteristics and falling fertility were qualities that marked the upper classes of Antioch. On the basis of these data he determined that "the reactions of class were identical in the whole Roman Empire," a somewhat sweeping conclusion. E. Ésmonin's contribution deals with the movement of the French population between 1770 and 1789. Out of 104 pages, fully 100 are documents: letters between the *controleurs généraux* and the intendants and statistical tables drawn from many local archives. While these documents have much value in showing the demographic interests of the government and some of the difficulties of obtaining accurate demographic data, the statistical tables are raw data that require much further analysis before they can be used to estimate regional differences in rates of natural increase. The most interesting article is a short one by A. Armengaud on the subject of the nursing industry of the Morvan. Infants went from Paris to be nursed there, and nursemaids went to Paris with manifold consequences for demography, family structure, and even possibly politics. All in all, it is a significant contribution.

The chronicle consists of information on some past and future international conferences, longer than average book reviews of works that range in time from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and a bibliographical article on work by French geographers on urban demography. The most valuable section here is the reviews.

The analyses and bibliography are somewhat misleadingly labeled. With the exception of a few analyses by Reinhard and Armengaud, the section consists mainly of bibliographical listings for various countries with at most a scant summary of the contents of the particular work. And there is no clear criterion on which the lists have been prepared: some go back to 1960, others to the 1950's, some to the 1930's, and one contains a work of 1911. There are, moreover, some omissions. A major advantage of this section is that it provides much information about what the Central and East Europeans have been doing in demographic history.

The section of documents is short and may be of interest to some specialists in Hungarian and French demographic history.

To sum up, although this work concentrates too much on France and has many omissions, it is nonetheless a tribute to the energy of Reinhard and Armengaud. Undoubtedly in the future they will be able to provide better-organized and more comprehensive coverage of European historical demography than they have done here.

Rutgers University

JOHN T. KRAUSE

THE STUDY OF URBANIZATION. Edited by *Philip M. Hauser* and *Leo F. Schnore*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. viii, 554. \$9.75.)

ALTHOUGH this book is not primarily a work of history, it should prove of considerable interest and value to historians. A collection of original essays, it is an outgrowth of the discussions of the Committee on Urbanization, which the Social Science Research Council appointed in 1958 to examine and report on the research and approaches taken by the several social disciplines interested in the city. As one of the editors writes, the purpose of the book is to direct "attention to gaps in existing knowledge," and to stimulate "research designed to fill these gaps."

The book contains fourteen essays, of which five discuss the state of knowledge in urban studies in the fields of history, geography, political science, sociology, and economics. Four additional essays canvass comparative studies, particularly in Asia and Latin America; four more papers discuss certain problems in urban geography and economics and the controversy over Redfield's contrast between the folk and urban ideal types.

Several of the essays, to be sure, are too narrowly focused upon the special concerns of their respective disciplines to attract the immediate interest of the historian, but all the essays are rich in bibliography. Moreover, the five essays that survey the state of knowledge in the various fields are excellent introductions to the conceptions and research directions of the disciplines engaged in the common enterprise of urban studies. All historians who have anything to do with the history of the city will profit, for example, from Gideon Sjöberg's critical review of urban theories in sociology, for he uses many historical examples. Also of interest to historians are two essays by Hauser and one by Sjöberg (he has two in the collection) that subject Louis Wirth's conception of the effects of urbanization to critical appraisal, pointing out that even the modern industrial city is not as socially disintegrative as Wirth assumed.

If Sjöberg's review of the literature suggests that sociology is divided and confused, Charles Glaab, in writing about American urban history accurately, though compassionately, depicts an even worse situation. There is an almost total absence of generalization about the city in the field of history, even though as a social unit the city is one of the oldest and by far the most important locales of man's history. Unlike historians, the practitioners of other social disciplines *try* to generalize. It might be added that Glaab and the only other historian among the contributors, Eric Lampard, are both primarily Americanists, though Lampard's essay here is focused on the earliest history of urbanization. The lack of historians of extra-United States areas is ironical since several of the sociological essays point out that the experience of cities in this country, which has been the mainstay of sociological studies, cannot be taken as universal.

Indeed, it is evident from several chapters that "the city" as a single factor, or as an "independent variable," no longer commands wide assent among sociologists. Sjöberg, who demolished the idea from one angle by his recent study of the preindustrial city, is joined here by the comparativists, who point out that cities not only differ across time, but also across space. Asian and Latin American cities, on the one hand, and European and American cities on the other, are socially quite different even though they are coeval.



To me the most provocative of all the essays was Nathan Keyfitz' "Political-Economic Aspects of Urbanization in South and Southeast Asia." Actually, the title is misleading since the content is neither confined to Asia nor as dull as the title leads one to expect. Using examples drawn from American, Asian, and European history, he argues the thesis that the city, in pursuit of a secure food supply, shapes the nation-state rather than the other way around, and that in the process of economic growth the city inevitably exploits the rural region. His thesis obviously fits the Asian situation best, but Keyfitz' bold application of the idea to the United States and some European countries, even if not wholly convincing and sometimes maddeningly wrong, is very much worth reading.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

THÉORIE SOCIOLOGIQUE DE L'IMPÔT. In two volumes. By *Gabriel Ardant*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 718; 722-1212.)

TAXES, being payable in money, are more conducive to liberty than are levies in other forms, such as requisitions or forced labor. But taxes are never neutral; various forms of taxes affect in diverse ways the distribution of wealth, the growth of the economy, and the nature of government. Although a technique of enfranchisement (compared to other kinds of levies), they may destroy freedom, for the volume of taxes collectible in any society is limited. The amount that can be obtained without destroying freedom is restricted not only by the total production but also by the degree of commercial development: the more the relatively self-sufficient units in the society, the less the proportion of the product that can be collected in taxes. Efforts of governments to collect too much in relation to the commercial development have led to both revolts and tax evasion, and then to either collection through oppressive bureaucracies that stifled economic life, as in the late Roman Empire, or to dismemberment of the state into some kind of feudalism. To be sure, efforts to overcome the difficulties of collection sometimes led to the formation of representative institutions designed to secure the taxpayers' consent to being taxed, and when there was at the same time an increase in the commercialization of the society by application of the kind of policies that culminated in mercantilism, it had the success illustrated in Great Britain. But in France, with which these volumes are centrally concerned, representative government came only after centuries under a constraining, inefficient bureaucracy had created a tradition of antagonism to taxpaying, which is significantly expressed in "le mouvement Poujade" and in the prestige attached to tax dodging. This has limited France's ability to act as a great power.

The above theses are richly illustrated in more than one thousand pages by Gabriel Ardant, *Inspecteur Général des Finances*, and in one of his earlier studies in political economy a coauthor with Mendès-France. Very realistically Ardant looks behind legal forms as far as possible to consider the difficulties in collections, the administrative procedures used, and the practical effects. He distinguishes in the history of taxation three main stages: contemporary, intermediate, and rudimentary, corresponding roughly to the twentieth century, the nineteenth century, and the *ancien régime*. It is in regard to the last and to eighteenth-century France in particular that his historical research has been most thorough and

most rewarding. Noteworthy also is his discussion of the origin of taxes; he considers taxes, seigniorial dues, forced labor, and tribute various species of the same genus. He has much of interest to say about the way the transition was made from other forms of levies to money levies. But his treatment of this theme, and also his analyses of the rudimentary taxation of the *ancien régime*, although full of insights and suggestiveness, may seem to a historian to lack thoroughness and balance because of his plan of organization. He discusses the same historical developments in many different sections of his work, following a scheme of organization determined apparently by theoretical or doctrinal considerations. The plan causes him to repeat himself frequently. To a large extent that is good for his main purpose, which is to persuade the reader of his general conclusions about the importance of taxation in determining policy and the way its forms depend on the degree of economic development. He rides some theories too hard, pounding historical facts into his theoretical mold in maintaining that the states most developed commercially have throughout history been the more powerful.

He concludes with sixty pages of bibliography, nearly all works in French. Its range is a reminder of how massive is the data from which Ardant had attempted to distill the meaning.

*Johns Hopkins University*

FREDERIC C. LANE

NEUF MENEURS INTERNATIONAUX: DE L'INITIATIVE INDIVIDUELLE DANS L'INSTITUTION DES ORGANISATIONS INTERNATIONALES PENDANT LE XIX<sup>e</sup> ET LE XX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Herbert Maza*. (Paris: Éditions Sirey. 1965. Pp. 384. 35 fr.)

ONE of the great questions men have struggled with for centuries is whether history makes men, men make history, or the forces of both are inseparable in their interaction. Mr. Maza tries to contribute to the answer by examining the importance of men in the creation of international institutions. He studies nine individuals whom he considers instrumental in the production of significant international changes or institutions. His heroes are William Wilberforce, who worked for the ending of the international trade in slaves; Henri Dunant, the originator of the International Red Cross; Frederick Passy and William R. Cremer, founders of the Interparliamentary Union and inspirers of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; David Lubin, creator of the International Institute of Agriculture; E. D. Morel, who engineered the end of Belgium's inhumane rule in the Congo; Salmon O. Levinson and James T. Shotwell, whose activities led to the Pact of Paris of 1928; and Raphael Lemkin, responsible for the Convention on Genocide.

Maza relies almost entirely on secondary sources and chiefly on the main biographies of his heroes. He briefly sketches their lives and concentrates on the parts relating to their main achievements. His intention was to discover, not new features of their lives and activities, but the secret of their success. His approach, however, condemned his enterprise to failure. He relates courses of events and the methods of his heroes. Yet a mere description of procedure tells little about the reason for the success of the process. The factors among which an answer to the great question must be sought are elsewhere. There are hardly any references to the personalities of the men; none to the effect they had upon those with whom

they dealt; and very few in the last chapter to the cultural, intellectual, and spiritual climate in which they worked.

The conclusions the author reaches, therefore, are most general, trite, and very unsophisticated, quite apart from their questionable validity considering the minute size of the sample. The author's main discovery, made previously by Aristotle, is that "the political organization seems to be the most important of the social mechanisms" to reach social, public ends. This discovery is followed by broad and general instructions on the construction of a political machine: its structure, means, and methods; recruitment of personnel and followers; and the character and role of the leader. In trying to relate the general principles of this "Guide to Becoming a Successful Lobbyist" to his heroes, the author points out that they do not all fit because there are always exceptions. Unfortunately for the author's theses, his heroes simply refuse to fall into a pattern, except that they all have "talent and convictions"; and history refuses to repeat itself. His reader has become no wiser about the great question of the relation between history and men.

*University of Hawaii*

WERNER LEVI

LES TERRORISTES. By *Roland Gaucher*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1965. Pp. 372. 19.20 fr.)

THE stated purpose of this book is not to examine the history of terror in an exhaustive fashion but rather to study "certain essential moments, to describe the most lively episodes, to portray the actors, to try to understand the means and to compare successes and failures." Within the objective, and expanding the definition of terror to include guerrilla warfare, Roland Gaucher studies this disagreeable human activity within four contexts: revolutionary terror in Russia beginning in the late 1860's; terror and counterrevolution in Russia after 1917; terror invoked for independence by nationalists in Macedonia, Ireland, Israel, and Algeria; and, finally, terror as an instrument to defend a community, exemplified by the secret army in Algeria and France. The sources upon which this volume rests are books plus a few periodicals, all in the French language.

That terrorism will not diminish in the foreseeable future is Gaucher's major conclusion. In less than a century—the distance between "nineteenth-century idealism" and our present age of "inhuman concern for the efficient"—a vast number of terrorist techniques tested themselves, underwent analysis and perfection, to find their way into handbooks. In our times, according to this study, terrorism tends to become a substitute for war. Other less sweeping but equally challenging observations result from this thoughtful comparative study. Recruitment is usually accomplished through fear and is successful when men and women, fearing terror more than the regime's law, unite. Also contributing to the terrorist ranks are men who feel absolutely hemmed in, blocked in their hopes to secure evolutionary change, as in the cases of Irish and Algerian nationalists. When nationalist and religious aspirations come together, then terrorist-guerrilla tactics enjoy better odds. Underdeveloped areas provide excellent soil for the terrorist seed, and the rural area usually offers more promise than the urban. Success often graces the operation that maintains its technicians both in

the field of battle and abroad: Macedonians as beneficiaries of a Bulgarian base; the Soviet Union as a training area for Chinese cadres, with China later serving the Vietminh, and later Hanoi in turn supporting the partisans of the south; or, again, Cairo as a refuge for the Algerian FLN leaders, with Tunisia and Morocco providing refuge for hard-pressed guerrillas. Later, independent Algeria offered its hospitality to the nationalist freedom fighters of Angola.

As provocative as this book is, its sample is still limited and therefore its lesson tentative. We need to study more deeply the psychology of the terror of change against the mind governing the establishment's particular kind of terror. Still, any book that can connect seriously the mind, life, and attitudes of Harlem with those same phenomena in the Algiers Casbah deserves a close reading and critical reflection.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

ESSAYS IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE: PRESENTED BY FELLOWS OF THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY TO STANLEY PARGELLIS. Edited by *Heinz Bluhm*. (Chicago: Newberry Library. 1965. Pp. viii, 231. \$15.00.)

STUDENTS and scholars who have known both the old Newberry Library in Chicago and its latter-day role as an active research institution have some appreciation of the contribution of Stanley Pargellis to that transformation during his twenty years' tenure as librarian. For he did much to make it a first-rate library for historical and humanistic studies, as Ray Billington explains in his perceptive introductory essay in this volume. One of the innovations was the establishment of the fellows program, and from a group of past fellows now comes this handsome *Festschrift*.

Some of the literary essays are of only peripheral interest to the historian, but "The Infernal Hazlitt" by Herschell M. Sikes is a delightful account, with a surprise ending, of the intricacies of public and private friendship. Among the several biographical studies is a thoughtful essay by Archer Taylor, which suggests a number of fruitful avenues for research in the history of bibliography as a part of the larger history of ideas. Several contributors are concerned with the perennial problem of the authorship of anonymous books. The rest of the essays are of more immediate interest to students of Renaissance and early modern European history. The emphasis is decidedly more humanistic than "social scientific," although a bit of the latter is evident. Thus Hans Baron, in his discussion of a fifteenth-century Venetian chronicle in the Newberry collection, points out the significance of such manuscripts for economic history. But Heinz Bluhm, in his essay on "The Pride of Martin Luther," unfortunately pays no attention whatsoever to the current literature on Luther's psychological make-up. Hannah A. Gray, on the other hand, eschews any psychological analysis, literary or otherwise, and her contribution on "Valla's Encomium of St. Thomas Aquinas and the Humanist Conception of Christian Antiquity" was, for me, the most valuable essay in the volume. Valla's *Encomium* was really a cleverly written "anti-eulogy" of Aquinas, she explains, in which the humanist-orator "just admitted the Angelic Doctor to the company of angels and then almost denied him access to the circle of doctors." Using this seeming paradox as a springboard,

she proceeds to a lucid discussion of the contrasting humanist attitudes toward the Church fathers and the Scholastics.

*University of Arkansas*

GORDON H. McNEIL

THE THIRD DIMENSION: STUDIES IN LITERARY HISTORY. By Robert E. Spiller. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. vii, 245. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.45.)

ROBERT Spiller, chairman of the editorial board that produced the *Literary History of the United States* (1948), is a leader of the organized American studies movement and is generally recognized as the presiding spirit among historians of American literature. In the present volume he has gathered essays and speeches written between 1929 and 1963, all of them about, or exemplifications of, literary history. At the outset he raises the question, "Is Literary History Obsolete?" and the rest of the book is, in effect, the answer. The first section defines the problem, the second demonstrates what a literary historian can do, and the third sums up Spiller's views on the theory of literary history and the present state of scholarship and teaching in American studies at home and abroad. Attention will be paid to whatever Spiller says on these matters. He speaks with the quiet authority and good sense of a man who has devoted a lifetime to the study of the subject.

Spiller's answer is that literary history, though not obsolete, surely is in eclipse: "the critical reading of a work of art has taken over the center of the educational stage." But to put it this way is to miss the more profound implications of the pedagogical revolution marked by the ascendancy of the "new" or "analytical" criticism. The whole emphasis has shifted from literature as a source of knowledge about the past to the immediate, intellectual, and emotional efficacy of literature. Most teachers consider this change salutary, for it puts the emphasis on what is, after all, the unique power of imaginative writing. But this is not to say that historical knowledge is irrelevant, only that it must be subordinated to a primary concern with the work itself, and this is what Spiller wisely recommends.

He is also quite right in thinking that the analytic method is no substitute for the history of literature. But here again the relation between historian and critic is difficult. For the historian must have criteria of selection, and that means that either he becomes a critic or embraces the work of other critics. This difficulty is analogous to the "split" Spiller describes between two parties in the American studies movement: one that is scientifically oriented and concerned to describe the way the culture has developed, and another that is avowedly critical in the sense that it considers assessment a part of its task. The unspoken message of this candid book is that we need scholars capable of both detachment and forthright judgment. For humanistic disciplines that try to avoid this exacting duty the penalty may well be obsolescence.

*Amherst College*

LEO MARX

THE CAREER OF PHILOSOPHY. Volume II, FROM THE GERMAN ENLIGHTENMENT TO THE AGE OF DARWIN. By John Herman Randall, Jr. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 675. \$12.95.)

THIS is the second of three volumes in Randall's narrative, documentary, and critical account of philosophy in modern times. As was true of Volume I, the chief merit of this volume lies in the thoroughness, the perspicacity, and the wit that characterize Randall's historiographical strategy. That strategy entails newly scouring the voluminous and often obscure primary sources in the original languages, weighing the interpretations and evaluations in the main secondary literature, and reaching and supporting his own lively and sometimes highly controversial conclusions.

Many new insights will be found here into the role played by influential figures from about 1700 to 1850 in the making of our present outlook and in the evolution of our present basic problems on the morally good, the scientifically sound, and the fundamentally real. The figures covered include not only the giants of reflective thought but also significant, though insufficiently known, secondary thinkers, writers, and statesmen.

The eighteen chapters on "Building the German Tradition" present an organized perspective on the advance of thought from Leibniz and the "pre-suppositions of German thought" through the *Aufklärung*, Kant, the romantics, Hegel, Marx, and Engels, with due attention to many lesser lights. Four chapters follow on "The Problems of Integrating French Culture," with sparkling characterizations of the philosophes, their successors (the socialists and Positivists), Claude Bernard, and other French explorers of the basic problems of man. Finally, Randall perceptively examines in seven chapters "British Problems—Traditionalism and Individualism," expounding and probing the contributions of Burke, Newman, Coleridge, the Scottish realists, and the utilitarians.

On the basis of two of Randall's three volumes, we may properly, though partly in anticipation, apply to him the admiring words of Catullus' poem extolling Cornelius Nepos for having "dared to exhibit the whole span of world history in a work of three parts, which—by God!—were learned and painstaking" (*doctis, Juppiter, et laboriosis*). Yet Randall is also expert in the art of pithy generalization. With skill, he depicts, in the closing pages of this volume, the progress of philosophy from 1700 to 1850 in these tight statements: "Philosophy had become nationalistic in character. There was now a powerful German tradition, with its philosophy of natural science rooted in Kant, and its philosophy of the historical and social sciences—the *Geisteswissenschaften*, as they were soon to be called—rooted in Hegel and the Romantics. For France, both sets of sciences had been organized in the social synthesis of Comte. And Britain had worked out an official Liberal philosophy that still directed a social science largely to social criticism. Meanwhile, in the more rigid class societies of Germany and France, there was emerging the new social philosophy of a rising class, the industrial workers. Into this divided situation, at the psychological moment, there was dropped the bombshell of Darwin's biological version of evolution, and of man's natural status in Nature."

While Randall's fairness to thinkers of every viewpoint is apparent, I find him somewhat overfriendly to the German romantics and Hegel, and a bit hard on Mill.

## MARXISM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE LIFE OF A DOCTRINE.

By *Bertram D. Wolfe*. (New York: Dial Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 404. \$6.95.)

THE contrast between Mr. Wolfe's explicit thesis and his actual argument is remarkable. On the surface, in the chapter and section headings, and in summary comments along the way, he seems to be supporting the familiar interpretation of Marxism as an ambiguous heritage, accommodating such opposites as democracy and dictatorship, nationalism and internationalism, revolution and reform, science and utopia, and so on. But what, in fact, emerges from his presentation is a surprisingly consistent, single-minded Marxism, and a Marxism, moreover, that can only be described as orthodox Leninist in character.

After opening the study with a lengthy review of militantly nationalistic and even jingoistic statements by Marx and Engels, which showed them to be "among the most warlike men in Europe," Wolfe returns time and again to "the extreme voluntarism of the young Marx of 1844 to the middle of 1850," closely associates Marx's attitudes and policies with those of Babeuf, Blanqui, and the Jacobins, and emphasizes his intense commitment to violent and permanent revolution, his penchant for tight centralization, and his intolerance of weak national minorities. In short, it is the Marx of the *Circular* of March 1850 ("one is tempted to say, Leninist *Circular*") that clearly fascinates Wolfe, in radical contrast to recent students of Marxism who concentrate on the *Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts* of 1844 in an effort to portray Marx as a humanist existentialist.

The disheartening fiascos of the mid-century revolutions, so Wolfe argues, created a new Marx, or at least began the process that was to form a more mature and wiser Marx, one who realized the necessity of waiting until conditions were really propitious for revolution and who conceded the possibility of a democratic road to socialism. It is the British Museum Marx, with his "long mole's work of burrowing through mounds of economic literature" in order to prove that history would inevitably deliver what the revolutionaries had so miserably failed to achieve themselves.

Here, in particular, Wolfe's argument and material get the better of his general thesis. In spite of an occasional liberal-sounding quotation from Marx and a questionable practice of allowing Marx to share the favorable impression made by a number of Engels' revisionist statements, Marx remains very much the Leninist. As Wolfe himself shows, the later Marx "masked his will under the protective disguise of necessity," at no time expressly repudiated his extremist position of 1850, persistently and heatedly opposed the emerging democratic labor movements of England and Germany, distorted the character of the Commune of 1871 in order to impose "a revolutionary legend on the growing Social-Democratic movement that was incompatible with its practical program and day-to-day activities," and constantly displayed a truly Leninist flair for packing congresses, enforcing rigid centralization, purging dissident members, preferring isolation to theoretical compromise, and heaping brutal *ad hominem* invective on fellow socialists.

But all this is secondary to the essential undemocratic aspect of Marx's efforts during these later years; for, Wolfe eloquently contends in the final sections of the book (which should be read first), "it was the *hubris* that prompted [Marx]

to call his critique and proposals *scientific* that was the source of the corruption of his dogmas and his disciples" and the cause of "so many brutalities perpetrated in his name." In other words, "it is from the Marxism of the mature Marx that so much obvious and shocking evil has flowed," and it is to this mature, historicist Marx that Wolfe assigns his most pejorative epithets, "demonic" and "megalo-maniacal."

Wolfe has written a splendid and massive denunciation of this demonic worship of "Strange Gods" and has set against it, repeatedly, passionately, and convincingly, the social philosophy of "meliorism," the modest gradualism that has brought the West to the very threshold of the good society. It is a fine and noble statement. Yet, has it relevance beyond our own blessed realm of utopia? Somehow, the good and true counsel that would have us "walk lightly" since "things are not so simple" seems misplaced in the exploding world that surrounds our sanctuary. In passing, Wolfe criticizes Engels for expecting too much reform from the existing institutions of the First *Reich* and neatly distinguishes between the paths of progress in open societies and those rigidly bound by inflexible traditions. After all, in the vast ranges of our world where Marxism and Leninism are imbibed with no less passion than Wolfe here displays in their abandonment, ideology is far from ending, and, sinfully demonic or not, unbound Prometheus marches on.

*University of Michigan*

ARTHUR P. MENDEL

YOUTH AND COMMUNISM: AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST YOUTH MOVEMENTS. By *Richard Cornell*. (New York: Walker and Company. 1965. Pp. 239. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Richard Cornell of the State University of New York, Buffalo, who received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University for a thesis on the Communist Youth International from 1914 to 1924, has in this book tried to expand his field of study to cover the entire international Communist youth movement from its appearance before the First World War through 1964. He has also sought to write a general book that would be of interest and significance for well-informed Americans seeking knowledge about Communists and their impact on youth groups, certainly an important and laudable goal.

This is, unfortunately, a light and shallow book, almost entirely useless either for the man on the street or for the scholar-teacher. The book is based largely on English sources. It raises none of the important questions, and it provides no insights. Cornell has devoted less than thirty pages to youth movements of the Communist countries since the end of the Second World War. He provides only one page on Communist China, approximately the same amount on each of most of the other countries now ruled by Communists, and seven pages each to the Soviet Union and to East Germany. Moreover, none of the information he produced in this chapter is of any real value or utility.

In short, this is basically a worthless book. One wonders why or how it was published.

*Indiana University*

ROBERT F. BYRNES



MARXISM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Raymond Aron et al.* Edited by *Milorad M. Drachkovitch*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1965. Pp. xv, 293. \$5.95.)

As is to be expected in a volume written by eight very different authors, *Marxism in the Modern World* is somewhat uneven. But the good outweighs the mediocre. Dr. Drachkovitch has wisely eliminated non-Communists from the discussion on contemporary Marxism. This will be resented by many who think of themselves as Marxists, but reject the intellectually conformist and politically authoritarian society which, whatever their particular subdivision, is the goal of Communists.

Six of the eight essays deal with a major Marxist manifestation or variation thereof: Leninism, Stalinism, and Khrushchevism within the Soviet context; Titoism, Maoism, and Castroism outside the Soviet context. Bertram Wolfe discusses Leninism with intimate knowledge and objectivity in an essay that is philosophical as well as historical—probably, for me, the best in the book. The essay on Stalinism is, regrettably, the weakest. Carried away by the emotions and passions of the time long ago when he was an influential party member who broke with Stalin, Boris Souvarine hardly renders justice to the man he hated. Whatever one may think of Stalin, it was he who provided Communism with a workable formula for the organization of the collectivist economy. Stalinist integral planning is on the same level as the Leninist one-party state as a major contribution not only to Communism but also to social nationalist and national socialist movements today ruling a large number of countries. The other four essays, on Khrushchevism by Merle Fainsod, on Titoism by Adam Ulam, on Maoism by Arthur Cohen, and on Castroism by Theodore Draper, are very competent and highly informative. Not everyone will agree with the view of Khrushchevism as largely the advocacy of an economic policy favorable to the consumers; nor with the view of the uniqueness of Castroism. There is likely to be more agreement on Titoism, presented as an attempt which, successful in Yugoslavia, was a failure in terms of world Communism; and on Maoism, as the continuation of Stalinism.

Agreements or disagreements apart, the information that scholars of Marxism require is contained in the six essays. Raymond Aron's introductory chapter on the impact of Marxism in the twentieth century is, as would be expected, a brilliant essay. Easy to read, it contains several remarkable insights lucidly expressed. He stresses the point often made by non-Marxist European scholars that a critique of capitalism is not a blueprint for socialism, Communism, or collectivism. As socialists, Marxists can go ideologically and practically in different directions without betraying the master for the simple reason that there is nothing to betray. Of course no one can measure the extent to which divergent ideas and institutions affect the unity that faith gives to Marxism. In the concluding essay Richard Lowenthal finds in the stages of economic development the factor differentiating Khrushchevism and Maoism, a theory that fails to explain Titoism and Castroism. The effort made in the same essay to discover the principle determining the greater or lesser success of Communism in various

sections of the underdeveloped third world reminds the reader of the painstaking labor of numberless scholars to discover the "laws" governing society. Impressed by the growth of polycentrism, Lowenthal leaves aside the fact that for much of the third world intelligentsia, Communism is more important than its subdivisions, just as centuries ago Christianity spread in spite of the bitter, at times violent, quarrels between Donatists, Nestorians, Arians, and other sects.

Smith College

M. SALVADORI

A SHORT HISTORY OF MACHINE TOOLS. By L. T. C. Rolt. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. 256. \$7.50.)

MACHINE tools are the foundations upon which much of our industrial economy rests, and yet the names and stories of the great toolmakers are relatively unknown. It is to remedy this neglect that L.T.C. Rolt has produced this survey of machine-tool development. An engineer by training, Rolt is the author of several excellent biographies of British inventors and is extremely well qualified to write technological history. His writing is, furthermore, comprehensible to the general historian, and only in a few places do the technical descriptions make it difficult for the nontechnical reader to follow the story. Rolt's work is by no means a comprehensive and definitive history of all machine tools. He limits himself to the development of metal-cutting tools; yet these are the basic tools, "the engineer's machines that make machines." He also limits his story to British and American developments, but he goes beyond Samuel Smiles's biographical works, and he relies heavily on Joseph W. Roe's *English and American Tool Builders* and Robert S. Woodbury's monographs. Unlike many British historians, Rolt gives full credit to American inventors. French and German contributions to machine-tool development are, however, largely neglected, and the recent claims of Soviet historians to Russian priorities in invention are omitted entirely.

Within these limits Rolt has done an excellent job of synthesizing his materials. Avoiding a mere listing of inventions, he makes a serious attempt to relate machine-tool developments with social and economic factors. He makes clear, for example, that it was not capitalistic greed that provided the major stimulus to machine-tool innovation, but the skilled craftsmen themselves who innovated changes. Instead of being designed to replace craftsmen, the great machines of the nineteenth-century British toolmakers were evolved to solve novel production problems. Because existing tools and the contemporary level of craftsmanship were inadequate, inventors sought to "build the skill into the tool." This attempt to free production from the possibilities of human error and fallibility has evolved into today's fully automatic tool.

Rolt is at his best when describing the propagating power of tools, showing how a tool developed to solve a particular production problem frequently proved itself applicable to much wider fields. The interaction of machine tools and their products is also clearly shown.

This book presents an excellent compendium of the history of machine tools, and some one hundred line drawings and photographs illustrate the major features of the machines discussed. Unfortunately there are few footnotes, and it

is not always possible to guess whence Rolt derived the quotations sprinkled throughout his text. This book is a valuable addition to the history of technology, dealing competently with an important yet hitherto neglected aspect of this significant field.

*Case Institute of Technology*

MELVIN KRANZBERG

DIE BEZIEHUNGEN HAMBURG'S ZU SPANIEN UND DEM SPANISCHEN AMERIKA IN DER ZEIT VON 1740 BIS 1806. By *Hans Pohl*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 45.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1963. Pp. xiii, 371. DM 32.)

To previous works on the relations of the Hanseatic cities, chiefly Hamburg, to Spain, Hans Pohl now adds his doctoral dissertation, which concerns the commercial and shipping relations between Hamburg and Spain and those, direct and indirect, between Hamburg and Spanish America in the period 1740 to 1806. The beginning of this period saw the re-establishment of the Hanseatic consulates in Cádiz and Málaga and of the Hanseatic diplomatic representative in Madrid, as well as the appointment by the Spanish king of the first Spanish consul in Hamburg. The period ends with the occupation of Hamburg by Napoleon's troops, the British blockade of the harbors on the Elbe, Weser, and Ems Rivers, and the disappearance of Hamburg's commerce with Spain and Spanish America until after 1815.

Although Pohl does not enter deeply into the diplomatic and political relations, he does treat briefly the conflict between Hamburg and Spain over the former's relation to Spain's bitterest enemy in Africa, Algiers, and of the conflict between Spain and Hamburg over the latter's attitude toward transporting Spanish recruited mercenaries in Hamburg to Spain. Most rewarding to the interested reader are Pohl's chapters on shipping and commerce, which give the details of ships and shipmasters, of harbors and routes, of dangers, obstacles, and losses experienced in navigation—pirates, disease, shipwreck—of exports to, and imports from, Spain, and of the direct commerce of Hamburg with the Spanish possessions in America and the West Indies, including again, names of ships and captains, merchants and their business establishments, commodities, weights, and prices. Most valuable to the specialist are Pohl's appendix, with its documentary reproductions of letters and certificates, of charts and tables concerning Hamburg and Spanish coins, weights and measures, ship traffic, and exports of Hamburg and Spain; his archival information on unprinted sources, used and destroyed, which reveals how arduous has been his searching in the archives of the Hanseatic and Spanish cities; and his registers of names of places and persons. The book is well written, constructed in the best scholarly tradition, a solid contribution to eighteenth-century economic history.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

HENRY M. ADAMS

AMERICA, RUSSIA, HEMP, AND NAPOLEON: AMERICAN TRADE WITH RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC, 1783-1812. By *Alfred W. Crosby, Jr.* ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 320. \$6.50.)

MARRED by flippancy, exaggeration, and shortness of reach for merely verbal effects, this book nevertheless contributes to our knowledge of the subject indicated in the subtitle. Besides providing a convenient summary of American trade with Russia and the Baltic during the period in question, it draws on numerous consular reports, ministerial reports from Copenhagen and St. Petersburg, logbooks, mercantile letter books, and other sources to show the corroding effects of American shipping upon Napoleon's Continental System. Particularly rewarding are discussions of the uses of the British licensing system following the Treaty of Tilsit, the British practice of providing convoys to protect American merchantmen in the Baltic against Danish privateers, and John Quincy Adams' experiences in commercial diplomacy as American minister in St. Petersburg after 1809. The discursive flow of American shipping and commodities in the Baltic during the years 1809-1812 is clearly delineated.

Since most of the book, like most of the trade, concerns the years immediately preceding the War of 1812, it is a pity the author did not frame his assessment of the significance of the trade in political and diplomatic rather than economic terms. As in the case of World War II, Russo-American trade was largely a wartime phenomenon. More narrowly, its burgeoning during the years 1809-1811, inclusive, was a short-lived aftermath of the secret articles of the Treaty of Tilsit. Having agreed therein to shut Russian ports against the British, Alexander became increasingly dependent upon American vessels and goods. It is true that even in peacetime American manufacture of maritime rope depended very heavily upon Russian hemp and that imports of finer Russian linens and "quality" iron from Russia and Sweden were also important. But even at its high point in 1811 American exports to Russia amounted to only 10 per cent of total exports. And, as the author acknowledges, not only were most of the goods shipped of foreign rather than American origin, but "great quantities" of the imports from Russia were re-exported rather than consumed in the United States. The author's conclusion, therefore, that "To an appreciable extent, the American economy survived and prospered because it had access to the unending labor and rough skill of the Russian muzhik" is hardly justified. I find incredible the observation that "the American sailor" was "possibly the most important individual in our young economy."

*Columbia University*

STUART BRUCHEY

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume IX, WAR AND PEACE IN AN AGE OF UPHEAVAL, 1793-1830. Edited by C. W. Crawley. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 748. \$9.50.)

PLANNERS of this volume had the novel, and challenging, idea to disregard 1815 as a chronological watershed and to see what would emerge if one superimposed on the stuff of history a 1793-1830 frame and tried to depict the main contours of what lay within. The aim, the editor states at the outset, is "to offer a portrait." "Stirring episodes, locally decisive battles, commanding personalities," he warns, "may receive no more than passing mention or may even be sought in vain in the index." (Actually, I found most of the important persons I could think of, as well as a good many more, in the index.)

In terms of its avowed purpose of presenting a portrait of the age, the volume does not entirely succeed, for this is not a book to be read as though it were clearly focused on a well-defined subject and moved by some logical progression from a beginning to an end. Although to the uninitiated the title would seem to suggest world history, the book is, in fact, "a survey of Europe and some of its links with distant regions"—a loose field of study that is loosely interpreted. Thus there is no chapter on British internal political history, but the British Navy and British painting and architecture are discussed in sometimes parochial detail. (The architects "William Wilkins and Robert Smirke," the reader is informed, "were not men of genius.") The chronological frame is often breached. Even for France, which provides the pegs for the volume as a whole (the execution of Louis XVI for the beginning, the abdication of Charles X for the end), the narrative goes all the way to 1847, as do the chapters on the Austrian monarchy and on "Literature and Thought," whereas others break off at 1815.

If, however, one takes the volume not for what it professes to be, but for what it actually is—a collection of twenty-five chapters by twenty-six different authors of professional competence on various aspects of the period roughly defined as 1793–1830—there is much of a positive nature to be said for it. Some of the chapters, read for their intrinsic merit, are excellent; most of them reach a high standard. In general, the best chapters are those which take seriously the stated terminal dates and seek a synthesis within this frame. Outstanding is John Walsh's discussion of "Church and State in Europe and the Americas," which handles with sovereign mastery much detail from many places. Another very successful chapter is that on "Science and Technology" by C. C. Gillispie, which combines substance with interpretation in a form well adapted to the non-specialist reader. It ties in well with John Roach's discussion of education. S. M. K. Vyvyan on Russia and W. H. Bruford on Germany succeed admirably in treating social, economic, intellectual, and political developments as an interrelated whole. Unfortunately, the German section, which reflects throughout Bruford's ripe scholarship, breaks off for practical purposes at 1815. Neither the *Zollverein* nor the German Confederation receives more than passing attention anywhere in the volume. F. Thistlethwaite's chapter on "The United States and the Old World" is a tour de force, command of the material expressing itself in a clean style, with the particular fact well selected to illuminate the dominant themes. R. A. Humphrey on the "Emancipation of Latin America" is also very good. In both these instances the periodization 1793–1830 works out well.

A general impression from the volume is one of de-emphasis of the French Revolution in its later phase, and of Napoleon. Napoleon is treated with cool detachment. Although his regime consolidated the achievements of the Revolution in France itself, his foreign policy ran counter to the historic trends, and its most lasting effects were contributions to what he did not want.

As *The New Cambridge Modern History* nears completion, it is still not clear what audience is in view. A substantial knowledge of European history is presupposed, but the absence of bibliographies or discussions of the literature much reduces the value of the individual volume as a work of reference for the advanced student, though perhaps the "Companion to Modern History," which

will be Volume XIII of the series, will partly make up for the deficiency. At present, in my opinion, the better volumes of the Langer series and of "Peuples et Civilisations" are more successful in providing a portrait of an age and a ready work of reference.

Stuttgart, Germany

PAUL R. SWEET

CENT ANS D'HISTOIRE: L'ALLIANCE ISRAËLITE UNIVERSELLE ET LA RENAISSANCE JUIVE CONTEMPORAINE (1860-1960). By *André Chouraqui*. Preface by *René Cassin*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. xvi, 528. 30 fr.)

THIS study of the *Alliance*, based on its surviving archives, covers the role played by this first major international Jewish organization in Jewish emancipation in Europe and in what was the Ottoman Empire. The career of the *Alliance* from 1860 onward reflects some of the principal dramatic changes in Judaism. Founded on the basis of the ideals of the French Revolution, the *Alliance* has been dedicated to working for the emancipation and moral progress of the Jews and to helping those who suffer as Jews. It sought to achieve political equality for Jews everywhere and to educate them so that they could fully participate in their societies.

Though international in theory, the *Alliance* was French oriented in practice. As French influence expanded, the *Alliance* found its natural area of concern that of the Jews from Morocco to Persia and the Balkans. Schools were established there, and from 1862 onward these schools spread French learning and Jewish studies throughout this vast area of forgotten Jewry. The *Alliance* set up the first agricultural school in Palestine, and the first taught in Hebrew. Though involved in early plans for a revival of Judaism in Palestine, the *Alliance* opposed Zionism until after World War II. More and more the *Alliance* devoted itself to educational work in North Africa and the Near East, continuing as best it could through the war, only to see the Jewish communities there disappear as the new Arab nations emerged. Most of its students moved to Israel, where the *Alliance* is still aiding in integrating them into the Israeli world.

Chouraqui's book is a panorama of the activities of the *Alliance* and its leaders and the rapid changes in recent Jewish history. It is a moving story, especially concerning the revival of the Jewish communities of North Africa through the work of the *Alliance*, and then the rapid collapse of these communities as Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria became independent, and as anti-Zionism affected the Arab states. Chouraqui places these events on the vast canvas of Islamic and Jewish history. He also gives touching pictures of the development of Jewish Palestine and of the transformation of the *Alliance's* North African pupils from the elite of their original societies to the bottom of the present Israeli world. The book is also interesting as a study of a kind of early Peace Corps that succeeded very well until the world for which it was designed vanished.

This book is not just a history of the *Alliance* (though it is quite thorough, and includes one hundred pages of important documents), nor just an apologia for its Francophilism, its anti-Zionism, and its lack of involvement in the Dreyfus case (though it tries to make them all plausible). It is more. It is an interpretation

of the major trends of Jewish history in the last one hundred years: the emancipation, the rise of modern anti-Semitism, the elimination of Judaism from most of Western and Central Europe, its tragic drama in the reawakening of the Mediterranean Basin, and the polarization of contemporary Jewry into three centers, the flourishing ones in America and Israel, and the silent one in Russia. In this Chouraqui is an insightful observer and analyst, sensitive to many of the tensions and new developments. His volume should be of interest to all those working on modern Jewish history, as well as to scholars of North Africa, the Levant, the Balkans, and France.

*University of California, San Diego*

RICHARD H. POPKIN

DIE IDEE DES FÖDERALISMUS IM JAHRZEHNT DER DEUTSCHEN EINIGUNGSKRIEGE: DARGESTELLT UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG DES MODELLS DER AMERIKANISCHEN VERFASSUNG FÜR DAS DEUTSCHE POLITISCHE DENKEN. By *Rudolf Ullner*. [Historische Studien, Number 393.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1965. Pp. 164.)

It was rather a matter of coincidental concatenation than of causal or consequential connection that the political unification of the Germany of the Second Reich and the testing and strengthening of the Federal Union of the United States, both by civil wars, occurred during the same decade. Neither, in the opinion of Rudolf Ullner, very materially affected the other.

The author suggests that one would not go far wrong in attributing at least some part of the German emigration to the US during that decade to pessimism as to the political development to be expected. In the years following 1848 even more had emigrated, many of whom were among the most hopeful of the American observers, soon to be again disappointed.

To Ullner, federation (not too strongly centralized), freedom, and democracy go naturally together where there exists the will to federate spontaneously. The Germany of the unification period had not enough of any of these. In addition, there were too many obstacles in the way: established institutions, habits, and behavior patterns; the hereditary princes of the territorial states; and, most formidable of all, Bismarck.

Bismarck despised the petty particularism of the other states while glorifying Prussia's. He was intent on making Prussia first into a great power and only then into a member state of the Empire, which he and Prussia must lead if not dominate. As a master practitioner of a policy of political realism he saw clearly that if Prussia were to achieve in his day the pre-eminent position he coveted for it and for himself it must be done despite Austria and France and in a sense at the expense of the other German states and even of parliamentary government and political liberalism within Prussia itself. Reasonableness and persuasion had their uses, particularly with potentially helpful individuals; compulsion backed by force or the threat of force got results less cheaply perhaps but more quickly. He generally counseled patience and told others he knew how to wait, but he was not always patient while waiting. Bismarck chose therefore the quicker way to unification, making the constitutions of the North German

Confederation of 1867 and of the Hohenzollern Empire, two similar versions of virtually the same thing, into a diplomatic document setting up a league of princes rather than a voluntary federation of vigorous member states.

Ullner cites many German writers, from Treitschke to Frantz, Froebel, Meinecke, Preuss, Wilhelm Mommsen, and Arnold Brecht. Treitschke had hoped before the wars of unification to see the flags of Hohenfriedberg and Leuthen fly again in a civil war that he would have welcomed. The others generally recognized the inherent weaknesses of the imperial structure in comparison with a genuinely popular state, but the will to democracy, like the will to federate, was not strong enough. Perhaps Gladstone expressed more than merely British liberal opinion: Bismarck had made Germany larger and Germans smaller.

*Hiram College*

CHESTER V. EASUM

THE DEUTSCHTUM OF NAZI GERMANY AND THE UNITED STATES. By *Arthur L. Smith, Jr.* [International Scholars Forum, Number 15.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 172. Cloth Glds. 19.25, paper Glds. 16.75.)

WHEN, a decade ago, Martinus Nijhoff began the publication of the "International Scholars Forum (A Series of Books by American Authors)," there was some concern expressed as to the subject matter that the series would encompass. With the publication this year of Professor Smith's volume, the balance between the social sciences and the humanities has been restored. No doubt the editors of the series have taken some pains to ensure that the quality of each volume has attained a scholarly standard. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case; they have varied as much in scholarship as they have in subject matter, so that there is still reason for concern.

Smith has undertaken an arduous task, one that has confounded other historians. As others have discovered, research in the files of the German Foreign Office, of the *Deutsches Ausland-Institut*, of the *Hauptarchiv der NSDAP*, and others necessitates stripping away a mass of racism, "purity of blood," and the nonsense in which Nazism's official policies and intrigues were often clothed. In this endeavor Smith has not always been successful. The reader with a Central European background and with firsthand knowledge of Nazi methods will be disturbed by the nonchalance with which the "official" ideas of such men as Karl Haushofer and Viktor Wagner are accepted at face value. Throughout the study one feels that exposure to the documents alone—and one cannot but admire the quantity of material scrutinized by Smith in his research—has failed to convey to the author the true nature of the agencies, personages, and events he is studying. The Nazis often conjured up fantasies of their own creation that inhabited a half-real shadow world of part fact and part fiction. The intrigue and power maneuvers, the empire building and duplication of efforts, that went on between members of the Nazi hierarchy permeated all levels, and the struggles for position between the DAI, the VDA, and the AO were no exception.

It must be presumed that such a study as this would enjoy a rather specialized audience, and yet translated passages and passages in the original German appear



seemingly without any real logic. Throughout the study and the extensive footnotes the author switches back and forth from the German original to English renderings inferring a hidden meaning in passages that are in fact devoid of any special significance.

The strength of Smith's work, in my opinion, lies in the painstaking research he has undertaken to collate the materials from the National Archives, the Hoover Institution, and congressional hearings. The work constitutes, however, only a beginning to a lengthier study (or series of studies), which must be written, of the highly complex organization that was to have become a primary tool of Nazi *Deutschtum* in the Western Hemisphere. A study of Nazi Germany, and even of the broader question of totalitarianism, requires further work on the international efforts of extreme nationalism. Despite some mechanical weaknesses, one must applaud this pioneer effort and hope for further studies of this kind.

University of Nevada

HAROLD L. KIRKPATRICK

MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY NATIONALISM. Edited by *William J. Bossenbrook*. [The Franklin Memorial Lectures, Volume XIII.] (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 114. \$3.95.)

THIS book is composed of five lectures given in 1963 on "German Nationalism and Fragmentation" (William J. Bossenbrook), "French Nationalism and Western Unity" (Hans Kohn), "The Problem of National Minorities in the USSR" (Alfred G. Meyer), "Nationalism in South Africa" (Amry Vandenbosch), and "Communism's Impact on African Nationalism" (G. Mennen Williams). As the editor notes, the titles of the lectures seem to indicate that nationalism has not changed since the nineteenth century. But, he argues, nationalism has changed because the "frame" is now global, the power basis is now new weapons controlled by two colossal powers, and men have become increasingly mobile. These developments, in putting "a premium on the unity and uniformity of national self-assertion," have encouraged totalitarianism.

Except for Bossenbrook's own, the lectures do not substantiate his case for change in nationalism, a case for which much evidence can be adduced. Rather they are, as he says, "exercises in historical divination . . . revealing the ambiguities" of the present world. Kohn describes the nationalism of De Gaulle—his "dedicated pursuit of national goals"—and pleads for "an open forward-looking society, based upon diversity and tolerance." Meyer summarizes information on the minorities of the USSR; he adds little to what is known through the work of Pipes and others while he points to the known ambiguities in Soviet policies. Vandenbosch emphasizes the contradictions and strains in Afrikaner nationalism as he predicts the "future is with the Africans because of their numerical superiority." Williams does little more than outline State Department policy on Communism and nationalism in 1963 and exhort his hearers to "meet the challenge."

Bossenbrook's lecture raises provocative questions about the contemporary Germanies. The technological revolution and the defeat and collapse of Nazism brought the end of the "traditional frames of *Staat*, *Volk*, and *Beruf*." The past, therefore, no longer provides direction for power politics, national aspiration, and individual careers. There is only "an everlasting present." Hence the vital ques-

tions may no longer concern union or fragmentation but the kinds and degrees of association. The "vertical axis of technological *ordo* may displace the horizontal and historical drive toward national self-realization."

One should not expect public lectures to add materially to knowledge, but rather to summarize, clarify, and raise questions. The lectures of Kohn, Meyer, and Vandebosch (but not of Williams) meet these reasonable expectations. Bossenbrook's lecture digs deeper, and his own "divinations" about Germany's future could be closer to approaching realities than those of old-fashioned nationalists. Nor should one expect of public lectures treatment of problems that require more than forty or fifty minutes to discuss. Except for Bossenbrook's stress on the role of technology, these lectures do not present new hypotheses. We still await major works of synthesis on twentieth-century nationalism that probe deeply and with the tools and insights of the several social sciences. Are the nationalisms of the mid-twentieth century so different as to be new? The question remains open.

Macalester College

BOYD C. SHAFER

DOCUMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1961. Selected and edited by D. C. Watt. With the assistance of John Major et al. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 834. \$17.60.)

THE contents of this volume are defensible; the form is not. If an editor wishes to preserve for posterity an official Albanian profession of "love and respect" for "the fraternal people of Yugoslavia and Greece," a United Nations resolution in favor of peace, or a statement by the Secretary of State, "I thought it might be useful if I were to make some comments on the background of the situation in Viet-Nam—that is, not background comments but comments on the background," we can have little argument with him. Statements made for publication have their uses; besides, the more confidential and possibly more revealing archives simply are not open so soon after the event. But the way in which the material of this volume is presented can be recommended as a model only of how not to edit a collection of documents.

Some of the documents are printed in full, others with certain passages deleted, but with no indication of any kind of the principles governing these deletions. Nor does it help to add "extracts" to the headings in some cases and to forget to do so in others. (But what, in any case, is the point of printing an abbreviated version of President Kennedy's inaugural address, whose complete text is so easily available elsewhere?) The footnotes, similarly, are of an almost exemplary inadequacy. More often than not, obscure references in the text go entirely unexplained, which may of course be just as well if one considers the editors' note to a passing mention of Article 16 of the French Constitution, which suggests that the reader look up the *Journal Officiel*. More consistent is the use of footnotes for identifying people in the text; these are entirely absent. The objection may be a minor one since the documents do not abound with proper names, and perhaps it is common knowledge who Mr. Donnelly or Mehmet Shehu are.

Intriguing, too, is the use of languages. Some speeches by De Gaulle and Couve de Murville are cited in French, others in English, again with no indica-

tion of the reasoning behind this, no more than we are told why, if De Gaulle is permitted the use of his native tongue, a similar privilege is not granted to Adenauer, or why an EEC resolution should be printed in French. Perhaps we should be pleased enough just to have found the document, for this is not always an easy matter—thus De Gaulle's television appeal to the French people during the generals' revolt has to be located in the chapter on "France in the Western Mediterranean." In part the search is made easier by a very good chronological list of documents at the end of the volume, but even here the editors manage to put obstacles in the reader's path by suggesting, in the prefatory note, that only documents covering "topics dealt with in more than one section of this volume" are included, which, as it turns out, is quite untrue.

To have an index to this sort of volume might have spoiled the effect, and, wisely, there is none.

University of California, Santa Barbara

JOACHIM REMAK

## Ancient and Medieval

BABYLON. By *James G. Macqueen*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. 260. \$6.50.)

No subtitle defines the scope of this book, but its jacket design offers a hint by featuring the superb bronze head that was thought to portray the Akkadian ruler Sargon I who created the first empire in Mesopotamia nearly a half millennium before the city of Babylon rose from obscurity. *Babylon* in fact contrives to give nonspecialists a readable and up-to-date historical survey of civilization in the whole of Babylonia (the lower Mesopotamian lands of Sumer and Akkad) from earliest Sumerian times until A.D. 116 when the Emperor Trajan wintered in the ruins of the once great city of Babylon.

A short book that would gather together the results of the burgeoning monographic studies on ancient Mesopotamia, particularly the early periods through the First Dynasty of Babylon (about 1600 B.C.), has been much needed. Professor Macqueen, lecturer in classics at the University of Bristol, has succeeded in supplying this need only in the area of political history, admittedly his major interest. His valuable, tightly packed survey of "dates, kings and battles, dull though they may sometimes be," is clearly based on a thorough investigation of recently published material. The same cannot be said for his nonpolitical chapters. He justifies this discrepancy on the overly optimistic assumption that good syntheses of Babylonian economic and cultural history already exist. The weakness of this half of the book is made more apparent by occasional passages of a high order such as an excellent one-page précis on Babylonian mathematics.

The book is well written, but the admitted dullness of its meatier part, the political chapters, could have been lessened by a sprinkling of relevant quotations from the sources—together with annotation, a conspicuous lack throughout the volume—and by a greater effort to probe for meaning beneath the surface. A more disconcerting weakness is the author's frequent assumption of unqualified certainty not justified by the available evidence. The book includes three useful

maps, eighteen line drawings, and four appendixes: a note on chronology (the author uses the increasingly favored "middle chronology," for example, 1792-1750 for Hammurabi), chronological tables, time chart, and select bibliography.

Tulane University

NELS M. BAILKEY

DIE MINOISCHE KULTUR DES ALTEN KRETA. By *Fritz Schachermeyr*. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag. 1964. Pp. 366. DM 65.)

HERE is a new, authoritative, general history and archaeology of ancient Crete to add to Hutchinson's published a year earlier. Neither of these new works actually displaces Pendlebury's *Archaeology* (1939) for detailed information in small compass, but the nonspecialist is now welcomed to the subject by the new publications, whereas before they appeared he had to fight his way into it.

Schachermeyr's work is a brilliant piece of synthesis with almost (not quite) every datum in its place, salient points strongly brought out and effectively related to one another. It is, in fact, unquestionably the work of a master even though there are faults.

Religion (Chapter xvii) well exemplifies the mastery. It is one of two long chapters in a book consisting mostly of many short chapters. The argument can be summarized as follows: Cretan religion derived from the early Near Eastern fertility cult in its purest form, free from all admixture of the patriarchalism of the nomads. The chief deity was the great Earth Mother. Subordinately, there was the male deity, born of the Great Mother every spring, becoming her lover, dying in the autumn, passing eternally through this same cycle each year. What gave Cretan religion its special character and profundity, however, was the combination of loving piety toward mother earth as provider of food and of life with awe of her in her character as destroyer through the periodic disastrous earthquakes that manifestly also occurred in her element.

These points are not new, but no previous writer has made either the last or the first as decisively as Schachermeyr makes both. Perhaps the soundness of his doctrine will be questioned, but it is far more likely that the doctrine will be accepted as final. There are probably a number of other important themes in the book of which the same success can be expected.

The other long chapter (xxi) deals with speech and script. With this I am not competent to deal critically. It contains much of Schachermeyr's special knowledge: place names, cultural terms, the ancient Cretan script; and Cretan as the speech of Linear A. Tacked on to Chapter xxiii is a very short treatment of the Linear B texts.

Chapter ii on the character of the land is good as far as it goes. The strong emphasis on volcanism is indeed excellent. That theme, which we have already encountered under religion, is given its place as a keynote in the whole composition in this early chapter. Another scholar, Marinatos, has made his own special contribution to the subject, but Schachermeyr's chapter is absurdly short for so important a book—a mere two pages—and much is missing from it altogether.

Another adverse criticism is of Chapter xxii, "The Minoan Culture as a Civilization." It should be said at once that the chapter deals, and by no means ineffectually, with the largest, most important matter in the book, a matter that no

up-to-date work on a special, self-contained historic cultural configuration could ignore. Unfortunately, Schachermeyr has not used any of the considerable literature that deals with such matters. Thus, as happened also in his *Greek History*, he has written on this subject as an amateur. His positive decision, that Crete had its own independent civilization, is undoubtedly correct, and certain points in his discussion have interest, but it is no longer useful to tackle such a matter on the basis of uninformed intuition alone. It is an irony, however, that even Schachermeyr's treatment of it is better than none since historians *de métier* have for so long avoided it. A serious, fully informed treatment of the subject will soon be forthcoming from Schachermeyr; that is something to be anticipated with interest and confidence.

These two shortcomings, minor and major, notwithstanding, this book is a high achievement. It is what was lacking until now on ancient Crete. About a third of the book is historical by periods and known events, an accomplishment that, since it is based almost entirely on archaeological data, may be compared with other brilliant work done in the last two decades, chiefly by American archaeologists and anthropologists, on the prehistoric Andean civilized society. The rest of Schachermeyr's work consists of special studies, mostly archaeological, some of them novel aspects of the record discerned by the author himself. The work is one for which every scholar concerned, including every kind of specialist, owes gratitude to the gifted and learned author.

Kyoto University

RUSHTON COULBORN

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 18. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1964. Pp. xv, 365. \$12.00.)

A NUMBER of articles contained in this volume represent revised versions of papers read at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of 1963. The chairman, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, summarizes the occasion at the end of the volume. George C. Miles writes on Byzantine-Arab relations in Crete and the Aegean area. He reviews the literary evidence for Arab military activities in this region, draws some important conclusions on the internal history of the Muslim emirate of Crete from coins recently discovered, and collects and evaluates the existing archaeological evidence for the presence of Arabs, particularly the Kufic and simulated Kufic ("Kufesque") decoration used in architecture, sculpture, and painting. Marius Canard writes on political, social, and economic relations between the Byzantine and Arab realms down to the eleventh century: exchange of embassies, displacement of individuals or groups, frontier contacts, and commerce. Francesco Gabrieli focuses his attention on Greeks and Arabs in the central Mediterranean area, particularly on Italy and Sicily, and in this connection criticizes once again Pirenne's thesis of Muslim domination over the Mediterranean in the ninth and tenth centuries. He pays tribute to the role of Byzantium in preventing a permanent Arab conquest of Italy and points to the fusion of elements from Byzantine and Arab civilizations in Norman Sicily and Italy. Oleg Grabar's brilliant paper deals primarily with Islamic art and Byzantium, but also discusses important historical

problems: the impact of the Arab conquest on the Byzantine provinces of Syria and Palestine and the relationship of Byzantine and Arab notions of imperial power. He points out that the architectural patterns of Middle Eastern cities formerly under Byzantine rule changed very little during the first centuries of Muslim domination but that in the countryside Ommiad palaces and large, rich, private houses were built on agricultural lands based on a complex and expensive hydraulic system developed in late Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine times. Architecturally, these new Ommiad palaces were revivals of pre-Byzantine architecture, just as the new mosques in the cities resembled the Roman (pre-Byzantine) *temenos*. In the palaces there also developed an Arab iconography of princely power, the themes of which were inspired by Sassanid or Byzantine models. One of Grabar's principal conclusions is that "Byzantine art provided the new culture with a vocabulary and with the rudiments of a grammar, but that the language developed therefrom was a new one." Gustav Von Grunebaum surveys in highly suggestive fashion "Parallelism, Convergence and Influence in the Relations of Arab and Byzantine Philosophy, Literature and Piety." Attitudes toward ancient philosophy, science, and classical poetry separate rather than unite Arabs and Byzantines, and the failure of both to develop a dramatic literature seems attributable to different causes (here Von Grunebaum ignores the strong dramatic element in the Byzantine liturgy and in Byzantine religious poetry). Both cultures show a strong interest for the personality in history, with Muslim historiography excelling in biographical portrayal (he fails to mention the vast hagiographical literature of Byzantium, but has interesting remarks on Byzantine autobiography). The cultural revivals that occurred both in the Byzantine and Arab worlds, in the latter part of the eleventh century, intensified the "parallelism and convergences" of the two societies. They produced a new "realism," the emergence of popular elements in art and literature, a new view of man in his relation to God (both Byzantines and Arabs differ from the West in a more optimistic view of human nature; an excellent discussion), the development of mysticism in both cultures. In spite of this increased convergence between Byzantium and Islam no common mentality developed because, so Von Grunebaum thinks, in the last centuries of its existence the Byzantine world reformulated its basic theological and philosophical outlook in the course of its controversies with the West and thus with a Western, rather than an Eastern, orientation. John Meyendorff writes a useful article on Byzantine views of Islam, musters Byzantine polemical literature, canonical and liturgical texts, official letters and saints' lives, and pays special attention to evidences for Byzantine knowledge of the Koran. Especially interesting is his treatment of an episode occurring in 1178 and showing two different points of view about Islam: an extreme position willing to anathematize the God of Mohammed and a moderate view that left open the possibility that "the God of Muhammad" might be one and the same as the Christian God.

Two articles are devoted to numismatics. Four eminent specialists, including the editor, A. R. Bellinger, supply a catalogue of Dumbarton Oaks' collections of late Roman gold and silver coins from Diocletian to Eugenius, which contain a great number of unique or rare items. Andreas Dikigoropoulos, in an article on the Constantinopolitan *solidi* of Theophilus, discusses the difficult question of the date of Michael III's birth (result: between July 22 and August 13, 838) and other

chronological problems and thus arrives at a new scheme for relating the five types of solidi issued under Theophilus to the general chronology of his reign. E. Cruikshank Dodd considers two stamped silver plates, from the reigns of Justin II and Constans II, which came to her attention after the publication of her book on *Byzantine Silver Stamps*. Much of the volume is devoted to the monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul. In this section, under the general editorship of Cyril Mango, is found a final report on archaeological investigations made in 1929 by Theodore Macridy, but never previously published. This is followed by another archaeological article, by A. H. S. Megaw, which is the fruit of the conservation work initiated by the Byzantine Institute in 1960. Of importance for the historian are the additional notes by Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, which contain valuable information on the founder of the monastery, Constantine Lips (who died in 917), and on the members of the Palaeologan dynasty buried in the church, as well as the text of pre-Christian funerary inscriptions coming from a Roman cemetery in the vicinity of the later church and found in the course of the excavations. The volume also contains a paper by David Pingree on "Gregory Chioniates and Palaeologan Astronomy," a brilliant study by Kurt Weitzmann on an encaustic panel of the seventh century discovered by him, the "Jephthah Panel in the Bema of the Church of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai," and a report by Mango and Hawkins on archaeological work carried out at the Fethiye Camii at Istanbul and at the monastery of St. Chrysostom at Koutsovendi on Cyprus.

University of Michigan

PAUL J. ALEXANDER

Η ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΥ. Ι. ΕΞΩΤΕΡΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ [Macedonia until the Death of Archelaus. Volume I, Foreign Policy.] By *Dem. Kanatsoules*. (Thessalonike: no publisher. 1964. Pp. 126.)

MR. Dem. Kanatsoules has examined the foreign policy of ancient Macedonia to the death of King Archelaus in 399 B.C. He contends that this period of Macedonian history is difficult to reconstruct in view of the fragmentary sources; furthermore, the period has received relatively little attention from modern scholars. The present volume is a worthy attempt at a systematic examination of the available material.

This study is divided into seven chapters describing Macedonian relations with the Persians in the east, the smaller Macedonian kingdoms in the north, the Illyrians and Thessalians in the northwest and south, and the Athenians and Spartans farther southward. Macedonia, comprising a rather narrow plain touching the northwestern Aegean, developed gradually into an important Greek state. In its territorial development Macedonia's geographic location exposed the nation to outside influences and dangers that nearly disrupted its growth. The Persian defeat in Greece, coupled with Macedonian determination and diplomacy, however, preserved the nation. The Illyrian attacks were predatory raids tending to annoy or harass, while common interests and dangers with the Thessalians helped maintain normal relations between Macedonia and Thessaly. In the case of Athens and Sparta, Macedonia favored a neutral position in their struggle, but economic ne-

cessity and political and military pressures compelled it to cultivate the Athenian alliance.

Although the author has not discovered any important new sources, he has read widely in the available literature and shows familiarity with his subject. He discusses the wide synthesis of conclusions, most of them familiar, injecting his own interpretations. Briefly, Kanatsoules has critically evaluated foreign affairs and suggests its objectives, frustrations, and achievements.

The format of the book is not standard; the bibliography is at the beginning, and the table of contents is at the end, following the index. Many interesting and debatable points have been documented, but some inaccuracies in the footnotes tend to confuse the reader. It is to be hoped that Kanatsoules' second volume on Macedonia's internal history will be proofread.

University of Kentucky

WILLIAM P. KALDIS

GAULOIS ET FRANCS: DE VERCINGÉTORIX À CHARLEMAGNE. By Robert Latouche. [Bibliothèque historique.] ([Grenoble:] Arthaud. 1965. Pp. 388. Cloth 48 fr., paper 38 fr.)

ROBERT Latouche is living proof of the thesis that French scholars, especially medievalists, become truly productive only after attaining their seventieth year, for in the fourteen years since reaching that point he has published a steady stream of works, *Gaulois et Francs* being the latest to appear. In it Latouche is seeking to trace the social history of what later became France from the eve of the Roman conquest to the formation, in 843, of Charles the Bald's West Frankish kingdom. This fact might suggest that *Gaulois et Francs* was intended as a companion study to *The Birth of Western Economy*, Latouche's scholarly analysis of economic development in the early Middle Ages, but such is not the case. It is, rather, a predecessor of his popularly written *Film de l'histoire médiévale en France* which takes the story from the Treaty of Verdun to the Hundred Years' War.

He is here particularly concerned with the social and cultural impact of the Romans on the Gauls and, in turn, with that of the Franks on the Gallo-Romans. His evidence is exclusively literary, and his method of presentation is largely that of long quotations from the sources, bridged by short paragraphs of his own analysis. As a result, some students may find this work an excellent introduction to the literary materials at our disposal. Others, however, may have reservations. Most contemporary literature was not consciously directed at the problems of social change and cultural interpenetration, and because Latouche relies so heavily on it, the consequence is a presentation slightly at variance with his real purpose. This weakness is more apparent because the book is profusely illustrated with two hundred photographs of art work from the period, pictures whose mute testimony reveals more about cultural change than any amount of literary evidence alone could suggest. Nevertheless, while it is regrettable that Latouche did not choose to make use of nonwritten sources in his text, this defect is probably minor and excusable in a work of popular history. One still hopes, however, that he will return to more serious studies, for in the years following the publication of his first book in 1910 the scholarly world has come to appreciate the value of his learning and wisdom.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD



## TRENDS IN MEDIEVAL POLITICAL THOUGHT: ESSAYS. By P. R. L.

*Brown et al.* Edited with introduction by *Beryl Smalley*. (Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell. 1965. Pp. xii, 139. 25s.)

DESIGNED, it seems safe to assume, as one more attempt to bridge the medieval gap in the political science requirements for undergraduates in the Honours School of Modern History at Oxford, this volume consists of lectures delivered in 1963 by seven Oxford dons and concerned, respectively, with St. Augustine, Carolingian monarchical theories, polemics of the Gregorian era, medieval political Aristotelianism, Marsilius of Padua and Dante, the postglossators, and the conciliarists. Though they are lectures, they do not always show much sign of having been written with oral delivery in mind, but they read quite well, and most of them are workmanlike, scholarly contributions.

It will not surprise those familiar with the work of Professor Wallace-Hadrill if I single out his chapter on "The *Via Regia* of the Carolingian Age" as probably the most satisfactory piece in the book. At the other end of the scale, the Reverend T. M. Parker's essay, "The Conciliar Movement," is easily the most disappointing (Figgis misunderstood?). Of the others, M. H. Keen's discussion of "The Political Thought of the Fourteenth-Century Civilians" is especially valuable as one of the very few short introductions to this important topic available in English.

One general criticism is in order. Given the remoteness and complexity of medieval modes of thought and the inaccessibility of the sources to most of those whose primary concern is with the enduring problems of political theory, any new attempt to effect a short and relatively painless introduction to the medieval contribution is likely to prove popular, especially among hard-pressed teachers of courses in the history of political thought. It may be doubted, however, if this is the book they need. In the introduction Miss Smalley tells us that the contributors to the volume "are all historians by training, who see political theories as an aspect of history." By this she seems to mean that their interests lie in the history of the particular period they discuss rather than in the problems or even in the history of political theory in general. She need not have drawn our attention to the fact. It shows, above all, in the narrowness of perspective that leads some of them to suggest that the Carlyles and Figgis "exaggerated the significance of resistance theories in medieval thought." Perhaps so. But one cannot help suspecting that Figgis and the Carlyles, even if confronted with the up-to-date and collective *expertise* of the present volume, would still choose to emphasize the importance of those resistance theories. And they would be correct to do so.

In a world dominated throughout the greater part of its history by political theories and ideologies of a totalitarian mold, the ultimate medieval insistence that the polis was in essence a merely secular organism, that the authority of government was limited, and that force itself should not be rejected as a means to ensure that limitation was a truly momentous departure. If we hear little of this from the contributors to the present volume it is, no doubt, because their primary concern is with their own scholarly specialties. But, precisely because of this, the older and very individual labors of Figgis and the Carlyles, distinguished as they are by a breadth of vision more truly commensurate with the scope of the subject, suffer surprisingly little from comparison.

*Williams College*

FRANCIS OAKLEY

LA JUSTICE SEIGNEURIALE DE L'ABBAYE DE SAINT AMAND: SON ORGANISATION JUDICIAIRE, SA PROCÉDURE ET SA COMPÉTENCE DU XI<sup>e</sup> AU XVI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Henri Platelle*. [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Number 41.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la R.H.E.; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1965. Pp. 462. 390 fr. B.)

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY chronicler remarked that Saint-Amand was "the noblest and most beautiful abbey" to be found between the Seine and the Rhine. The monks of Saint-Denis, especially, and those of other monastic foundations might have contested this assertion, but even they would have recognized hyperbole as proper and permissible in these circumstances. After reading this long, well-organized, scholarly monograph, one has little doubt of the intrinsic importance of the community and the abbey it examines. This is not a first work dealing with Saint-Amand, for Professor Platelle had already prepared the basis for his study in previous publications. The most recent and most elaborate of these is his *Le Temporel de l'Abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (1962).

Here Platelle has met the challenge of François Ganshof's contention that Flemish seignorial institutions have not been widely studied. Even though focusing attention primarily on judicial and legal institutions and excluding other items of feudal practice that have close affiliation with these, the results of the author's investigations are extraordinarily rich and rewarding. He notes, and we must agree, that the evidence for the early years is too often annoyingly sparse and spotty, but we are so often faced with similar situations for the history of the entire period that this comes as no surprise. What evidence he has been able to gather from published and unpublished sources is used with discrimination.

During the epoch of reform under Richard of Saint-Vanne in the early eleventh century the seignury of Saint-Amand reached its definitive limits and retained surprising stability during the long period to the end of the old regime. The possibility of great complexity as characteristic of its history is obvious when its geographical and political position is consciously noted. Though even in the later Middle Ages it possessed many attributes of the frontier community in a society that could not abandon completely feudal modes of thought, Saint-Amand was coveted by Flemish counts, diocesans of Tournai, authorities of Lille, lords of the Hainaut, and after 1297 by French monarchs, until it was seized by the Emperor Charles V in 1521.

Platelle has divided his study into two sections of sixteen chapters, devoting almost equal space to the period when the Flemish counts were, in person or through their lieutenants, *advocati* of the abbey and the subsequent period of French monarchical domination in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. To illustrate by reference to only one chapter in the first part, we learn of the persistence of Carolingian codes and practices that endured in a later feudal world. There we encounter still tribunals that heard general pleas three times a year, note the appearance of a feudal court, the continuity of the *échevins*, the role of the *advocatus*, that of the lay provost and of his monastic counterpart. The author carefully warns against explaining tendencies that seem to indicate on superficial observation novelties that are nothing more than old practices that had been used for several centuries or more as part of the communal developments of the

eleventh century. Only a perfunctory and superficial indication of the richness of this volume can be given in a review restricted by limits of space. All students of feudal institutions will welcome and recognize the merits of this exemplary work.

*Northwestern University*

GRAY C. BOYCE

SETTLEMENT AND SOCIETY: A STUDY OF THE EARLY AGRARIAN HISTORY OF SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE. By *H. E. Hallam*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 277. \$11.50.)

In this essentially descriptive, rather than analytical, work, the author provides a massive documentation of the agrarian and social history of the low-lying area round the northern and western shores of the Wash in the period 1086 (Domesday Book, his earliest source of quantitative information), to about 1250. Making full use of monastic chartularies, manorial extents, chronicles, and a variety of other sources, he brings together almost all the available information about the building of dikes and drains that made possible the extensive reclamation from fen and sea of these years. This is the nub of the book. On climate and sea floods, on fenland field systems, land use, social structure, and demography the author has much to say, but not a great deal that is specially new and significant, certainly not enough to justify the extravagant claim made by Professor Postan in the preface that "Dr. Hallam has made much of medieval economic history more intelligible." He has not. But, on reclamation, to which the whole of the first half of the book is devoted, he has made an important contribution to knowledge. Even here, though, he has his limitations. Above all, the question of what happened after 1300 is left unanswered.

For an elaborate topographical study such as this the maps are curiously inadequate. Though personally familiar with much of the area discussed, I found the book incomprehensible without the relevant one inch to one mile Ordnance Survey maps. The author makes no concessions to the lay reader. A nonspecialist may know what "assart" and "sokeland" are, but how about "offoldfal," "sykes," "selions," "stong," and "shift ing"? Some of these words are explained in text or notes, but there is no glossary. In spite of the technicalities, there is something amateurish about this book. The elaborate index (seventy-two references to "meadow") has no entry under "rain," but this may be found under the heading "heavy." The author is at home with charters, but not with the chroniclers. He comments on the large number of rainy years recorded by the chroniclers in the first half of the thirteenth century and their paucity in the second half of the century, forgetting that this is simply due to the termination of Matthew Paris' chronicle, with its uniquely detailed annual meteorologic report, in 1259. He appears to be unaware of Paris' authorship of the *Flores historiarum*.

Prospective clients of the Cambridge University Press may do well to note that four years apparently elapsed between the completion of the manuscript and the publication of this book. Finally, readers of this journal ought perhaps to be warned that, for Hallam, *AHR* stands for *Agricultural History Review*.

*University of Hull*

RICHARD VAUGHAN

EADMER'S HISTORY OF RECENT EVENTS IN ENGLAND (*HISTORIA NOVORUM IN ANGLIA*). Translated from the Latin by *Geoffrey Bosanquet*. With a foreword by *R. W. Southern*. (Philadelphia: Dufour. 1965. Pp. xv, 240. \$6.95.)

FOUR of the six books in the *Historia Novorum* by Eadmer (Edmer) are now available in a complete English translation. These four books, which pertain to Archbishop Anselm's pontificate, 1093-1109, represent the original work. They are a most important source for the history of the investiture quarrel in early twelfth-century England, as well as for Canterbury's claims to primacy over York. In defending Anselm's permission for Matilda, daughter of King Malcolm of Scotland, to marry Henry I of England, Eadmer also touches upon a political topic that had constitutional repercussions during the reign of King Stephen. Yet, readers familiar with such recent studies on Anselm as Norman Cantor's and R. W. Southern's will be aware that the *Historia's* value is partially undermined by Eadmer's Gregorian bias and his misrepresentation of Canterbury's case against York.

This translation is based upon the best printed Latin text, M. Rule's edition for the Rolls Series (*Eadmeri Historia Novorum In Anglia Et Opuscula Duo De Vita Sancti Anselmi Et Miraculis Ejus* [1884]). The best of the two extant manuscripts, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 452, formed the basis of Rule's text; sample comparisons of Rule's text that I made with it revealed only minor discrepancies. Bosanquet's text has an adequate index, but absence of critical apparatus will limit its scholarly use. A critical, bilingual edition of the *Historia* is still needed.

Such observations are not meant to gainsay this work's lasting value for the general reader or Bosanquet's fine achievement. His translation makes Eadmer's Anselm live. Bosanquet's strong, idiomatic English is a delight to read; with few exceptions, its clear and simple style sustains just the quality of dramatic tension Anselm's apologist intended. There are few errors. The translation of "sovereignty" from "dominium" in several places is anachronistic. The date of Pascal II's letter to Archbishop William of Rouen should read March 28, not March 25. Finally, Southern's remark in his foreword that the *Historia Novorum* "was unknown in the Middle Ages to all except the monks of Canterbury" could stand qualification. The influence of Eadmer's work upon William of Malmesbury in some form is indicated by the latter's references in his *Gesta Regum* and *Gesta Pontificum*. Indeed, the methodological influence of the one's *Historia Novorum* upon the other's *Historia Novella* is worth pondering.

University of South Carolina

ROBERT B. PATTERSON

OM PAVE EUGENIUS III'S VERNEBREV FOR MUNKELIV KLOSTER  
AV 7. JANUARY 1146. By *Arne Odd Johnsen*. [Avhandlingar utgitt av  
Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Ny Serie.  
Number 7.] (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 1965. Pp. 55. N. kr. 8.50.)

THIS is another in the series of studies that the author has published concerning Norwegian convents and cloisters in the Middle Ages. The Letter of Protection is

dissected, compared to later similar documents for Norwegian foundations, and each of its sections is studied in terms of the formulas used in simultaneous products of the papal secretariat. The letter, the first in point of time to Norway that has survived, is not referred to in other documents issued within the next generation and has two or three readings that Giry has referred to the fourteenth rather than the twelfth century. Johnsen shows that letters to England and Germany employ these phrases earlier than Giry's examples and that the document must be accepted as genuine.

He unravels the circumstantial tangle surrounding the plea for it by the Norwegian Benedictine convent and shows that it accomplished two aims of those who sought it. In the first place, it gave added security against royal interference, which had occurred most forcibly in nearby instances with disastrous effect, and it also guaranteed to Munkeliv a continuance as a strictly Benedictine foundation, at a time when the rising emotional tide in Western monasticism was either founding new Cistercian monasteries or, in many instances, transforming earlier Benedictine houses to Cistercian ones. The expression is clear, the scholarship meticulous; the contribution minor but valuable.

*University of Southern California*

FRANCIS J. BOWMAN

THE VINLAND MAP AND THE TARTAR RELATION. By R. A. Skelton *et al.* With a foreword by Alexander O. Vietor. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 291. \$15.00.)

WHEN this volume appeared in the fall of 1965, it created a furor reminiscent of that generated upon Columbus' return in 1493 from his first voyage of discovery. While questions were answered by each enterprise, more were raised. The map and relation were acquired by the antiquarian bookseller Laurence Witten, of New Haven, from a "private collection in Europe." At this point Thomas E. Marston, by chance, acquired for the Yale Library a manuscript portion of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*. Witten borrowed this manuscript and noted that its handwriting, watermarks, and wormholes indicated it to have been originally bound with the Vinland Map and Tartar Relation. The stage was thus set for the present elaborate analysis. Marston's careful discussion supports the authenticity of the manuscripts and concludes that they were prepared in the Upper Rhineland about the middle of the fifteenth century, perhaps during the Council of Basel, which lasted from 1431 to 1449.

The scholarly acumen applied to the many problems posed by the Vinland Map and Tartar Relation is impressive. George D. Painter's editing of the Tartar Relation, finished in 1247 by the Franciscan friar, C. de Bridia, is exhaustive, impeccable, and authoritative. The narrative, which provides an independent primary source on the Carpini Mission to Central Asia in 1245-1247, is reproduced in facsimile, as well as printed in its original Latin with a parallel English translation. The analysis of the accompanying world map (showing the "Island" of Vinland), by Painter's colleague in the British Museum, R. A. Skelton, is similarly painstaking and learned. Every squiggle in the outline of lands depicted on the map, every word of its captions, and every possible source of its creation are discussed and evaluated. Since so much of the analysis is by necessity speculative, it is impossible

to speak with assurance about alternative views. The fact that other interpretations are possible is made explicit in Painter's "second opinion" on the Vinland Map, offered "without controversial intention," as a supplement to Skelton's fuller analysis. Space does not allow detailed consideration of the major points at issue, but concerning all of them—specifically Painter's belief in the possibility of an original model not drawn exclusively from an Andrea Bianco-type map, his belief that the *Magnum mare Tartarorum* is not an interpretation of the Caspian Sea as a gulf of the northern ocean, his defense of the possibility that the Vinland Map and the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century maps of Sigurdur Stefánsson and Bishop Resen have a common origin, and his assertion of the possibility of a twelfth-century Norse settlement in America by implication from the voyage of Bishop Eirik Gnupsson—his arguments seem to me more soundly based and imaginatively reasoned than Skelton's. It is to the credit of Alexander Viator and Skelton that Painter was encouraged to present his views, despite their divergence from Skelton's own.

Of perhaps as much interest as the scholarly achievement itself is the way it was brought to the attention of the scholarly world. Marked by the tightest secrecy in its preparatory stages, the book was released the day before Columbus Day with a public relations efficiency not usually achieved by university presses. The outcry from Italian-American groups against what they considered the implied denigration of Columbus and the outpouring of misinformed commentary by those who imagined the map to be the first proof that the Vikings discovered America before Columbus are an amusing commentary on the foibles of a history-conscious public. Even scholarly reviews have been affected by the publicity and secrecy, with reviewers sometimes attacking the public reaction to the book rather than the book itself, and sometimes betraying annoyance at their exclusion from the knowledge granted to the authors in the prepublication period. A more significant aspect of the fracas is the demonstration it gives of the public's evaluation of the importance of graphic evidence in comparison with literary evidence in establishing the Norse presence in America. Though the depiction of Vinland is, in Painter's words, little more than "a generalized and degenerate simplification of the saga narratives," it now, in the public mind, takes on enormously greater importance than the well-known sources from which it was largely derived.

As Viator points out in his introduction, the book is "a preliminary work" and "a springboard for further investigation." Already scholars around the world have taken up the challenge. Preliminary attacks upon the authenticity of the map itself, by scholars as eminent as E. G. R. Taylor and G. R. Crone, have appeared. A final evaluation must await the outcome of the scholarly controversy now being joined. Nevertheless, a gigantic first step has been taken and a solid foundation laid for the debate, from which the study of the history of cartography will surely emerge renewed and invigorated.

*Smithsonian Institution*

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

DIE LEHRE VON DEN UMSTÄNDEN DER MENSCHLICHEN HAND-  
LUNG IM MITTELALTER. By *Johannes Gründel*. [Beiträge zur Geschichte

der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters. Volume XXXIX, Number 5.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1963. Pp. li, 680. DM 84.)

IMPRESSIVELY substantial, this study explores in its historical setting a problem that concerns the modern philosopher and theologian as well as his medieval predecessors: the role of circumstances in determining the moral value of human actions.

Dr. Gründel's own perspective is clear from the start; it is that of a moderate Catholic moral theology, seeking to avoid both an outmoded legalistic casuistry and what appears as the relativism and subjectivism of modern existential ethics, with its emphasis on "situation" as the determining factor in human action. Between these extremes, he believes, a reliable middle way is offered by the doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, for whom man's reason was the criterion of the morally good act and the basis of his essential freedom in the choice of good and evil. But Gründel has done far more than to expound the demonstrable merits of the great Dominican's moral teaching. He has assembled and examined an immense body of materials relating to the evolution of theories of circumstances from antiquity to the Age of Aquinas. Although his findings are presented as a well-ordered series of "source-analyses," the lines of thematic development are carefully gathered together at the end of each chapter, and a final historical summary provides a lucid map of the long road traversed here. It begins with the classical rhetoricians who bequeathed to later thinkers, along with the often repeated topics, *quis, quid, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando*, a concept of circumstances as embracing all that leads to the full knowledge and valid judgment of an action. Much the longest part (at least five-sixths) of this study, however, is devoted to the theologians and canonists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, both the more and the less eminent individuals and groups, whose relevant works are meticulously scrutinized. This emphasis is just, for Christian speculation on the problem of circumstances had its beginning in the deepening and enrichment of theological inquiry that began with Anselm of Canterbury and his contemporaries. Here interest began to shift from the sin to the sinner, from the problems involved in assessing the responsibility for sin, dominant in the early medieval penitentials, to the much more profound question of what constitutes the essence of a moral action and what is only incidental to it. How this question was debated by Abelard, who answered it most radically by insisting on intention as the sole criterion of moral value, and his successors, who gradually evolved more positive conceptions of the ethical significance of circumstances, is the heart of Gründel's inquiry. He shows us how their discussions were influenced by the rapidly developing theology of the sacrament of penance, by the impact of Aristotle's ethics, and by the rise of the mendicant orders, which produced the most notable theorists on this problem and the most prolific authors of those manuals which answered the practical needs of confessors and penitents. In the confessional, learned speculation and the complex problems of individual consciences, theories of circumstances and their practical applications, met most directly.

Though students of social and religious history may wish that Gründel had examined the implications of these encounters more fully, both they and specialists in medieval thought will be grateful to him for examining for the first time an

important area of medieval ethics and moral theology. They will be especially grateful for his exploitation of unpublished materials: more than three hundred manuscripts are cited here, often at considerable and illuminating length.

Millbrook, New York

MARY M. McLAUGHLIN

MAGNA CARTA. By J. C. Holt. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 377. \$11.50.)

MAGNA CARTA AND ITS INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD TODAY. By Sir Ivor Jennings. [Prepared for British Information Services by the Central Office of Information.] ([London:] H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. 43. 75 cents postpaid.)

THESE timely volumes, both designed to commemorate the 750th anniversary of Magna Carta, are very dissimilar. The first is a detailed treatise, apparently intended to supersede that of McKechnie; the second is little more than a learned pamphlet, addressed to a wide audience. The one is by a historian who deliberately departs from the legal interpretation; the other is by a lawyer who stresses the influence of the Charter on law. The one concentrates attention on the period 1199-1225; the other brings the survey of the Charter and its consequences down to the present time and has much to say of its importance in relation to Parliament, to the American Declaration of Independence, and to the Commonwealth.

Sir Ivor Jennings, if we may take the shorter work first, probably exaggerates the direct influence of Caps. 17 and 24 of King John's Magna Carta on the common law; the later independence of the judiciary in England was the result of a much more complex process than is here suggested. Nevertheless, it is impossible to exaggerate the ultimate importance of the affirmation in 1215, at least by implication, that even the king was under the law. Similarly, the connection between Magna Carta and Parliament is hard to establish. On the other hand, a discussion of it is still important, though it is going too far to say that the *Confirmatio Cartarum* of 1297 required that no aid *or* duty be raised without the common assent of the whole realm.

Professor Holt's purpose is at once more and less ambitious. He provides a detailed study of the Charter of 1215 and its reissues, in the context of the politics, administration, and political thought of England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but he does not provide a set discussion of their place in the history of English law and liberty. The reign of John was, indeed, an age of decision. Government power had grown impressively, without commensurate growth in the contribution of the community to political life. Feudal methods were no longer adequate to preserve feudal cooperation between the king and his magnates; other methods were extremely difficult to provide. This challenge confronted Englishmen after the great Angevin work of expansion. It appears in Holt's work, but hardly with the clarity and emphasis that its importance requires.

Nor is the significance of the baronial accomplishment really brought out, in spite of Holt's impressive details. Indeed, it is partly obscured by his poor opinion of the barons themselves. They did not act, he believes, from conscious determination; their minds had been "conditioned." They were not unintelligent, but they



were nevertheless "blinkered." On the other hand, they managed to see the whole process leading to Magna Carta, though they could not see when or how it would end, which was no mean feat in itself. The importance of the baronial community of the realm is recognized; but because it was dominated by great baronial families Holt argues that even this was "ill-formed." He is quite unappreciative of baronial experiences in the exercise of responsibilities for the welfare of the realm, for example in 1191-1194 or 1216-1227.

Unlike Jennings, Holt makes little effort to trace later attempts to develop the restraints upon the ruler prescribed in 1215 into a more sophisticated limitation of rule through Parliament. Perhaps no treatment could include within one volume the whole scope and content of the sequel to the Charter; it is, however, a pity that Holt, pre-eminently qualified to do justice to this topic, has so restricted his aim. Apart from this conspicuous limitation, his mastery of the subject is admirable. The book will be invaluable for all future studies of the Charter. We are given a helpful list of references, but it does not replace a bibliography. Jennings, the lawyer, and not Holt, the historian, better expresses the perspectives of history; but between them the two volumes worthily commemorate an episode that for 750 years has left its mark on English constitutional development and affected innumerable lives.

*University of Toronto*

B. WILKINSON

EDWARD III AND THE SCOTS: THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF A MILITARY CAREER, 1327-1335. By *Ranald Nicholson*. [Oxford Historical Series, Second Series.] ([New York:] Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 285. \$4.80.)

In his introduction Dr. Nicholson states that in selecting a restricted period of Edward III's reign for the study of the formative years of a military career he wishes to consider not only the course of the Anglo-Scottish wars but also the influence of these wars on political, social, and economic developments and the reaction of these factors upon the course of the war itself.

Basing his study on contemporary sources, including both records and chronicles, printed or manuscript, the author presents in great detail the developments of the Anglo-Scottish conflict from 1327 to 1335, covering the recruitment, equipment, and financing of the armed forces, the royal propaganda, the strategy and tactics of the campaigns, diplomatic negotiations, including those with the French, the conflicting claims of Bruce and Baliol, the role of the disinherited, and the terms of the various truces or peace settlements. One of the interesting facts that emerges from this mass of detail is the use by the English at Dupplin and Halidon of the tactics, so successful later at Crécy and Poitiers, of fighting a defensive action on foot and using their archers with deadly effect. The attempted use of sea power to support the land campaigns is also carefully brought out. In 1335 Moray's victory at Culblean marked the turning point of the wars; after this, in Nicholson's opinion, the struggle was no longer a Scottish civil war but "a national war between England and a kingdom ravaged and anarchic, but increasingly united in sentiment."

Seven helpful maps are included in the text, and significant information on

the armed forces for the campaign of 1335 is presented in appendixes. The volume concludes with a helpful bibliographical note on secondary works and on the sources, a select bibliography of books, articles, and source materials, and a useful index. In trying to show the interrelation of military events and political, social, and economic developments the author is not entirely successful, possibly because the reader tends to be overwhelmed by the military detail. This scholarly volume does, however, achieve one of its purposes: "to provide a little of the information" whereby the thesis that Edward III through his wars and propaganda "turned a feudal kingdom into a nation" might be supported or refuted.

*Western College for Women*

ISABEL R. ABBOTT

THE COMMONS AND THEIR SPEAKERS IN ENGLISH PARLIAMENTS, 1376-1523. By J. S. Roskell. ([Manchester:] Manchester University Press; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1965. Pp. ix, 390. \$9.50.)

ROSKELL has combed the Rolls of the Parliaments and countless other records for facts about the history of the medieval Commons and their Speakers. Unfortunately, much of the evidence is "maddeningly fragmentary and tantalizingly indecisive," but he has sought, found, and presented all that is likely to be known about the Speakers. Part I (over 100 pages) analyzes the origin of the office, the Speaker's election, his functions and rewards. Part II (over 250 pages) follows with accounts of just what went on at each of the Parliaments, seriatim, from 1376 to 1523, and with biographies of the incumbents from Sir Peter de la Mare, "the earliest known Speaker," to Sir Thomas More, the first man to be Speaker of the lower house and then of the upper. Roskell anticipated objections to giving "too much of the political and parliamentary background," and so he gave his answer in advance: "most of the Speakers were important as men of affairs, involved in the practice of royal government and administration, implicated in politics, and . . . high matters of State." The only reply to this argument is *chacun à son goût*—with a hope that the taste of many may relish 371 pages about Speakers with "the details of their careers" and "a running commentary on political events." Actually, Roskell's analysis and his convincing conclusions, with supporting argument and evidence, might have been presented in about a hundred pages, and they would have made a little classic. Then, his findings and useful observations about the Speakers and their *mise en scène*, the House of Commons, would have stood out clearly.

Most Speakers were royal retainers, some belonged to the king's household, others to his Council, and many were lawyers. The important thing was for the Commons to choose one of their number known to enjoy "the King's confidence and good-will." Most of them had sat in previous Parliaments, but nine of them had not. Only twice under the Tudors did a Speaker preside over the next House of Commons, "and not until the Hanoverians" did re-election become customary. The Speaker was usually "actively involved in politics, and all were partisans to some extent"; thus the office had not yet become that of impartial moderator into which Sir Arthur Onslow, Speaker from 1728 to 1761, was to make it.

Despite the mass of detail that this book contains, the kind of evidence with

which to answer some of Roskell's penetrating questions is lacking. "We know nothing of how *in detail* the Speaker did his work in the Commons' own House during the period under review." Yet Roskell has succeeded in setting out many data for which other researchers, for whom the book seems written, will long be grateful. He writes with the authority of the master that he is of fifteenth-century Parliaments, and it is heartening to read that Richard II's deposition was accomplished "not by parliament but by the 'estates of the realm' . . ." Roskell's conclusions are truly significant for the history of Parliament, but they might have been presented with greater clarity by avoiding repetition and by using fewer involved and endless sentences. However, Roskell has told, once and for all, all that is likely to be found out about the medieval Speaker and, happily, perhaps a little more. For he boldly sets forth conjectures based on his familiarity with the House of Commons and the habits of its members. These suggestions, made to bridge many a gap where evidence is lacking, seem not just likely, but highly probable.

*Yale University*

WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR.

SPÄTLESE DES MITTELALTERS. Volume II, RELIGIÖSES SCHRIFTTUM.

Edited by *Wolfgang Stammer*. [Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, Number 19.] (Bielefeld: Erich Schmidt Verlag. 1965. Pp. 167. DM 16.80.)

THIS work is exactly what the title says it is: readings in the late Middle Ages. The first part is divided into several sections, such as "The Bible," "Dogmatics," "Prayer," "Edifying Discourses," "Allegory," and "Symbol," and the topics are illustrated by short selections of texts. The remainder is devoted to a detailed scholarly commentary on the text.

The text contains no important document of intrinsic value. Several selections are mere translations from the Latin into the Middle High German, such as the translations of a part of the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles; I Cor. 13; and the Apostles' Creed. Of some interest is the translation of Jean Gerson's letter to his sisters, the original of which, however, is available elsewhere. Being what it is, a miscellaneous collection of various unimportant German texts from the late Middle Ages, the book cannot be said to have much interest or value for anyone but a highly specialized scholar.

*Claremont, California*

MATTHEW SPINKA

L'ÉGLISE AU TEMPS DU GRAND SCHISME ET DE LA CRISE CONCILIAIRE (1378-1449). In two parts. By *E. Delaruelle et al.* [Histoire de l'Église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume XIV.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay; distrib. by Desclée & Cie, Tournai. 1962; 1964. Pp. xix, 455; 460-1231. 35 fr.; 56 fr.)

THESE volumes constitute one of the most distinguished contributions to a series whose quality has been, with a few exceptions, remarkably high. They are successful at once in supplying a clear and comprehensive narrative of an unusually complex period in the history of the Western Church, and in providing a rich

and sensitive account of religious thought and life. At the same time their authors are constantly aware of the broader social and political environment in which ecclesiastical and religious history unfolded, and they manage to convert an account of particular institutional developments and of the changing European religious consciousness into a kind of distillation of the total historical experience of an age. This work is often closer to the tradition of Huizinga than to conventional ecclesiastical history, although with a firmer sense of development from generation to generation. Furthermore, all this has been accomplished without any sacrifice of those qualities that have made the entire series so valuable as works of reference. The reader will find again that carefully articulated intellectual architecture which characterizes French scholarship at its best, making the particular elements in a discussion so easy to identify, and the bibliographies both of sources and of secondary works, the latter often accompanied by critical notes, are superb.

The reader should not, of course, expect major novelties of interpretation in a work of this kind, and its mild disapproval of conciliarism, although the subject is treated with respect, is perhaps also predictable. The authors of these volumes are clear that the important constitutional struggles precipitated by the Great Schism were not accompanied by any general crisis of belief. The reform pressures released by the conciliar movement depended, in this view, on a superficial analysis of the Church's problems. It was not papal intervention that was responsible for the difficulties of the period, the authors argue with considerable force, but the breakdown of the beneficial system, a consequence of the general economic and political difficulties of the later Middle Ages. Thus the demand for reform *in capite* hardly touched on the essential element in the predicament of the institutional Church, and at the same time it tended to obscure the many positive elements in the spiritual life of the age; the common view of this period as one of religious decadence rests on a dubious conception of the preceding age as characterized by great fervor. But although this work gives full credit to the regenerative power of mysticism and humanism, it is sufficiently balanced to emphasize also the formalistic and external elements in the piety of this age, qualities that suggest the waning of medieval culture rather than preparation for the reformations of the sixteenth century.

These volumes also reveal the influence of recent currents of thought associated with ecumenism and *aggiornamento*. They avoid the familiar tendency, which has long distorted our understanding of medieval culture, to regard Thomism as normative for Catholic thought. They stress the clericalism of the age and implicitly criticize it by their attention to the religious needs and activities of the laity. They are critical of the Church's concentration, at the highest levels, on government through the "papal system" to the detriment of the cure of souls. Their treatment of heresy is notably gentle; Huss, for example, turns out to have been largely misunderstood and victimized by men whose ecclesiology was rather more suspect than his own. The influence of such attitudes also results in some exaggeration of the significance of the Council of Florence, which is celebrated here as the first genuinely universal council since antiquity. But the general tone of the work is notably open and flexible; it recognizes, for example, the relatively recent origins of the notion of tradition

as an independent source of Catholic belief. This is Church history admirably suited to the needs of the general historian.

*University of California, Berkeley*

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA

LE DOMAINE DU ROI ET LES FINANCES EXTRAORDINAIRES SOUS CHARLES VI, 1388-1413. By *Maurice Rey*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 447.)  
 LES FINANCES ROYALES SOUS CHARLES VI: LES CAUSES DU DÉFICIT, 1388-1413. By *Maurice Rey*. [Bibliothèque générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 685.)

THESE two books are not easy to read, but they will prove extremely valuable to students of the later Middle Ages. They are based on a thorough and intelligent examination of the financial documents that have survived for the period 1388-1413—and more have survived than earlier generations of scholars realized. They show us exactly how the French government carried on its financial business at the end of the fourteenth century.

For the specialist there is a mass of interesting detail. All sources of income are described. The relationships among existing financial offices are discussed, and the development of new bureaus or subbureaus is explained. There are many brief sketches of the careers of important (or even fairly unimportant) officials. And, what is especially helpful, whenever it was reasonably possible to give exact or approximate figures for certain types of incomes and expenditures, Mr. Rey drew up tables that demonstrate trends and make comparisons easy.

The books also illuminate the broader problem that has troubled all students of the period: why, after their great successes of the thirteenth century, did central governments perform so poorly in the fourteenth century? Most of the essential administrative techniques had been learned; there were large groups of well-trained bureaucrats; revenues should have been adequate. But the French government became less, rather than more, effective as the century progressed.

Rey's answer is given with special clarity in the second volume. The government had the authority and the knowledge to do better, but the people who controlled the government lacked a sense of responsibility. Everyone belonged to a special interest group (and usually to more than one)—town oligarchies, princely households, corporations of government officials—and everyone wanted to channel the income of the state toward his group (or groups), and within his group toward himself. The state was a useful device for redistributing the wealth, and no one wanted to destroy it, but relatively few people wanted to use its power for the general welfare. The princes of the royal family were the worst offenders, but everyone with any kind of influence sought gifts, pensions, and exemptions from taxation. Probably half the royal revenue was wasted, or at least spent on projects of dubious value.

The great difference between the late thirteenth and the late fourteenth centuries was that the privileged classes had found that they could gain more by using the state than by opposing it. This is why it is wrong to speak of the "new feudalism." Even so great a lord as the Duke of Burgundy depended on royal grants for the larger part of his income, and he would have been

ruined if fourteenth-century France had fragmented as the ninth-century Carolingian Empire did. He and his fellows wanted a central government that was strong enough to fleece the weak and weak enough to placate the strong. When this happy result was achieved, soon after 1400, the natural consequences were a growing deficit, military weakness, and the victories of Henry V.

*Princeton University*

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RHINE PALATINATE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. By *Henry J. Cohn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 289. \$8.80.)

THE only German territory whose government and administration in the fifteenth century has been fully studied so far is Württemberg. One therefore welcomes Mr. Cohn's study on how the Electors of the Palatinate transformed "feudal rights and delegated royal power" into a territorial state with a unified administration.

Cohn first discusses to what extent primogeniture and inalienability of lands were accepted in the Palatinate. He then investigates the methods through which the Electors were able to double the size of their territories in the fifteenth century. The question of how the Electors financed these costly wars and purchases leads to a detailed discussion of the financial resources of the Palatinate. In a very interesting chapter Cohn examines the way in which the Electors established themselves as *Landesherren* in all their various territories. Even before the Reformation the Electors controlled the church in the Palatinate through their influence on the sees of Worms and Speyer. They were able to convert a large number of nobles into subjects. In order to secure strict military service and loyalty, they used the institution of retainers, the German form of "bastard feudalism." They kept a tight grip on the towns. Contrary to the usual view, Cohn proves that estates existed in an early formative state in the Palatinate in the fifteenth century. In a final chapter he investigates the supreme court, the council and chancery, the financial administration, and the functions of the local officials.

On several occasions Cohn discusses the social background of government officials. Still I am a bit disappointed that he has not systematically analyzed the sociology of the central and local institutions: their exact composition, the social background of all officials, their years of employment, their salaries, and so forth. There are two small maps showing only towns and rivers. More detailed, colored maps would certainly have required a great amount of work, but it would have been worth while.

These two weaknesses do not, however, impair the value of Cohn's book. It is a major contribution both to the history of the Palatinate and to the study of constitutional and administrative history of German territories in the fifteenth century. Apart from the printed sources, the author has used an immense amount of material in the archives of Karlsruhe, Munich, Strasbourg, and many other cities. The book is indispensable to the student of late medieval administrative history.

*Yale University*

CLAUS-PETER CLASEN

THE CHRONICLE OF GEORGE BOUSTRONIOS, 1456-1489. Translated, with introduction, by R. M. Dawkins. [University of Melbourne Cyprus Expedition, Publication Number 2.] ([Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press;] distrib. by University Bookroom, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria. 1964. Pp. xiii, 84. 40s.)

SINCE Cyprus is again a focus of contention between factions within and former or would-be ruling powers without, there is something timely in the translation of a source on the end of the island's Lusignan dynasty and on the assumption of its rule by Venice.

The dynasty's association with Cyprus began in 1191 when the French adventurer Guy de Lusignan received the island from Richard I of England, who had seized it from a local Byzantine ruler while on his way to join the abortive Third Crusade. For the three centuries of the family's subsequent rule our chief contemporary source is the chronicle of the Cypriot Greek Leontios Makhairas, one of the most important post-Byzantine Greek historians. Makhairas' work is most fully detailed for the latter half of the fourteenth century and for the early fifteenth century, where it breaks off in the middle years. For the remaining Lusignan period we have the present work, intended as a continuation of Makhairas' chronicle. Written by a former retainer of King James II (1464-1473), it is devoted mainly to his career and reign, and then extends its narrative to the expulsion of James's widow by the Venetians in 1489. Two added entries, noting events of 1499 and 1501, respectively, are found only in a British Museum manuscript of the text and are possibly not by Boustronios himself.

Whatever their respective literary and historiographic merits, these two chronicles are interesting demonstrations that it was possible for Greek populations in the late medieval Levant to adjust satisfactorily to Latin rule. There are distinct differences between the two texts, especially in terms of quality. Where Makhairas has some sense of style and organization, Boustronios is essentially a gossipy former domestic who scribbled his personal recollections of events on his island during his lifetime, only occasionally rising above banality to some sense of perspective. He does, however, convey something of the contemporary flavor of situations, and he provides considerable eyewitness information on the end of the Lusignan era.

The texts of both Makhairas and Boustronios were published by Constantine N. Sathas in Volume II of his *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθηκὴ* (1873). The late Professor Dawkins produced some years ago a fine critical edition, with English translation, of Makhairas' work, and in due course he also prepared a translation of Boustronios sequel. Unfortunately, he made no attempt to include a new critical edition of the text, presumably out of deference to the forthcoming edition promised by Th. Papadopoulos in Volume II of his "Bibliotheca graeca aevi posterioris" series. Otherwise, however, little but praise is due this publication.

Dawkins has translated Boustronios' style faithfully and idiomatically. While he has interpolated several passages from the British Museum manuscript that were not included in Sathas' edition, he has altered little of the author's original organization, chaotic as it was. Instead, he has wisely prefixed an explanatory

introduction and a helpful summary of the chronicle's contents. Beyond some citations in the explanatory sections, however, there is no bibliography.

Altogether, this is a valuable publication. Together with the translator's earlier rendering of Makhairas, and as a supplement to Sir George Hill's monumental *History of Cyprus*, it makes available to the medievalist without Greek some essential source material on the Latin rule of this part of the Mediterranean. By itself it is a worthy memorial tribute to Dawkins' humane scholarship.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN W. BARKER

LUDWIG XI. UND KARL DER KÜHNE: DIE MEMOIREN DES PHILIPPE DE COMMYNES ALS HISTORISCHE QUELLE. Volume I, Parts 1 and 2. By *Karl Bittmann*. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 9, Volume I, Parts 1 and 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1964. Pp. 367; 375-632. DM 37; DM 27.)

PHILIPPE de Comines (or Commynes, or Commynes) may not have provoked as much scholarly controversy as his younger contemporary Machiavelli, but he has scarcely suffered from neglect. His piquant French prose, his robust common sense, and his disarming candor have all been admired. There have been some reservations, of course, in accepting him as a reliable guide to the events of his time. He was too involved in the conflicts to be non-partisan, his purpose in writing was largely didactic, and he was guilty of both omissions and factual errors. On the other hand, his unique position as spectator and the cogent verisimilitude of his narration have been so compelling that discrepancies have almost always been dismissed as sufficiently minor to leave his general credibility undamaged.

Dissatisfied with this conventional evaluation, Karl Bittmann has launched an ambitious, slow-paced study of Comines's memoirs "als historische Quelle." The first volume takes us through three of Comines's books, with some 250 pages devoted to the years 1471-1472. Eventually there will be three volumes and a supporting selection of documents. Although such a scale of treatment will deter some readers, it is justified by the incredible influence of Comines's memoirs in establishing stereotypes that still tend to dominate our view of the late fifteenth century.

Bittmann has no flippant desire to "debunk" Comines. The detailed summaries with which he begins his discussion of each book are at once a critique and a fresh appreciation. He too admires the artistic skill with which Comines gives an impression of ingenuous objectivity. But then Bittmann moves into the heart of his study. He analyzes Comines's narration for internal discrepancies, places the events in a larger framework of international relations, and confronts the memoirs, scene by scene, with the differing accounts of other primary sources.

The result is not simply to demonstrate Comines's errors on certain details, although this is accomplished with unprecedented thoroughness. More important, the errors are shown to be not at all peripheral, as the stock answer has had it, but pivotal to the entire interpretation. Not content with mere refutation, Bittmann grapples with the more difficult problem of Comines's motives



and his mode of perception. If at times Comines was guilty of deliberate distortion, he seems more often to have been misled by inaccurate statements of his contemporaries, by his excessive reliance on witnesses (including himself) unable to perceive the events from a larger perspective, and by his willingness to accept explanations projected deliberately for purposes of propaganda. The origins of the conflict in 1471, for example, he saw as resulting from factional intrigue. Bittmann demonstrates that Louis XI deliberately promoted this intrigue-and-machinations theory in order to absolve himself from responsibility, that it is totally inadequate as an explanation, and that Comines consistently gave it strong emphasis in his own narration of the events. Comines could indeed find supporting evidence, but when he first misread and then overemphasized it, the result was to give the impression of hardheaded realism while in fact providing an unreliable and naïve interpretation.

None of this should be surprising in a historian-memorialist of the late fifteenth century. It is a tribute to Comines's reputation that his great work deserves Bittmann's analysis. Historians of the fifteenth century and anyone interested in Renaissance historiography will await with great interest the remaining volumes of this imposing study.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

DAVIS BITTON

## Modern Europe

ÖSTERREICH UND EUROPA: FESTGABE FÜR HUGO HANTSCH ZUM 70. GEBURTSTAG. Edited by the Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung and the Wiener Katholischen Akademie. (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1965. Pp. 616. 552 Sch.)

Most *Festschriften* are a burden to read and an unmitigated nuisance to review. From the standpoint of quality, they are all too often the repository of the second-rate work of first-rate scholars. In form and theme they generally exhibit, under the fig leaf of some vague collective title, such a bewildering variety of subjects and treatments as to defy analysis and baffle critique.

This particular *Festschrift* does not entirely escape these faults, but it is much better than average on all counts. The list of contributors is a distinguished one, including, for example, Max Braubach, Hanns Leo Mikoletzky, Heinrich Benedikt, Erich Zöllner, Adam Wandruszka, Jacques Droz, Friedrich Engel-Janosi, Rudolph Kiszling, and Robert A. Kann. More important, each of the thirty-two essays is a scholarly production. Most, in addition, give the impression of being serious pieces of independent work, and not, as is so often the case, mere fragments left from some larger investigation and warmed over for this occasion. With some glaring exceptions, the essays are reasonably clear and interesting in style. Although the book covers a broad time span (1500-1945) and includes a wide range of topics (military, political, diplomatic, economic, intellectual, and religious), there is at least as much unity to the work as the title implies, with most of the articles treating Austrian history within a European framework. Anyone interested in modern European history will find something to his taste.

Within the space allotted, I can only touch on some of the important contributions. Günther Hamann shows how the impact of Catholic missionary work in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China was blunted by theological disputes between liberal, syncretist Jesuits and conservative Dominicans and Franciscans, despite the immense importance and value to China of the scientific and scholarly work promoted by these missionary clerics. Victor-L. Tapié describes the obstacles in the path of Louis XIV's dying dream of a Franco-Austrian alliance against England that prevented its fulfillment until 1756. Heinrich Benedikt, Erich Zöllner, and Hans Wagner each add information on Josephinism.

Four able essays deal with various aspects of Austrian diplomacy prior to and during World War I. The most important and interesting is Helmut Rumpler's "Die Kriegsziele Österreich-Ungarns auf dem Balkan 1915/16," which uses new archival materials to discuss the internal struggle within Austria over the extent and goals of its proposed annexations. Kann concludes the volume with a typically abstruse but stimulating essay on the impossibility of developing a satisfactory theory of federalism because of the contrary tendencies that federalism takes and the mutually incompatible purposes that it can serve.

In sum, this is an unusually good *Festschrift*, worth while both for its content and as an appropriate tribute to the wide interests, the scholarship, and the pedagogical influence of Professor Hantsch.

*University of Illinois*

PAUL W. SCHROEDER

FORSCHUNGEN UND STUDIEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES WESTFÄLISCHEN FRIEDENS: VORTRÄGE BEI DEM COLLOQUIUM FRANZÖSISCHER UND DEUTSCHER HISTORIKER VOM 28. APRIL-30. APRIL 1963 IN MÜNSTER. [Schriftenreihe der Vereinigung zur Erforschung der neueren Geschichte e. V., Number 1.] (Münster: Verlag Aschendorff. 1965. Pp. 126. DM 22.50.)

THIS volume comprises a preface by Professor Max Braubach and six articles, the longest of which, by M. Alphonse Dupront, is devoted to the intellectual life of the papal nuncio, Fabio Chigi (later Pope Alexander VII) during the negotiations that led to the Peace of Westphalia.

In his preface Braubach characterizes the Peace of Westphalia as an attempt to re-establish the Occidental community of nations that had begun to disintegrate at the end of the Middle Ages. Jean Meuvret briefly discusses the influence of economic conditions on policy in terms of the inability of France, owing to shortage of money, to bring into its service after 1648 regiments that had previously been in the pay of the Emperor and Bavaria. Madrid outbid Paris for the services of these troops and used them to continue hostilities. Fritz Dickmann argues that at the time of the Peace of Prague (1635), the Habsburg goal of a monarchic solution of the constitutional problem in Germany was within reach. The internal divisions of the Empire and the intervention of foreign powers, however, destroyed that hope: only a small group of pro-Habsburg "radicals," led by Hesse-Cassel, stood by the Kaiser to the end. The final result was the transformation of

the *Reich* into something between a *regnum* and a *Staatenbund*, which by 1667 already baffled the efforts of Pufendorf to describe it in Aristotelian terms. Roland Mousnier asserts the endemic nature of revolts in France after 1610 and argues that after 1630 they were generalized, especially among the lower classes in town and country. These revolts, abetted by the privileged orders, were often made in defense of local liberties, against the "revolutionary" tendencies of the king-in-council. Mousnier reserves judgment on the question of whether such revolts were a vital factor in constraining France to make peace at Münster. In a well-documented paper Alphonse Dupront presents Chigi as a sensitive eyewitness of the passing of medieval Christendom and the birth of a secularized Europe of absolute states. Hermann Weber approaches the same problem as it is developed in the sermons and *Journal* of François Ogier and in the papers of his friend, the diplomatist Claude de Mesmes, and concludes that for them the description of the Peace of Westphalia as a *Pax Christiana* was no empty formula. Kurt von Raumer treats 1648 as a decisive date in the history of the European bourgeoisie on the grounds that it was then that the independence of the archetypal bourgeois state, the United Provinces, was recognized. Even the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia, especially between 1640 and 1740, is seen as a bourgeois phenomenon. In Von Raumer's view, however, 1648 did not mark the definitive triumph of the national state because of the subsequent persistence of such international (and prebourgeois) institutions as the *Reich*, the Church, the nobility, and the tradition of Latin scholarship.

Hanover College

R. H. THOMPSON

ACTA PACIS WESTPHALICAE. Series 3, Part D, VARIA. Volume I, STADT-MÜNSTERISCHE AKTEN UND VERMISCHTES. Edited by *Helmut Lahrkamp*. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 402. Cloth DM 50, paper DM 46.)

THIS is part of an important projected publication of the documents relating to the Peace of Westphalia. When the collection is completed, we surely will have new interpretations of the treaties of Westphalia. This volume contains 264 documents taken from the Münster Archives starting on August 26, 1641, when Johann Detten, an imperial secretary and a native of Münster, warned the city council that in a few days a letter from Emperor Ferdinand III would announce the fact that Münster had been chosen as the seat of the peace negotiations. The last entry is the expense account of Councilor Dr. Rottendorff (undated) of 1653. It also contains three appendixes: the first taken from baptismal registers of the city churches; the second, the *Observations* (Latin text) of Dr. Adam Adamis taken from the manuscript found in the cathedral library of Hildesheim; and the third, a revised list of names of the diplomats and their "creatures" who made the treaties of Westphalia. Anyone who has worked in mid-seventeenth-century archives will at once recognize Lahrkamp's labors in establishing these texts. For the mature scholar his decision to keep the orthography as he found it in the documents is undoubtedly correct; he has not translated into modern German either the German or the Latin originals.

The documents have a fascinating story to tell. In 1641 Münster was a town of

about ten thousand that, thanks to its walls, its bishop, and its town government, had managed to save itself from being treated as brutally as many neighboring towns had been. This was probably responsible for the Emperor's choice of Münster as the treaty city. The diplomats were slow in assembling, but by about 1646 they and the hangers-on, "lobbyists," and others almost doubled the population without expanding the territorial size within the protective walls. Problems of police and protection were unavoidable, but even more difficult was the provision of foodstuffs. The church baptismal record would indicate that at least some of the citizens of Münster managed to get along with their "guests," for many of the children born to townsfolk had diplomats for godparents. The excerpts from the Adamis manuscript consist of short discussions of the problems of the peacemakers and of the city after 1641. Lahrkamp's work on the list of the diplomats at Münster, while the most extensive that has as yet been produced, is still incomplete, but it is particularly useful since he organizes people under their respective countries, or, as in the case of the Empire, their imperial status, and then alphabetically.

*University of Minnesota*

JOHN B. WOLF

THE IMPERIAL LOANS: A STUDY IN FINANCIAL AND DIPLOMATIC HISTORY. By *Karl F. Helleiner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 190. \$4.50.)

THE world of war debts and foreign subsidies has a quality of fantasy about it that was not left to our generation first to experience. Professor Helleiner has examined in detail a little-known historical sector of the subject. Briefly, Austria floated two loans (1795 and 1797) on the London money market in order to finance the French wars. The British government backed the operation by guaranteeing these loans and, in fact, integrating them with public borrowings on Britain's own account. Thenceforth the question of repayment plagued Austro-British relations, and finally in 1823, after a period of suspended animation, the issue came to a head. Austria then made a token liquidation of the debt by means of a sum borrowed from a consortium of international bankers.

Curiously enough, as soon as Britain entered the French war, Prussia received outright subsidies, although Austria had to assume obligations of repayment. Why this distinction was made never very clearly appears, but presumably family relationships and the Austrian Netherlands' being at stake had something to do with it. Later there was little hesitation in offering subsidies to Russia. Not until 1805, however, did Britain subsidize Austria. After Austerlitz a defeated Austria was actually receiving arrears on the subsidy and using them toward an indemnity secretly promised to Napoleon.

The change from a policy of loans to one of subsidies made requests for repayment anomalous and illogical. The Austrians easily thought the subsidies implied forgiveness of the debt. But the British, as late as 1822, officially took the stand that Austria owed something over £17,000,000 in simple (not even compounded) interest, as well as the original capital (£6,200,000). Parliament had to be satisfied, and from the moment the question of repayment arose the British ministers made good use of parliamentary pressure to squeeze the debtor. On that account

they found it easy to ignore assurances made from time to time in conversation that these matters would never arise to trouble the Austrians again.

To have traced this thread through such a long and complex web of international relations is a work of merit perhaps beyond the call of duty. From a philosophical point of view it reveals with unusual clarity the necessary evasions, fictions, and tergiversations of diplomacy. Some good came out of it all in the end, however, a part of the money going for church building, repairs to Windsor Castle, and the beginnings of the National Gallery.

*Thetford Center, Vermont*

CHESTER H. KIRBY

DER FRIEDE VON PRESSBURG: EIN BEITRAG ZUR DIPLOMATIEGESCHICHTE DES NAPOLEONISCHEN ZEITALTERS. By *Rudolf Freiin von Oer*. [Neue Münsterische Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, Number 8.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. 292. Cloth DM 36, paper DM 34.)

THE generally high level of scholarship that has characterized the Münster historical series is conspicuously maintained in this engrossing monograph by a student of Kurt von Raumer. With a thorough knowledge of the literature and a comprehensive utilization of the French, Austrian, and Bavarian archives, Dr. von Oer has written with objectivity, insight, and wit, producing a model study of an important episode in diplomatic history.

The broad outlines of the story as laid down in past years by Édouard Driault, Hans Zwehl, and, most importantly, Harold C. Deutsch, remain intact: Austria's vacillations, the confusion between Berlin and Vienna, the shattering effect on Austrian policy of the Franco-Prussian Treaty of Schönbrunn, and the irresolute, demoralizing actions of the Russians. Within these limits, however, the picture is considerably changed. Count Haugwitz, who is usually made the villain for signing the Treaty of Schönbrunn, is ingeniously, if not altogether convincingly, defended. Metternich, who was decorated for his adroitness as ambassador in Berlin, in reality committed several egregious blunders. Stadion, whom Hellmuth Rössler considered an adamant opponent of peace, is shown to have become Foreign Minister in time to issue the final instructions leading to capitulation. In general the Austrians equaled the southern German courts in seeking territorial gain at the expense of the Holy Roman Empire.

The author's most original contribution is the solution of the puzzle about the reference in the Treaty of Pressburg to "the Confédération Germanique" even though the *Reich* was not expressly dissolved. By examining carefully Napoleon's prewar treaties of alliance with Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden, and his post-Austerlitz promises to them with regard to the coming peace, Von Oer argues that at first such terms as "sovereignty" and "confederation" were commonplace misapplications of French nomenclature to the German situation and thus were no more incompatible with the existence of the *Reich* than was *Landeshoheit*. Later, in a Talleyrand memorandum of November 1805 and in the French treaties with southern Germany, the terms are given more precise meaning, only in the end to be left vague again in the Pressburg document because Napoleon really had not yet decided whether to preserve the *Reich* or not. The net result is to

show an evolutionary development in French thought toward the Rheinbund Act of 1806.

In this connection, the author rightly contends against Rössler that Napoleon kept the *Reich* alive at this time, not so much to gain the crown for himself as to appease the Austrians lest he need them some day as allies against Russia. This is only one example of Napoleon's diplomatic wizardry, which, according to the author, deserves as much attention as his military campaigns. I heartily agree and can only hope that future studies of Napoleonic diplomacy will be as good as this one. The numerous archival documents published in the appendix attest to the treasures still to be exploited in developing this side of the many-faceted Corsican.

University of North Carolina

ENNO E. KRAEHE

DIE DEUTSCH-FRANZÖSISCHE TRAGÖDIE, 1848-1864: POLITISCHE BEZIEHUNGEN UND PSYCHOLOGISCHES VERHÄLTNIS. By Rudolf Buchner. (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 246. DM 27.)

THIS is not a history of diplomatic relations but a history of what the political leaders of France, Prussia, and Austria, and to a lesser extent other German states, Italy, England, and Russia thought, planned, and actually executed with respect to Franco-German relations. Although it explains the reactions of the leaders primarily on the basis of diplomatic documents, it uses expressions of semiofficial and unofficial persons to reveal public opinion, and it sets the discussion of France's policy toward Germany and Germany's policy toward France within the diplomatic history of the major powers. Focusing upon relations of France, Prussia, and Austria as crucial for those of Europe as a whole, it shows that the disposition of the Rhineland held the key to these relations. By concentrating upon the role that Franco-German relations played in the diplomatic activity of these years and by explaining its interaction in detail, it offers a form of history of international relations that clarifies continuing basic issues. The author hopes thereby to prove that Franco-German animosity is not inevitable and eternal, that it can be dated and explained and therefore is capable of change. He uses the study of history to help overcome a heritage of mistrust and fear. In this endeavor the author by implication rejects the usual theory of geographical determinism.

The work is highly interesting. It reveals in vivid detail the unsettling effect upon diplomatic relations of having a disunified Germany and Italy, with a disintegrating Ottoman Empire as well. These conditions tempted political leaders constantly to propose partitions and other territorial arrangements upsetting to everyone. The author's analysis of the problems, often amounting to dilemmas, that these plans exposed makes evident that the diplomacy of the period serves admirably as a laboratory for understanding fundamentals of European international relations during the past century and a half and the man-made nature of these fundamentals.

The study is clear, restrained, and scholarly. Buchner has packed well-selected relevant detail and judicious interpretation into the 164 large pages of text, and he has used, as his 56 pages of notes prove, the published sources and secondary works in German, French, Italian, and English, together with materials in the

Austrian archives. The author's promise to conclude his work with a second volume continuing the analysis to 1871 is most welcome.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

EUGENE N. ANDERSON

PEDDLER OF DEATH: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR BASIL ZAHAROFF. By *Donald McCormick*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1965. Pp. ix, 11-255. \$5.95.)

THE foreign news manager of the *Sunday Times* of London has created a picture of an *éminence grise*. It is not flattering and is not, as the title would indicate, intended to be. Zaharoff was a superlative salesman who spoke the languages and knew the most influential people in the arms producing nations and in the many world-wide customers for arms. He reached his peak in the First World War in which he was an intimate of Lloyd George. McCormick is provocative, if not very credible, in his contention that Zaharoff deliberately prolonged the war for profits just as he had in the past stimulated armaments races between rivals so that he could sell to both sides. But Zaharoff was the kind of man who was bound to attract enemies. Of obscure Balkan background, he had the area's supposed delight in complex and ruthless political maneuvering, in shady deals, and in a cultured life. Though, like Lloyd George, he had an interest in women, he never let them interfere with business. On the contrary, he used them to further his ends. Zaharoff relentlessly pursued both anonymity and success. As a result, though he was a partner of Nordenfeldt, Maxim, and the Vickers brothers, he was sufficiently unknown to make a trip into Germany to gain information during the war though there was a price on his head.

Typical of many journalistic books, this one annoys the scholar in its loose use of sources. Too often, if there is a footnote, it merely refers to an author whose work is mentioned in the bibliography without being any more explicit. Moreover, much of the evidence is taken from books and documents of the antiwar period of the 1920's and 1930's when not only were armaments manufacturers being reviled as the instigators of the First World War, but when even the government of the day was engaging, in Britain at least, in saying one thing publicly and doing another privately. McCormick appears to lean heavily to the Hobsonian idea that British industry could have supported itself without exporting, for he attacks the pre-1914 export of warships, though this enabled Britain to keep up manufacturing facilities that would otherwise have been unavailable. On the Mulliner incident, moreover, he has failed to consult the first volume of Marder's *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* (1961), which is, after all, based upon extensive research into both official files and published sources. The inevitable conclusion is that *Peddler of Death* is a facile but unsympathetic portrait.

*Kansas State University*

ROBIN HIGHAM

KAMPFBÜNDNIS AN DER SEINE, RUHR UND SPREE: DER GEMEINSAME KAMPF DER KPF UND KPD GEGEN DIE RUHRBESETZUNG 1923. By *Heinz Köller*. [Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Allgemeine Geschichte an der Humboldt-Universität Berlin, Number 8.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 347. DM 9.80.)

THIS volume, one of a series of historical publications of the Institute for General History of the Humboldt University in East Berlin, is devoted to a study of the cooperative efforts of the Communist party of Germany (KPD) and the Communist party of France (abbreviated in German as KPF), at the time of the occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. This aspect of the history of the Weimar period is portrayed in the manner currently prevailing in the German Democratic Republic.

The account opens with a discussion of the economic and political causes of the Ruhr occupation and of the situation of the KPD and KPF within their respective countries and their relations to the international Communist movement on the eve of the occupation. It continues with the story of the activities of the two national Communist parties in the course of the occupation and of efforts at cooperation between them. The occupation is interpreted as an effort of French heavy industry to control the mines and industries of the Ruhr together with the ore fields of Lorraine under the guise of enforcement of reparations payments. The policies of Poincaré and of Chancellors Cuno and Stresemann and of Hugo Stinnes are denounced, as are the actions of the Social Democratic leaders, while Adenauer is regularly referred to as one of the leaders of the separatist movement. The KPD is described as inadequately prepared to meet the revolutionary situation of the summer and autumn of 1923. This is attributed in part to divisions within the party and to the existence of factions, described in the volume as "rightist-opportunist" (that of Heinrich Brandler and Heinrich Thalheimer, then in control of the leadership of the KPD), and "leftist-opportunist" (that of Ruth Fischer and Maslow, in control subsequently). The volume is written from the viewpoint of those later in control of the party: Ernst Thälmann, Wilhelm Pieck, and Walter Ulbricht.

The study includes a list of sources and bibliography, conveniently divided into archival sources, published documents, periodicals, Marxist literature, and non-Marxist literature. The principal archival collections listed are those of the *Zentralarchiv* at Potsdam and Merseburg, the *Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus* at Berlin, the Brandenburg archives at Potsdam, and governmental collections at Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Duisburg, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, and Oberhausen. The list of persons contains information useful in identifying a number of the less well-known actors in the events of the period, both French and German.

The author believes that the cooperation achieved between French and German Communist parties in 1923 constitutes a tradition binding the working classes of the two countries. He concludes that knowledge of these events can provide a valuable lesson and source of inspiration to the workers by the Seine, Ruhr, and Spree, who are exhorted to act in the spirit of the cooperation directed against the occupation of the Ruhr forty years ago.

Kensington, Maryland

JAMES S. BEDDIE

MUNICH: "PEACE FOR OUR TIME." By *Henri Noguères*. Translated from the French by *Patrick O'Brian*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1965. Pp. 423. \$7.50.)

In the early hours of Friday morning, September 30, 1938, Édouard Daladier stumbled back to the Hotel Vier Jahreszeiten, exhausted and sick at heart, and



said, "I believe we have done something reasonable. Were fifteen million Europeans to be killed in order to force three million Sudetens who want to be German to remain attached to Czechoslovakia?" For nearly thirty years Daladier's judgment has been debated. Probably the debate will continue as long as the memory of Hitler lasts. In this account of Europe's troubles from the *Anschluss* to the fall of Czechoslovakia, Henri Noguères shows his eye for colorful detail and his talent for holding to the essential thread of his story. Anti-Munich, he is disapproving of Neville Chamberlain, contemptuous of Mussolini, admiring of Beneš, pitying of Daladier, and scornful of Georges Bonnet, who has never been able to bring himself to tell something like the truth of what he was about. Noguères follows a number of the familiar monographs and biographies, with his emphasis upon the diplomatic exchanges. He provides relatively little analysis of the domestic background of the Sudeten problem or of the French and British domestic scenes.

Although lengthy extracts from contemporary materials give a sense of immediacy to the book, the use of sources will invite dissent. The memoirs are used with success, including the still very slight recollections of Daladier. Some scraps of unpublished papers enhance, but do not seriously affect, the story. Noguères's acquaintance with the diplomatic documents, however, seems sketchy at best. His use of the British documents is disappointingly far from systematic and satisfactory. The German documents have been slightly more carefully considered. The available Czechoslovak documents have been ignored, as have the United States documents. In a word, the book is bibliographically unimpressive, and the narrative suffers accordingly.

The organization is clear and effective. From contemporary reporting of the Munich Conference itself, circumstantial detail is skillfully built up. One has a sense of what it was like. The book does not compare, of course, with the elaborate treatment in the Royal Institute of International Affairs *Survey* for 1938, Volume III, nor with Boris Celovsky's scholarly *Das Münchener Abkommen von 1938*. But it achieves its own rather different purpose. Largely reliable, it is not without errors. Noguères confuses, at one point, the words of Neville Henderson with those of Chamberlain, makes an unnecessary puzzle of an important Foreign Office communiqué, accepts rather freely the recollections of Hans Gisevius, and misleads both himself and his readers about how and when the last appeal from London was made to Hitler. On the positive side, despite the paucity of French materials available, he points up the French part of the story in a manner that English-language historians have sometimes neglected to do. His book makes a useful companion to the excellent analysis of press and opinion in Geneviève Vallette and Jacques Bouillon, *Munich 1938* (1964).

The translation is generally good, though some of the retranslations back to English may be puzzling for anyone going to the sources. Despite two quite misleading captions, the pictures are welcome; the selection is different, smaller but better produced than that of the French edition. The references are scattered in a hit-or-miss fashion, almost wholly without precision; there is no system at all. The appendixes include a few major documents. There is no bibliography, but it is clear what it would include. This lack of the usual apparatus may be frustrating, but it does not make the telling of the grim Munich tale less than the compelling

chronicle it should be. Readers wishing to discover more will probably know where to find it; beginners will be agreeably sped on their way.

*University of Toronto*

JOHN C. CAIRNS

THOMAS HOWARD, FOURTH DUKE OF NORFOLK. By *Neville Williams*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1965. Pp. xiii, 289. \$7.50.)

THE career of Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, has at last been accorded that detailed and thorough treatment which has long been wanting. In this well-executed, even exciting biography (which appeared first in England early in 1964), Neville Williams has sympathetically charted the life of Elizabeth's premier peer from the hour of his premature birth in 1538 to the hour of his death thirty-four years later at the hands of the executioner.

As Williams unfolds his story, it becomes only too evident that Norfolk was indeed born under unfavorable stars. Misfortune was his portion in private life; not only did he lose his father at an early age, but the perils of childbed left him a widower three times over. But perhaps his greatest misfortune was his high birth, for Norfolk, as his father, Surrey, before him, felt that his lineage and nearness to the crown entitled him to that pre-eminence in court and council which Elizabeth was so wary of conceding to him. Yet, his downfall cannot be attributed solely to the untimely aspirations generated by his rank for, as Williams' telling depiction reveals, Norfolk's grasp of the demands of Elizabethan high politics was somewhat limited. He never seems to have realized that only the utmost loyalty could win him a full share of the Queen's confidence or, once he aroused her distrust by dallying with Mary Stuart, that his only hope of gaining power lay in seizing it by force. Certainly Howard made but a poor showing both as a courtier (preferring to reign supreme in his own "country" than to dance a constant attendance at court) and as a conspirator (preferring to plot rather than to take action). And so he was undone, but not before his biographer, who has exploited skillfully the relative wealth of documentary material available, has provided us with a remarkably full portrait of his career. Noteworthy, too, is the careful attention paid to the Duke's finances (his average annual [net?] income is estimated to be £3,500, compared to the figure of £6,000 for the gross rental of his estates in about 1559 supplied by Lawrence Stone) and to the other bases of his position as the greatest territorial magnate of his day—the great liberty of Norfolk itself and the wide array of offices, great and small, that he and his dependents accumulated in East Anglia and Sussex. In brief, this should stand as the definitive biography of one of the leading figures of early Elizabethan politics.

*University of Iowa*

HENRY HORWITZ

THE PRINCIPALL NAVIGATIONS VOIAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION. In two volumes. By *Richard Hakluyt*. Imprinted at London, 1589. A photo-lithographic facsimile with an introduction by *David Beers Quinn* and *Raleigh Ashlin Skelton* and with a new index by *Alison Quinn*. [Hakluyt Society, Extra Series Number 39.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society and the Peabody Museum of Salem. 1965. Pp. lx, 501; 506-975. \$35.00 the set.)

THE "prose epic of the modern English nation" has long been available in its full length in the twelve-volume edition published by the Hakluyt Society in 1903-1905. In its first form, the 1589 folio, with its purely English material, the *Principall Navigations* has been available in the best libraries, but it is good to have now this handsome offset facsimile. The black letter is as clear as the original, and the volume is notably enhanced by the new elaborate index done by Mrs. Quinn, which runs to 140 3-column folio pages as against the 9 pages of Hakluyt's original index.

The introduction is authoritative, written jointly by Professor Quinn of Liverpool University, himself a latter-day Hakluyt by virtue of his re-editing and expanding the documents of the Raleigh and Gilbert colonial ventures, which Hakluyt first collected, and Mr. Skelton, superintendent of the Map Room of the British Museum and chairman of the Commission on Ancient Maps of the International Geographical Union. Quinn's presumable part of the introduction is the account of the genesis and growth of Hakluyt's collection. He records or conjectures the sources of the documents in print or in government or company records; he calls the roll of Hakluyt's known acquaintances who may have contributed; and he finds probable reasons for the absence of documents that Hakluyt should have had. He also writes a valuable summary of the changes that Hakluyt made in the second edition in the materials of the first, noting the few items that Hakluyt omitted and discovering much altering and cutting of texts with which Hakluyt has not before been charged. Strangely enough, no one has yet attempted an annotated table of contents of the *Voyages*, and every reader has had to hunt down for himself the provenance and analogues of each item. Such a table, an actual guide to the *Voyages*, can now be begun, for this first edition at least, with Quinn's footnotes in this survey.

Skelton is given credit for supervising the production of the volume and for the census of extant copies of the original. He is also the undoubted commentator on the inferior world map that Hakluyt for some reason, perhaps economy, printed. The census raises to 102 the number of located copies of the book, plus a dozen unlocated copies (41 copies are in Great Britain and in present and former members of the Commonwealth; 59 are in the United States; 2 are in Finland, which were once owned by Nordenskjöld). Though the census lists for each copy its possession of variant items—the original or the substituted Jerome Bowes narrative, the stop-press Drake narrative—the editors note the need of a more systematic examination of the extant copies. They would also like a closer study of Hakluyt's editing now that it is called in question. The less specialized scholar would settle for a guide to the contents of the *Voyages*, since the Hakluyt Society, for all its hundreds of editions of travel literature, is not likely to tackle an annotated edition of Hakluyt himself. The society has at all events done us service in reprinting this first folio for all to see without chasing about the country to consult it.

Queens College

GEORGE B. PARKS

EDUCATION IN RENAISSANCE ENGLAND. By *Kenneth Charlton*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 317. \$8.25.)

KENNETH Charlton's book is "surprisingly . . . the first" history of education in Renaissance England, a comprehensive, literate, and at times highly critical digest of material available until now only in monographs and articles or in works concerned primarily with other aspects of the age. The early chapters trace the history of education against the background of medieval and Renaissance cultural history with perhaps more attention to educational theory than to institutional history. Later chapters are devoted to informal education, travel, foreign languages, and technical education. In these areas, as in the more traditional ones, Charlton stresses the revolution brought about by the printed book and the role played by textbooks and manuals independent of institutional instruction.

Charlton concludes his highly favorable picture of the Tudor grammar schools with the statement that "at first sight it would seem the Renaissance produced the great age of the English grammar schools." And so the reader has concluded. But not so the author. The favorable picture is misleading, he declares, because it is based on prescription rather than practice. The schools failed to become the breeding grounds of humanist ideals. Proof of failure, and a partial explanation for it, is that they became instruments of policy used to strengthen the Church and the state against innovation. Bishop Jewel, for instance, considered scholarship "but a means to an end, something to be put to the service of the Church." And so apparently did Sandys, Pilkington, and all the rest, Puritans as well as Anglicans. The vast increase in school endowments reflected merely the status seeking of the donors—an unsupported generalization made despite W. K. Jordan's well-documented analysis of the motives of the donors.

According to Charlton, the universities, contrary to the humanist hope that they would provide a thorough humanistic education for England's governors, remained bound by their medieval statutes, reverent of Aristotle, and dominated by the Established Church and the government. Here, in contrast to his earlier argument, Charlton cites prescription against practice, taking exception at length to the conclusions of Mark Curtis in his recent *Oxford and Cambridge in Transition*. "Certainly changes were taking place . . . increasing royal control, influx of the sons of the aristocracy and gentry, growth of collegiate teaching. . . . But none of this was cultural change, least of all the cultural revolution which Neale and Curtis claim." Charlton concludes that the university education which Neale and Hexter earlier and Curtis more recently have posited as the education of the future governors of the land was not humanistic. In any case exposure to it was too slight to have had much effect. With this latter argument he also dismisses any claim to influence on the part of the Inns of Court.

Mere arguments or statements of contrary opinion are not sufficient to balance the evidence and conclusions that Charlton dismisses so cavalierly. It is unfortunate that such an extremely useful text should be so weakened at the heart of its subject. No bibliography is provided, although the extensive sources are entered in full as footnotes.

*Denison University*

W. M. SOUTHGATE

ENGLAND'S APPRENTICESHIP, 1603-1763. By *Charles Wilson*. [Social and Economic History of England.] (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 413. \$7.00.)

IN this promising young series edited by Asa Briggs we now have an excellent new volume by the professor of modern history in Cambridge University. Calling easily upon his vast erudition and intimate knowledge of the period and topic, Charles Wilson gives us a relaxed, richly textured picture of the economic and social life of England from the accession of James I to the end of the Seven Years' War. Those familiar with the period will admire the easy authority and effortless flow of the writing, though, it must be admitted, beginners may find it a trifle allusive in spots. Wilson organizes his work into three periods, 1603-1660, 1660-1700, 1700-1763; in each, he carefully surveys agrarian, industrial, commercial, and financial developments. This creates a certain danger of repetition, particularly in agriculture, but this is held to a well-edited minimum. I should have preferred breaks at 1720 (to preserve the unity of the 1689-1720 generation) and 1775 as more meaningful for economic history, but this is perhaps a matter of individual taste.

Needless to say, in a volume of this sort, not everything will be covered to everyone's equal satisfaction. There might have been a little on Scotland after 1707, though this perhaps was not within the plan of the series, where "Britain" enters into volume titles only after 1815. There is much more on economic history than on social history, reflecting very reasonably the distribution of serious scholarly work in the last fifty years. All will admire Wilson's efforts at such modern interests as economic growth; nevertheless, some will undoubtedly wish that a bit more had been done with such social topics as the "aristocratic resurgence" of the eighteenth century, the implications of the rise of towns, and the development of urban cultural media from the theater to the press. Wilson is at his best in explaining the fundamental importance of the vast underemployed body of "the poor" in understanding both policy and the retardation of growth. He might perhaps have told us a little more about who these poor were, where they lived, and so forth. The already vast class of propertyless agricultural laborers never appears very distinctly.

In a work of such ambitious scope there are bound to be a few slips. The plague had not left Europe by 1700; witness the great Marseilles visitations of 1720-1721. Although consulted before its formation, Sir Josiah Child, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Charles Davenant, Newton, and Wren were not members of the Board of Trade established in 1696. These are, of course, trifles in a work that admirably synthesizes and perceptively interprets modern scholarship, that can be read by old hands and new with pleasure and profit.

*University of Michigan*

JACOB M. PRICE

INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION. By *Christopher Hill*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 333. \$7.20.)

Two revolutions occurred in England before 1688: a political revolt against Charles I, which began with the Long Parliament and had to be fought out in a civil war; and an intellectual transformation that led, later in the seventeenth century, to the enthronement of science and its secular interests among the controlling cultural forces of the age. In this expansion of his 1962 Ford Lectures at Oxford, Christopher Hill has associated these two revolutions and tried to annex

the second to the first. He contends that the traditional intellectuals of the 1620's and 1630's were victims of a failure of nerve and convinced of the world's decay. Meanwhile, however, the stirring merchants and artisans, Puritan and Protestant, searched for an outlook. They found it in the ideas of science, progress, and reform. In a series of chapters on London science, Bacon, Raleigh, Coke, and some incidental lesser figures, Hill endeavors to sketch those influences that armed the minds of the "middle sort" to assault the old order. The Civil War, he makes the extraordinary assertion, "was fought between rival schools of astronomy, between Parliamentary heliocentrists and royalist Ptolemaics. . . ."

Few present-day historians of the seventeenth century possess the bibliographic range and erudition that are apparent in every page of Hill's book. If in spite of this he has written a singularly unconvincing work, it is because he has placed his wide learning behind an untenable thesis unlikely to be accepted by a critical reader. A puzzling feature of this study is its failure to provide a sharp and consistent definition of the revolution whose intellectual origins it professes to trace. The English revolution was, presumably, a determinate event. In this book, however, its outlines blur and vanish; it swells and billows until all concreteness is lost in its mystical union with the forward movement of the world process. It is curious that Hill should so much stress the merchants and artisans, the heroes of his story whom he sees as the main bearers of progressive change in politics and thought. He portrays them as "eager," "inquiring," and "confident in their ability to handle things," believers "in the expansive power of science," ready "to expand the nation's wealth and remould its institutions," and dependent only on "religious and scientific experiment, the test of their own independent critical senses." A pretty picture, but unrecognizable! If the revolution is brought down to earth to be grasped as a definite event, these apotheosized merchants-artisans do not possess the importance Hill gives them. The revolution of 1640 originated in a split in the governing class and the alienation of a substantial part of the latter from crown and court. To concentrate on the "middle sort," therefore, is highly misleading and overlooks a central problem. The revolution, of course, had intellectual origins, but they were not so broad as here represented. The movement of scientific ideas and interests in England and the dissemination of conceptions of progress and enlightenment transcended the revolution in their scope and were never even approximately coextensive with a single side.

Although Hill frankly acknowledges that he is arguing a case, his treatment is still strikingly one-sided. All that can be done to put Bacon, Raleigh, and Coke in the desired context he does, but, at the end, one has not been given a satisfactory, rounded analysis of the minds of any of these thinkers. Contrary to Hill's view, Raleigh's historical thought seems to me essentially traditional, and Bacon's connection with the parliamentary cause a tenuous one. Nor can I regard Coke as a legal reformer or much of an economic liberal. It is implausible to depict Pym as a Baconian, for his speeches reveal a mind conservative and old-fashioned in many ways. To describe John Dury as a "hereditary rebel" is hardly right; Archbishop Laud patronized his irenic activity on the Continent, and he was still declaring his political neutrality in 1641. There is much reference to Ramism, but we get no account of it, and it is taken according to its own professions. The numerous long lists of men said to be in intellectual or political relations are not only con-

fusing but frequently questionable. And if one is going to trace the rise and diffusion of enlightened ideas, why omit Falkland, Hobbes, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Clarendon? The answer, I fear, is that the affinity of all these to royalism is too marked to make them eligible for consideration. This alone suffices to show that Hill has proceeded on a false premise in confounding the English revolution with what has been called in a famous phrase "la crise de la conscience européenne."

University of Rochester

PEREZ ZAGORIN

THE REVOLUTION OF THE SAINTS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF RADICAL POLITICS. By *Michael Walzer*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 334. \$6.95.)

WALZER observes that whereas Mr. Christopher Hill "treats Puritanism as the social religion of the 'industrious sort' (merchants and artisans), I have tended to treat it as the political religion of intellectuals (ministers) and gentlemen." The starting point of his argument is the historical fact that less than fifty years after the close of one of the longest, most successful reigns in history Englishmen of differing ranks united to remove the head of the state by "judicial murder" and to reform both state and society according to their preconceived ideas and compel everyone within the jurisdiction of the state to conform to their conception of what was right and necessary. What nerved these men thus to ignore the supposedly fixed hierarchical order of society and the patriarchal order of the state and so to go on from seeking religious and moral reformation to attempting political revolution? "The purpose of this book," he says, "is to answer these questions through an historical and sociological study of Calvinist politics during the hundred years that preceded the English Revolution."

He begins with a lucid analysis of Calvinist ideology as he finds it set forth not only in the *Institutes* but also and more fully in the sermons and commentaries of Calvin himself. This he characterizes as an equivocal doctrine positing the absolute authority of the civil magistrate only to posit at the same time the absolute authority of God as represented by the church within the state, of the church, that is, as ruled by the Saints, the Saints being those elect few out of the generality of fallen men called by grace to share the experience of faith, make war on sin in their own members and in society at large, covenant with one another to form the church, and declare what God requires of Saints and sinners. What might be expected to happen and who should decide when the conscience of the Saints commanded one thing and God's viceregent on earth the opposite, Calvin never makes quite clear. All this Walzer sets forth with admirable clearness.

In succeeding chapters he undertakes to discuss what this or that class, profession, order, sect, or party of Englishmen made of Calvinist doctrine in the historical situation that led to the revolutionary crisis of 1640. The Saints are shown drawing together in the endeavor to transform the state into the instrument of a compulsive, comprehensive, religious, moral, and social discipline. The complete Puritan Saint is to be seen in the character and career of Oliver Cromwell as described by John Milton, and the completed work of the Saint is to be seen in the Puritan Commonwealth. Walzer concludes that "it is now possible to suggest a

model of radical politics based on the history of the English Puritans" that "may serve to reveal the crucial features of radicalism as a general historical phenomenon and to make possible a more systematic comparison of Puritans, Jacobins, and Bolsheviks (and perhaps other groups as well)." The suggestion may be worth pursuing further, but the conclusion might be made more convincing. Much history ran down the years from Calvin to Cromwell. Walzer expatiates with energy and at length on the sociological ramifications and applications of Calvinist ideology in the Puritan period. It could be wished that he would expound more clearly the actual historical process in time by which Puritan religious experience led to English political radicalism.

*Folger Shakespeare Library*

WILLIAM HALLER

WARWICK AND HOLLAND: BEING THE LIVES OF ROBERT AND HENRY RICH. By *John Louis Beatty*. [Books of the Renaissance Series.] (Denver: Alan Swallow. 1965. Pp. 262. \$6.50.)

BEATTY has a promising theme, but fails utterly to exploit it. An adequate dual biography of the Rich brothers would illuminate some of the central features of seventeenth-century England. Warwick, the great colonial promoter, privateer, naval commander, and Puritan "country" nobleman, contrasts conveniently with Holland, the supple courtier, monopolist, and Civil War waverer, best remembered for his execution in 1649. But Beatty entangles himself in difficulties of organization, devotes too much time to trivialities, and does not come to grips with important problems.

We are given pages of family connections, court functions, and committee assignments, but no clarification of their significance. A useful section on Holland's offices in the 1630's does not compensate for many serious omissions. There is nothing on Warwick's control of the county of Essex beyond a few gleanings from the *Calendars of State Papers*; local Essex sources are neglected. There are almost nothing on the roles of the two Earls in the war party-peace party conflict in the Long Parliament, no serious analysis of Holland's reasons for defecting to the King in 1643, and an account of Warwick's second naval command in 1648, which again relies wholly on the *State Papers* and the Venetian ambassador's reports. Astonishingly, no use has been made of the Thomason or any other collection of tracts and newspapers. Beatty finds the religious passions of the period funny or irrelevant and confesses his inability to understand them; it is therefore not surprising that he comes to only negative conclusions about the Earls' beliefs. This is not the only instance of the author's failure to make up his mind between alternative explanations of his subjects' behavior, or to adopt a consistent interpretation and stick to it.

The book is marred by repetitions, long quotations from secondary works, incidental factual errors, failures of identification, and an appalling style. Edmund Prideaux, surely one of the most important members of the Long Parliament, appears only as "an Edmund Prideaux." Sir Henry Mildmay is described as a future Earl of Sussex, and his relationship to Warwick is not shown. Lambert is transmuted into an admiral. The quality of Beatty's style can be gauged from his willingness to begin a sentence with "age-wise."

*University of Virginia*

DAVID UNDERDOWN



THE CABAL. By *Maurice Lee, Jr.* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. 275. \$6.00.)

CHARLES II's "grand design"—to free himself from parliamentary restrictions—is the subject of this fresh and heavily documented examination of the period 1667–1674. During these years policy decisions were discussed in the committee of the Privy Council for foreign affairs, which was reconstituted in January 1668 and which became the heart of the central administration. Its membership varied. Arlington and Buckingham were original members, although the latter attended irregularly. Clifford began to attend in 1669, Lauderdale and Ashley, in 1670. In addition to the King and the Duke of York, about a dozen other officers attended the committee during the period covered by the present book. From the beginning the leaders were divided in their aims, and apart from the fact that not one was a sound Anglican they shared very little common ground. Two general conclusions are that the members of the cabal were not by any means competing on an equal footing and that Arlington's hand was to be seen in almost every transaction.

Each of the five main chapters of the book is devoted to one member, the organization being roughly chronological according to the phases during which their influence was paramount: Lauderdale and the subjugation of Scotland, Arlington and the Triple Alliance and Treaty of Dover, Clifford and the stop of the Exchequer, Buckingham and the Declaration of Indulgence, and Shaftesbury and the growth of parliamentary opposition. Much overlapping is thus involved, but never at the expense of clarity.

While institutional history is not central to the theme, the book will prove valuable for its incidental contribution on the conduct of government. Public finance is treated in much detail, and there are many suggestive comments on administrative methods, the verdict being that the danger of revealing the King's purposes made efficient administration impossible. The fate of the royal program in Parliament is carefully traced, and Clifford's reputation as bribemaster is alluded to, but without any systematic attempt to estimate the extent of parliamentary corruption for which the cabal was responsible. As the period 1670–1672 was especially noteworthy for the conferring of boons on members of Parliament, that subject would have repaid investigation.

The work is soundly based on printed and manuscript materials, and the literary output of the day is very skillfully exploited. There is not much to admire in the cabal, but Mr. Lee has effectively emphasized their qualities of industry, their interest in fiscal reform, and, in the cases of Buckingham and Shaftesbury, their concern for religious liberty. Thus he has supplied a welcome corrective to the diatribes of Marvell and Dryden, as well as a faithful narrative of a critical period in English history.

*Vanderbilt University*

P. H. HARDACRE

ADMIRAL HAWKE. By *Ruddock F. Mackay.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 374. \$7.70.)

EDWARD Hawke's career spanned the heart of the eighteenth century—from 1720 to 1771. Off Cape Finisterre in 1747 and in Quiberon Bay in 1759 Hawke gained

for Britain its two most decisive naval victories of the period. He also executed the remarkable blockade of Brest in 1759. Eventually he wound up as First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Mackay has written this new biography mainly "to give a fuller appreciation and assessment of an outstandingly successful commander." His subsidiary aim is to add to our knowledge of the eighteenth-century navy by offering some details of Hawke's activities. He has carefully searched the available sources, including Hawke's private papers, ships' logs, and Admiralty letters.

Most of the book is devoted to the author's main purpose—the traditional one of naval biography—of making a case for his subject's greatness as an admiral. The accounts of naval operations are well constructed, and the necessary background for understanding strategy and tactics is amply provided. Here Mackay's research carries authority; the reader feels he knows where the ships were and why. Hawke apparently had sensible views on strategy. As for tactics, it seems that he was not much interested in them, if by tactics is meant the gaining of advantage through position and maneuver, for in both major victories Hawke engaged from a position of disadvantage. His view, which was contrary to the intent of the established fighting instructions, was simply that British ships and men, being superior, could win merely by getting close to the enemy and fighting. If Hawke was a great commander, it was because he got the main things right: he refused to be bothered by niceties of tactics; he understood the importance of steady discipline; he realized during the long blockade of Brest that the critical problem was the condition of his men rather than his ships. There is nothing, however, to indicate that he was an inspiring leader. He seems to have been honest, sensitive, upright, and dedicated, yet essentially colorless and uncommunicative.

The passages dealing with naval life and work, though sometimes illuminating, are largely unrewarding. Various subjects are treated with brief comment and passed rapidly before the reader in the same accidental order in which they were presented to Hawke. Lack of organization particularly mars the chapter on Hawke as First Lord. Although it is implied that Hawke had a policy for naval improvement, the subject is not systematically investigated. The only matter that is analyzed is naval spending under various administrations, the results of which favor Sandwich over Anson and Hawke. But it is a mistake to suppose that this was a matter over which a First Lord had much control, and the notion that he might have let the issue force his resignation has no place in the mid-eighteenth century. It may be, as Mackay suggests, that "the respective standing accorded to" these men as peacetime First Lords requires modification, but not by this sort of measure.

Ideally, historical biography lets us see the past through the subject's eyes. But, thanks to Hawke's uncommunicative nature, Mackay's patient research seldom reveals what the man thought. Instead, we are told what he "probably thought" and "must have felt." As a history of naval operations this book is satisfying. If it is unsatisfying as biography, it is because Hawke remains a man we do not know.

*Princeton University*

DANIEL A. BAUGH

THE FULHAM PAPERS IN THE LAMBETH PALACE LIBRARY. AMERICAN COLONIAL SECTION: CALENDAR AND INDEXES. Compiled

by *William Wilson Manross*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 524. \$20.20.)

IN 1959 Geoffrey Bill, librarian of Lambeth Palace Library, called attention in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* to forty cardboard boxes of manuscripts newly transferred from Fulham Palace to Lambeth. They were the American files of the bishops of London, and although they were not completely unknown—Andrews and Davenport had noted them in their 1908 *Guide*, and the Library of Congress had microfilm of a part of the collection—their disarranged condition and the lack of a catalogue made scholarly usage next to impossible. Bill's note was a cry for help. In response, funds were raised and the manuscripts systematically arranged and numbered in forty folio volumes, twenty-one devoted to general correspondence between the bishops and colonial clerics and laymen from Newfoundland through the Windward Islands—some from the seventeenth century but most from the eighteenth—the remainder devoted to ordination papers, missionary bonds, and miscellaneous documents. The present work calendars and indexes the collection. It is a model volume. Mr. Manross, to judge from a comparison with transcripts from my files, has given trenchant and accurate summaries of each manuscript. His index (both name and subject) to the calendar is superb, and he has added an index of names appearing in the documents though omitted from the summaries. Perhaps some might criticize him for indexing the calendar to volume and document rather than page, thereby causing the user to hunt back and forth for the beginning of a given volume. But his obvious intention was to furnish a guide to both this book and the actual collection. He quite rightly chose to ease the task of the researcher using the latter, particularly as the reworked collection is now readily available on film through the Library of Congress.

Together with the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, still uncalendared but available in a more complete microfilming than heretofore as a result of recent work by an English commercial firm, the Fulham Papers constitute the basic source for any consideration of religion (Anglican and non-Anglican) in the colonies. Already Manross has made good use of them, his introduction largely resolving the thorny problem of the overseas jurisdiction of the bishop of London. The manuscripts, moreover, contain many political, economic, and social data. Manross' volume, and the collection that it so well describes, should not be ignored by any historian of English America.

*University of Minnesota*

DARRETT B. RUTMAN

THE PURSUIT OF CERTAINTY: DAVID HUME; JEREMY BENTHAM; JOHN STUART MILL; BEATRICE WEBB. By *Shirley Robin Letwin*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 391. \$9.50.)

THIS title is appropriate if allowance is made for temperamental differences that basically affect its meaning. More precisely, the book is concerned with changing views of politics. In exposing the inadequacies of the judgment "that the distinctive political issue since the eighteenth century has been whether government should do more or less," Mrs. Letwin has been brilliantly successful. She has

shown how, in the cases of Hume, Bentham, Mill, and Beatrice Webb, other affinities and contrasts cut across the well-recognized antinomies of laissez faire and collectivism. She has done this by studies in depth of the four chosen thinkers, by describing the historical milieu of each, and by establishing the links between one thinker and the next. Working out her analysis of the whole man (or woman) in each instance with great subtlety and perceptivity, she displays at the same time a broad understanding of the many European contemporaries by whom the four were influenced or against whom they reacted. She compresses in a footnote how, in making Hume's theory of passions central to his system, she differs from Norman Kemp Smith; in another she disagrees with Halévy's diagnosis of Bentham's economics as consisting in the principle of the natural identity of interests. Yet Letwin is not conducting a polemic against one intellectual historian or another. Her book hardly deviates from its extended analytical task and makes engrossing reading throughout.

In the final chapter, however, the reader is curiously disappointed; the book even seems to fall apart, although its basic coherence can be quickly re-established by a return to the ten-page introduction. There one is reminded that all four thinkers were utilitarians, that all "praised a common sense, matter-of-fact, concrete, experimental approach to human affairs," and that all were primarily moralists rather than metaphysicians. These and other similarities, as well as the divergencies, are fully elaborated in a book that, after all, does hold together—and yet the flaw remains.

It has to do with Beatrice Webb, though Letwin's treatment of her, while briefer, is as consistently absorbing as are the other three. The author asserts in her introduction that Beatrice Webb "offered most eminently what her time demanded," and that in her work appears "the finished product" of the "transformed outlook on the nature of politics" progressively revealed by the preceding three, but she fails to demonstrate either contention. Indeed she virtually admits her failure in saying that the *Constitution for a Socialist Commonwealth*, which the Webbs regarded as their crucial work, is "one of the least remembered" of their books. Here and elsewhere she shows how the Webbs exalted the scientific expert in government to the point of revealing an extraordinary naïveté about the exercise of power.

Surely Letwin would have achieved her purpose much better with either Graham Wallas or J. M. Keynes. As it is, what she says about Hume, Bentham, and Mill is at once important and consonant with the recognized historical stature of each.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN ENGLAND VON 1760 BIS 1832. By *Jürgen Kuczynski*. [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volume XXIII. Part 2, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1964. Pp. 234. DM 19.80.)

DARSTELLUNG DER LAGE DER ARBEITER IN ENGLAND: VON 1832 BIS 1900; VON 1900 BIS ZUR GEGENWART. In two volumes. By

*Jürgen Kuczynski.* [Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus, Volumes XXIV and XXV. Part 2, Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter in England, in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika und in Frankreich.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 271; 296. DM 23; DM 24.70.)

PROFUSELY documented, this social and economic history of England since 1760 constitutes a completely revised and enlarged edition of Kuczynski's earlier and much shorter work on the same subject that appeared in English several decades ago. The present multivolume work examines in much greater breadth and depth the evolution of the English economy as a whole and relates changes in the condition of the working class to that evolving frame of reference.

The well-known East German labor historian rehabilitates the long-observed viewpoint of Toynbee and his distinguished students, the Webbs, and the Hammonds, that the Industrial Revolution of the years 1760-1832 constituted a sharp economic break with the past and that the plight of the working class deteriorated during those years. This contrasts with the view made popular by Clapham and Ashton, among others, who stressed the evolutionary character of those changes and saw an improvement in working-class conditions during that period. The years 1832-1850 marked a constructive and progressive period in the development of English capitalism. By 1850 but especially after 1871, according to Kuczynski, this system showed many symptoms of decadence: the aggressive pursuit of economic imperialism, the growth of business combinations, the declining power and prestige of the landed gentry, the widening cleavages among the working class, and the increasing hegemony of "finance capitalism." The initial disintegration of capitalism (1871-1917), in turn, ushered in the general crisis of capitalism during the years following 1917 when the world-wide front of imperialism was shattered by the Russian Revolution; Britain's colonial world crumbled under the impact of national movements of liberation; wealth became increasingly concentrated, thanks to the expansion of business combinations; the leadership of the upper bourgeoisie, as represented by the Conservative party, was shattered by the general sweep of political democracy; and the Western world came under the thrall of American capitalistic interests.

Kuczynski is thoroughly conversant with the appropriate sources and has consulted a prodigious array of material from scholarly monographs and periodicals to a variety of official records and reports, not to mention innumerable Marxian classics. Endowed with this consummate erudition, it is unfortunate that the author feels compelled to harmonize the material with his familiar clichés. This necessarily distorts and unbalances the entire work. He is, therefore, interested in combinations only as they document his deterministic dogma. The same is true of his studies of employment, industrial production, foreign trade, and overseas investment. This point of view is neither original nor unknown to Western scholars. It is astonishing that the vast array of useful and highly pertinent data adduced to document the author's grim prognosis of capitalism suggests, on the contrary, that, despite its well-publicized shortcomings, the English economy has created an increasingly affluent society for all but a rapidly dwindling minority of the working class to whom the work would seem to be addressed.

CARTERET'S VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD, 1766-1769. In two volumes.

Edited by *Helen Wallis*. [Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, Second Series, Numbers 124 and 125.] (New York: Cambridge University Press for the Society. 1965. Pp. xii, 273; vi, 275-564. \$15.00 the set.)

For some two and a half centuries the English penetrated Spain's private preserve in the Pacific. Although national policy was certainly a motivating factor, taking a rich Spanish galleon was a more practical objective. During this time only four galleons were actually captured; in the voyages of Thomas Cavendish (1586-1588), Woodes Rogers (1708-1711), George Anson (1740-1744), and Admiral Cornish's squadron in the Philippine expedition of 1762. The eighteenth century became the great day of Pacific exploration, culminating in the three definitive voyages of Captain James Cook.

Within recent years interest in the accomplishments of the Pacific explorers has revived. New editions, special studies, anthologies, even novels indicate this abiding interest. A vast literature on individual voyages has resulted; the Hakluyt Society has made the principal contributions to this valuable literature. Helen Wallis' survey of Carteret's voyage and edition of his journal of this famous and controversial odyssey is a significant publishing event.

Philip Carteret was second in command to Samuel Wallis on the Admiralty sponsored voyage to the Pacific that left Plymouth on August 26, 1766, and entered the Strait of Magellan on December 17. After an exciting passage, they lost contact at the Pacific exit on April 11, 1767. Wallis on the *Dolphin*, after extended visits to Tahiti and Tinian, returned to the Downs in triumph, May 20, 1768. Carteret on the sloop *Swallow*, which was quite unseaworthy and with inadequate supplies, discovered Pitcairn Island, engaged in controversies with the Dutch, and returned to Spithead, March 20, 1769. Carteret's voyage was an epic of navigation and personal leadership comparable only to that of Anson. Many problems have resulted due principally to the biased account in Hawkesworth's collection of voyages that appeared in London in 1773.

Wallis has made an outstanding contribution, which presents Carteret's accomplishments in such true perspective as to end the uncertainties that existed so long. Her two volumes are marvels of completeness. Carteret's journal, covering most of these volumes, is exceedingly well edited, and her comments are most valuable. Extensive footnotes, detailed explanations, and a full bibliography make this record of Pacific navigation valuable.

*University of Colorado*

JAMES G. ALLEN

MAITLAND: A CRITICAL EXAMINATION AND ASSESSMENT. By

*H. E. Bell*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. 150. \$4.00.)

In his recently published book on Maitland the late H. E. Bell, formerly a fellow of New College, Oxford, wrote some words of what might be taken, or mistaken, for an extreme eulogy of the great man, of whom he said, "I regard him as the greatest English historian." Such an attitude, however, ought by no means to be thought of as resulting merely from an uncritical attitude of hero worship to-

ward Maitland; and the subtitle under which Bell's book was published is not unwarranted, for it can fairly be called "A Critical Examination and Assessment."

Like many another history student of his day, Bell came to be deeply interested in historiography, which he defined in the very first sentence of his opening chapter as "the study of the ways in which men have applied themselves to the problem of writing history." He realized that this had become a fashionable subject and even questioned whether it had not perhaps become too fashionable for the welfare of history. To which one is prompted to reply: "Perhaps it has."

Rochester, New York

ROBERT LIVINGSTON SCHUYLER

WORSHIP AND THEOLOGY IN ENGLAND. Volume V, THE ECUMENICAL CENTURY, 1900-1965. By *Horton Davies*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 494. \$10.00.)

THIS is the concluding volume (though only the third to be published) of Professor Davies' monumental comparative history of the varieties of English worship, bringing the story up to the "new theology" and Vatican II. This volume differs from its predecessors in that it succeeds in relating developments in worship to those in theology. In the twentieth century, English religious insularity has been broken down, allowing worship to respond to such continental influences as the Roman Catholic liturgical movement, the Protestant rediscovery of the Church, neo-orthodoxy, and the postorthodox theologies. Ecumenism has enabled the various communions to appreciate the devotional heritages of others and to enrich themselves by borrowing, adaptation, and experimentation. As a result, says Davies, "this has been the century when Christian worship has come into its own." The correlation of Bible, Church, and liturgy has made possible a balance of the essential aspects of the Christian life: theology, ethics, and worship. Davies wishes to stress the primacy of worship, both as an all-inclusive category and as man's direct encounter with the numinous. He rightly points out that this aspect of Christianity has received insufficient attention from historians, but he goes too far in redressing the balance. Doctrines and social movements are somewhat distorted when viewed primarily from a liturgical point of view, and Davies does less than justice to immanent theology and the "social Gospel." Nonetheless, the period after 1930 affords him ample scope for his enthusiasm for liturgy and his broad ecumenical sympathies.

Despite much selectivity, the chief value of Davies' work lies in its comprehensive scope. He resembles Latourette in the ambition and voluminosity of his endeavor and in his transcendence of denominational boundaries. Ecumenicity, however, is not the same thing as objectivity. Davies has no hesitation in expressing his personal preferences, whether in religious art (of which he gives a lengthy catalogue) or in religious thought and practice. His "Concluding Critique" is frankly an "evaluation" of current tendencies, with his own suggestions for the future. Thus his work is something more, but also less, than a history.

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

BRITISH STRATEGY AND POLITICS, 1914 TO 1918. By *Paul Guinn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 359. \$7.20.)

THIS exceedingly subtle analysis of British politics during the First World War is not calculated to appeal to those who imagine Lloyd George to be the hero of the piece; nor, for that matter, is it likely to make a very favorable impression on those who prefer some other worthy, civilian or military, for that distinction. The originality of the book is in its point of view; although Mr. Guinn has consulted the Asquith and Kitchener Papers, as well as other manuscript sources, he relies principally on published works, interpreting these in a way that has not been common.

Each of the war years is seen in a different light. In 1915 the nation had a maximum number of opportunities, and its military failures of that year Guinn ascribes to "errors in execution rather than conception." He blames both military and civilian leaders for the mistakes of that period. Contrasting these with the more "irremediable" failures of 1916, which derived from a fundamental misconception about what might be achieved by engaging the German armies on the western front, Guinn argues that this policy was developed by the high command and maintained against the government's "better judgment." The policy was imposed by generals who were supported by Carson and Milner in opposition and by Lloyd George within the government. These three, for different reasons, were agreed on a closely related set of aims: "*guerre à l'outrance*, a Western strategy, and compulsion for industrial labour." Asquith, as Prime Minister, and Grey, as Foreign Secretary, were not up to dealing with these men or their demands.

Where A. J. P. Taylor, in his recent "Oxford History of England" volume, speaks of Lloyd George's accession to power in December 1916 as "a revolution, British style," Guinn sees the event in less cosmic terms. He accepts the fall of Asquith as necessary for England and the Empire, and Lloyd George as better suited to the test of endurance than the man he replaced, but this does not deter him from calling it a "government of adventurers." The presence of Milner and Curzon, as two of the five members of the War Cabinet, has particular significance for him; he writes: "For the first and last time in British history the 'New Imperialism,' repudiated by the electorate in 1906, had captured the citadel of power." Guinn admits that the arrival of these men and of their friends did not immediately produce a new imperialist strategy, but he maintains that it hardened Britain's resolve to take over the principal direction of the war, making others subordinate to its will. This was an event of the greatest significance not only for the Empire but also for the *Entente*.

Guinn is not impressed by what the government was able to accomplish during its first year in office. Lloyd George's quarrel with Haig led, in his view, to a defeat for the Prime Minister that made him incapable of exerting a firm authority over the military. The failure of the war government in preventing the disastrous Flanders campaign, on which Haig had set his heart, was probably inevitable in the circumstances, as was Lloyd George's letter to Haig in October 1917 congratulating him on the "achievements of his Armies." The argument is made that Lloyd George's leadership in Parliament was scarcely more effective. It was only in the spring of 1918, with the start of the German offensive, that the tide turned for the government. Then the internal conflicts subsided, and the Prime Minister gained the support that had earlier been denied him.

There is much that is controversial in this volume. Ideas, like that of the "New Imperialism," are thrown out without their full implications being ex-



plored, and much that is relevant to the subject is neglected. Still, for its blunt refusal to find heroes and for its recognition of British resourcefulness amidst error and indecision, there are few works to compare with this one.

Brown University

STEPHEN R. GRAUBARD

THE WARPED VISION: BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1933-1939. By Margaret George. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 238. \$6.00.)

MARGARET George has written a perceptive and, on the whole, persuasive analysis of the motives behind British foreign policy in the years before the Second World War. Using all the still inadequate public documents and private apologia that have been printed, she attempts to probe into the "why" of appeasement rather than trace once again the depressing and perturbing "what." Beginning with a study of the "Conservative mind" after the First World War, she argues that it was characterized by inexperience, narrowness of focus, and an isolation from the major changes in the European world, which, among other things, made for an almost romantic pro-German and anti-French stance. She recognizes, of course, that these were attitudes shared by many who opposed the Conservatives, but her legitimate concentration on those who were to make official policy in the 1930's tends to leave the reader with a somewhat unbalanced impression of the uniqueness of Conservative views. Having set the stage, George then proceeds to test how those views were reflected in the muddled pragmatism of the Baldwin years. Here she concentrates on the illusions and prejudices that stood behind the mismanaged response to Mussolini's aggression in Ethiopia and on the miscalculations that informed the handling of Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland and the first stages of the Spanish Civil War. After a somewhat unsatisfactory—unsatisfactory because it is unable to illuminate fully the connections between unofficial advocacy and official policy—section on the individuals, organizations, and institutions that fostered a pro-German policy, she turns to the most important part of her work, a study of Neville Chamberlain's policy from 1937 to 1939. A corrosive, but I think defensible, portrait of Chamberlain as a person and as a politician is followed by a devastating critique of the moral smugness, reactionary temper, and sheer ineptitude that were the hallmarks of the course doggedly pursued by the Prime Minister and supported by those whom George calls his "Conservative clique." Fear of Russia and of Communism, abhorrence of war, misunderstanding of Hitler's aims and of Nazism, concern for "Western civilization" and for class interests, some or all of these factors motivated the various Conservative appeasers as they tried to cope with the international turmoil of the thirties.

In general terms, I find the author's indictment convincing. What disturbs me somewhat is her tendency to stretch her inferences rather further than seems warranted by the evidence she presents. To illustrate with one example: Her discussion of the Cliveden Set rests heavily on the accounts of Claud Cockburn, who coined the phrase in his short-lived publication, *The Week*, and of Thomas Jones, whose *Diary with Letters* has been extensively used by most students of the period. Cockburn's analysis was sharply colored by his current political orientation—at the time far to the Left—while Jones's penetrating but narcissistic parading of

his close contacts with the great and near great ought not to be accepted at face value without considerable collaboration. I read them, in fact, as making a strong case against the existence of a Cliveden Set and would have been better satisfied with a more tentative evaluation of the Cliveden Set in the light, for example, of Michael Astor's fascinating comments in his autobiographical *Tribal Feeling* (1963) or of Donald Watts's dissenting conclusions in several of the essays recently collected in his *Personalities and Policies* (1965). George, in other words, is a bit single-minded in her pursuit of the villains of appeasement. Despite this caveat, however, she has produced an important analysis, the major contentions of which are likely to stand up to the test of additional documentation and further reflection.

Rutgers University

HRW

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). Edited by Sir James Butler. THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN. Volume IV, THE RECONQUEST OF BURMA. By S. Woodburn Kirby with M. R. Roberts et al. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. xxv, 568. \$17.00 postpaid.)

WITH the same careful scholarship, clarity, and attention to detail that characterized the first three volumes of this projected five-volume official series on the British role in the war against Japan, General Kirby and his colleagues have now addressed themselves to the 1944-1945 campaign to recapture Burma. Using British, Japanese, and American records, they have picked up the story in the summer of 1944, after the defeat of the Japanese effort to take Imphal, and followed General Slim's advance into Burma against the battered and disorganized enemy forces. They take as their theme Field Marshal Wavell's observation that "while coolness in disaster is the supreme proof of a commander's courage, energy in pursuit is the surest test of his will."

The pursuit into Burma was undertaken in the face of drenching monsoon weather and extremely difficult terrain conditions, over increasingly long lines of supply and communication. The authors explore these problems at length and show how air and river supply helped to overcome them. Not so easily resolved were the problems of inter-Allied command and conflicting strategic views in Southeast Asia, the demands of other theaters, and a shortage of troops that might have undermined the whole campaign. That these difficulties were to any extent met and reasonably handled was due in large measure to the ability and character of Admiral Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in the area. In the field, Mountbatten's political and strategic talents were easily matched by the qualities of command exhibited by General Slim. Slim conducted a brilliant, imaginative campaign and constantly kept the Japanese off balance.

To give perspective to their narrative, the authors describe concurrent events in China and the Pacific. The latter chapters will be of less interest to American than to British readers since they are based on published American sources, and, in any event, fuller accounts are available. On the other hand, *The Reconquest of Burma* is an excellent companion volume to the official American history of the

China-Burma-India theater, and its publication ensures that the complete story of events in that area is available to all.

*Industrial College of the Armed Forces*

STANLEY L. FALK

THE POLITICS OF REPEAL: A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 1841-50. By *Kevin B. Nowlan*. [Studies in Irish History, Second Series, Volume III.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 248. \$7.50.)

SEVERAL years ago, in a chapter in *The Great Famine* (1956), Dr. Nowlan examined in briefer form some of the story now presented in greater detail and in the context of the history of the 1840's as a whole. The starting point is 1841, in Ireland, the effective beginning of O'Connell's repeal agitation, and in England, the assumption of office by the Peel ministry. Repeal and reform, the politics of the famine years, the Young Ireland movement, O'Connell's relations with the Whigs, the failures of the Russell ministry to deal boldly with Irish problems, the abortive revolt of 1848 and its aftermath are the subjects of Nowlan's work. Its originality lies in the way it combines its themes, showing the relation of each to the others. Close students of the 1840's will value this interweaving of subjects, but it means, of course, that in order to pursue his theme Nowlan cannot fully deal with all the matters of which he writes. Young Ireland, for instance, is somewhat briefly treated, but in essentials the story is there, usefully placed in the broader history of the decade. Nowlan's introductory chapter contains many of his interesting conclusions. If the tragic developments of the forties brought into British politics an increased awareness of the special character of Irish problems and the need for remedial action, no English political party was prepared, Nowlan writes, "to take that bold action which might have saved the Union." If Nowlan has, indeed, shown the factors that kept Russell from fundamental reform in Ireland, he nevertheless judges it a "tragedy" that in the years between 1846 and 1852 neither ministry nor Parliament could free itself from orthodox economic doctrine, and "the powerful, persistent influence of the landed interest," and go forward with acts of imaginative statesmanship.

Could the union have been saved? To ask this finally unanswerable question reminds us how much more study is needed before we can further penetrate the present surface of Irish nineteenth-century history and reach both more certain and more speculative answers. We need to know, to mention only a few matters suggested by reading the present work, more about the national movement in the earlier century, about the structure of Irish politics in the Age of O'Connell and Peel, about the Catholic middle class and the Catholic Church, and, on both the Irish and on the English side, more about the psychologies, prejudices, and motivations of the rulers and the ruled.

Nowlan's work adds another volume to the studies that have recently been giving us a new Irish history and opening the way for further work. The style throughout does not always maintain the level of the introductory chapter, but the narrative is clear and carefully documented. The book is based on the papers of British statesmen, on the Young Ireland and O'Connell materials in Dublin, on

newspapers, on parliamentary papers and proceedings, and on relevant contemporary works.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

THE LIBERATOR: DANIEL O'CONNELL AND THE IRISH PARTY, 1830-1847. By *Angus Macintyre*. (London: Hamish Hamilton. 1965. Pp. xvi, 348. 50s.)

Few men did more to influence the course of modern history than Daniel O'Connell, but historians have not properly appreciated his significance. Two books published in 1965, Kevin Nowlan's *The Politics of Repeal* and this volume by Macintyre, go a long way toward giving O'Connell the attention he deserves.

Macintyre concentrates on O'Connell's role as leader of the Repeal or Irish party in the House of Commons in the 1830's and 1840's. During the early 1830's he not only commanded a substantial group of Irish M.P.'s, but he was also the dominant personality in a coalition that included Repealers and British Radicals. This coalition cooperated with the Whig government in the passage of reform measures. In 1835 O'Connell formalized his arrangement with the Whigs in the Lichfield House Compact. Though he was loyal to this alliance and his support kept the Whigs in office and pushed their legislation through Parliament, he never received a fair return for his efforts. Ireland was cheated in the Reform Bill, and Irish legislation concerning tithes, municipal government, and poverty were too conservative, inadequate, or unsuitable for the Irish situation. But O'Connell refused to repudiate the Whigs because he believed they were the only realistic hope for Irish reform. This confidence in the Whigs diminished and eventually destroyed his influence over British Radicals.

When Peel was in power (1841-1845) O'Connell turned his attention to agitating for repeal in Ireland and to frustrating the objectives of Peel's Irish policy. In 1845, after the failure of repeal, as a fading old man he resumed his alliance with the Whigs. In doing so he split the Repeal Association and destroyed what remained of the Repeal party in the House of Commons. He helped Russell and the Tory malcontents bring down the Peel government, but the Whigs repaid him by ignoring his pleas for justice and charity to Ireland during the famine. The inadequate returns from the Whig alliance, the defeat of the repeal agitation, the famine, and his conservative response to the demands of tenant farmers for economic security ruined O'Connell's brand of nationalism and left the field to the cultural nationalism of Young Ireland, more dogmatic in spirit and potentially more sympathetic to agrarian radicalism.

In a clear and exciting prose style Macintyre has admirably described O'Connell's complex personality: pragmatic nationalist, Benthamite, demagogue, effective parliamentarian, political organizer, and socially conservative landlord. He tends to underestimate O'Connell's influence on Irish nationalism after his death in 1847, but his book captures the spirit of the period, demonstrates the significance of the Irish question in shaping the course of British politics, and contains valuable and well-researched material on early nineteenth-century Ireland and the background and character of Irish legislation passed by Parliament. This is an

excellent book; it deserves a place beside the O'Faolain and Lecky portraits of the creator of modern Irish nationalism.

Marquette University

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey

JAMES LARKIN: IRISH LABOUR LEADER, 1876-1947. By *Emmet Larkin*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xviii, 334. \$7.50.)

It is surprising that this is the first biography of "Big Jim" Larkin, syndicalist, Irish nationalist, German secret agent in Mexico, a founder of the American Communist party, victim of the Red Scare, and delegate to the Comintern. This well-written work by Professor Emmet Larkin (no relation) is the first valuable contribution to the development of Irish urban labor history since the publication of J. D. Clarkson's *Labour and Nationalism in Ireland* (1925). Especially informative in its treatment of Irish labor agitation between 1907 and 1914, this biography is filled with many other interesting details such as the influence on the American Communist movement of the "bastard Irish strain of British Socialism" through the involvement of Larkin, Eadmonn MacAlpine, and Jack Carney. With quotations from Larkin's revivalistic oratory, full of Joycean vitriol, "Big Jim's" tornadolike personality is painted in glaring colors.

A product of the Liverpool slums, Larkin was forced to work at the age of eleven. He maintained that his formal education in a poor English Catholic school taught him "the truth of eternal justice" and "the fear of God" but that he found in the world no fatherhood of God but only a society of hyenas. At sixteen he joined the Liverpool branch of the Independent Labour party and for the next fifteen years was one of the leading and most militant British Socialists, campaigning for higher wages and cautioning temperance and ascetic determination among his union members.

Professed Socialist, Irish nationalist, and Roman Catholic, Larkin failed to see any inherent conflicts, although more orthodox believers disagreed. Syndicalist Socialism, however, was the driving force in his life. He attacked the parochial and intolerant attitude of many Irish nationalists toward Englishmen. When, in his "Fight to Save the Kiddies" during the great lockout in Dublin in 1913 by sending the children of the strikers to English homes, Archbishop Walsh of Dublin accused Larkin of trying to "pervert" their faith in the homes of Protestants and atheists, Larkin pointed to the hypocrisy of the archbishop in failing to assist the "21,000 families living five in a room in Dublin." Middle-class Dublin Catholics applauded the archbishop's sending patrols of priests to the docks to prevent the children's departure. On the other hand, American Socialists were later suspicious of Larkin's religion. Despite Larkin's efforts, after national independence the Irish labor movement, according to the author, was "pressed by an intolerant nationalism and an aggressive Catholicism" and "gave up the ghost of Socialism."

Larkin has written a sympathetic but balanced study of a dissenter constantly at odds with his times. Although the text is well documented, a bibliography would have been helpful. This engaging biography merits an enthusiastic endorsement.

Catholic University of America

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.

UN MISSIONNAIRE DE LA CONTRE-RÉFORME: SAINT PIERRE FOURIER ET L'INSTITUTION DE LA CONGRÉGATION DE NOTRE-DAME. By *H. Derréal*. Preface by *Philippe Ariès*. [Civilisation d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] ([Paris:] Librairie Plon, 1965. Pp. v, 7-478.)

MADAME Hélène Derréal is also Mère Marie de la Miséricorde and enjoys the distinction of being the first nun in France to win the coveted *doctorat ès lettres*. That she well deserves this honor is evident from the extent of her publications and their scholarly thoroughness. Her major subject has been the life and work of St. Peter Fourier who, although a mere parish priest of Mattaincourt in Lorraine, occupied an important position in the Counter Reformation during the early seventeenth century. The present volume, it should be noted, is but one of several that the author plans to publish concerning Fourier and is limited to one phase of his work, the founding of the Congregation of Notre Dame. Realizing that religious knowledge and belief might be significantly propagated through Catholic education, Fourier early in his career determined to establish a teaching order of nuns who would combine religious life with active instruction of girls as the Jesuits were doing among young men. The book examines in exhaustive detail the vicissitudes of the order from its foundation by Fourier in 1598 to the winning of papal approval in 1628. If all her projected works on Fourier are as thorough as this one, the series should provide innumerable insights into the practical functioning of the Counter Reformation and the many obstacles facing those who sought to advance its cause.

In tracing the history of the congregation's first three decades, Derréal rightly emphasizes the conditions that produced the organization, its great novelty in the period, and the enormous hostility that it encountered. Although Lorraine was not significantly infected with Protestantism, widespread laxity among both regular and secular clergy and the irreligion of the populace caused the area to be regarded by Catholic leaders as a *pays de mission*. Fourier's approach to restoring the faith through religious instruction of girls ran counter to established social attitudes since the prevailing view was that girls should either marry or be immured in convents. The idea that they might combine the religious life with active direction of the young was revolutionary in the society of the period. Not only might the temptations of the flesh and the outside world overcome the good intentions of many; some might even return to their families and reclaim their property rights, upsetting many a plan for succession to the patrimony. The local hierarchy in Lorraine strongly opposed Fourier's organization, and, when this failed, sought to control it. As for Rome, the project for years faced insuperable opposition to Fourier's "female Jesuits" of which the papacy wanted no part. The extremely devious and extended maneuvers through which Fourier's supporters finally overcame all these obstacles and won papal approval are recounted in detail and form the substance of the book. With considerable ingenuousness, Derréal does not hesitate to expose the questionable motives of the opposition and the frequently unscrupulous methods that Fourier's supporters were obliged to use, all in a good cause.

The weaknesses of the book are those of style and organization rather than research and understanding. The author might well have placed greater emphasis

upon the more important elements of her narrative and suppressed many details. As it is, she moves from such minor matters as squabbles in a given house to negotiations in Rome and back again without significant weighting of the more important developments. The essentials are there, but the reader must find them for himself. Even Fourier's exact role is frequently lost in the maze of maneuvers. The book nevertheless significantly contributes to knowledge of the Counter Reformation and throws much light upon the realities of the movement at the local level.

*Brown University*

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

SAINT VINCENT DE PAUL AND THE FORMATION OF CLERICS. By Maurice A. Roche, C.M. [Studia Friburgensia, New Series, Number 39.] (Fribourg: University Press. 1964. Pp. xix, 202.)

THIS doctoral dissertation of the University of Fribourg was written by a priest whose religious congregation has been operating seminaries for the training of the Catholic clergy since 1642, the number under Vincentian auspices having reached 104 by 1960. The author has not escaped some of the hallmarks that so frequently accompany doctoral dissertations, such as a wooden and repetitious literary style. By the same token, however, he has surmounted the handicap that too often mars the work of members of religious orders when they write of their founders: the lack of a critical approach. He is quite frank, for example, in stating Vincent de Paul's failure to set for his men any premium on intellectual distinction, as well as his lack of any well-conceived plan for seminary instruction. A second service that the author has rendered is to delineate Vincent's clear departure from the seminary pattern adumbrated by the Council of Trent's legislation of July 1563. Vincent found it quite unsatisfactory to take boys of twelve, the age specified by Trent, and, as he said in a letter of May 1644, the Tridentine system had succeeded neither in France nor in Italy, but it was a different matter, he remarked, "to take students from twenty to twenty-five or thirty years old." In Father Roche's judgment Vincent's most important contribution to priestly training was his retreats for ordinands, which grew out of a request made of him in 1628 by the bishop of Beauvais. These retreats, rather than the decrees of Trent, prepared the way for the later seminaries of the Sulpicians, Vincentians, Eudists, and others.

The evolution from the ten-day retreats for ordination to the fully developed major seminaries of Vincent's last years is traced here in considerable detail from a number of hitherto unknown manuscript sources as well as from the printed literature. The book will prove useful at this particular time when Catholic seminaries are undergoing the most searching scrutiny they have ever experienced. Thus the book will not only assist students interested in the history of the movement, but will also be helpful to administrators and faculties, not to mention the priest and the seminarian who, as Pope Paul VI remarked on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of Trent's seminary decrees, should be men prepared to bear witness to Christ before the world, and if they are to do this they "must be trained in the virtue of truth in word and action. . . ."

*University of San Francisco*

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

CLASSES ET LUTTES DE CLASSES EN FRANCE AU DÉBUT DU XVII<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Robert Mandrou*. [Università degli Studi di Pisa. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di Storia della Facoltà di Lettere, Number 1.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna. 1965. Pp. 125. L. 800.)

In this set of reflective, published lectures, Mandrou uses the term "class conflict" as a model for examining relations between nobility, bourgeoisie (including the robe), and popular (peasant and lower urban) elements in France from about 1615 to about 1652. For the author, class conflict denotes a political or social struggle between rather homogeneous social groups in which there are clear objectives and class consciousness. He argues that the nobility became acutely class conscious in the early seventeenth century, in reaction to the upward thrust of the bourgeoisie. His contention that there was a class conflict between these groups follows awkwardly a discussion of the middle class that does not fit his model. The middle class, he says, is ambivalent toward lower classes and seeks to move into the nobility rather than replacing the nobles with bourgeois values. Mandrou stresses the union of urban and rural popular uprisings, but sees no class conflict here, owing to lack of political maturity and consciousness. Above all, Mandrou's lower classes are profoundly loyal to clergy and monarchy. All three points are undoubtedly valid to a degree, although one will question whether urban-rural unity is the norm, and it can be argued that the emotionalism of "blind force" is as important to class conflict as class consciousness.

In a short review it is impossible to do justice to all the nuances of Mandrou's arguments, and of his very definition of class conflict. These essays are provocative, and they do force us to pause and reflect in the midst of our scramble to dissect seventeenth-century French society. Two long excerpts from the manuscript *cahiers* of the Third Estate in 1615 form a useful appendix. The scholarly apparatus is brief and uneven; it comes as an afterthought. One will leave this book feeling a need to return to Mousnier, Bourgeon, and even Porchnev (whom Mandrou attacks explicitly and implicitly). Mousnier's patron-client thesis, which strikes at the heart of Mandrou's conceptualization, is ignored. Bourgeon dissects the term "bourgeoisie," while Mandrou avoids discussion of differentiation within the non-officier bourgeois groupings. There are also several factual errors, some minor, some important. Still, the reader should remember that this is a set of reflective essays, not a monograph.

*Queen's University*

A. LLOYD MOORE

FRENCH EXPLORERS IN THE PACIFIC. Volume I, THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *John Dunmore*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 356. \$8.80.)

EXPLORATION in the Pacific, since the end of the eighteenth century, has been dominated by the name of Captain James Cook and, hence, by the English. This book will not diminish that domination for Cook was a giant of history, but it will amplify the picture of Pacific exploration and, for the first time in English at least, present the French contribution.

Like the English and the Spanish before them, the French of the early eight-



eenth century were seeking a "Great Southern Continent," which they preferred to call "Gonneville Land." The name went back to 1503 when Binot Paulmyer of the Buschet de Gonneville family, after leaving Honfleur and thinking he was somewhere around the Cape of Good Hope, was blown about by violent storms and hopelessly lost. He reached a haven in "Gonneville Land," refitted, was well treated, and sailed off into the blue. His location is not known, but the name stuck and became the chimera of the "Great Southern Continent," which led Frenchmen on voyage after voyage of peculiarly sympathetic ineptness.

Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century voyages to the Pacific began as illicit trading ventures to Spanish America, and some of them ended as circumnavigations. Profit was the sole objective; the day of formal scientific exploration was not yet reached. In his introduction the author delves into these many little-known voyages and points out that between 1698 and 1725 a total of 168 French ships were in the South Seas.

This exceedingly illuminating introduction is followed by sections on the formal expeditions, both private and national, of the century. Bougainville, De Surville, Marion du Fresne, Kerguelen, La Pérouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and Marchand are discussed in sequence. The important thing about this book is that the author uses not only such English versions of these voyages as have been published, but all French sources and journals by other people, of which there are many. This enormously enhances the scope of the book.

For the first time we have in English an adequate coverage of the French voyages: their discoveries, their difficulties, their disappointments, their contributions to science, geography, and navigation. This will long remain the only adequate source book on the subject in English. Another feature that will soon be obvious to the reader familiar only with the English accounts: there were many more ships in the Pacific and sailing around the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than one would suspect.

This book is so packed with new facts from original manuscript sources that we can only praise the author for his diligence and scholarship; he did much work with microfilm in New Zealand from manuscripts in French archives. We anticipate the completion of this important project with the publication of the French voyages in the nineteenth century.

*Peabody Museum of Salem*

ERNEST S. DODGE

#### MARSHAL VILLARS AND THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

By *Claude C. Sturgill*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. x, 175. \$5.75.)

In the preparation of this book the author has consulted numerous documents in the *Archives de la Guerre*, the *Archives de la Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, besides studying unpublished material concerning the Treaty of Rastatt contained in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv at Vienna. He is also familiar with the published sources and principal monographs, though he seems not to have utilized Max Braubach's writings on Prince Eugene. After a brief review of Villars's early career, Professor Sturgill begins his main narrative with Villars's campaign as second-in-command in Italy

in 1701. Thereafter Villars is followed step by step for the whole course of the War of the Spanish Succession, including the suppression of the Camisard revolt, through Malplaquet and Denain, and ending with the negotiation with Eugene of the Treaty of Rastatt in 1714.

French military historians are demonstrating these days what can be done as a result of asking new questions and applying new research techniques. A notable example of this is André Corvisier, *L'Armée française de la fin du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le Soldat* (1964). Sturgill, however, does not seem to have posed any especially new questions of his source material. This gives his monograph a rather old-fashioned air. The book is largely concerned with establishing accurate battle order information and Villars's day-to-day movements. Sturgill is indeed able "to demonstrate the surprising mobility of the various armies involved and to show how these armies were highly adaptable to trench, siege, and line-of-battle operations." The reader's understanding and appreciation of this demonstration would have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of maps. Part of what the author feels he has accomplished in this book is best expressed in his own words: "Denain is finally placed in its proper place in history. . . . The reason for Villars' disgrace in 1703 and his unyielding attitude [*sic*] in regard to royal orders that he thought incorrect was clear only after close reading of the maze of documents cited in the bibliography. The thinking of Villars on the Camisard uprising, in which he was willing to try any method to end the revolt in order to return to royal favor without having to abase himself, is fully treated for the first time in Chapter 4. His attitudes toward men, material, and conquest are perhaps nowhere else set forth as clearly as in Chapter 5. . . ."

Dartmouth College

ARTHUR M. WILSON

THE IDEA OF ART AS PROPAGANDA IN FRANCE, 1750-1799: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *James A. Leith*. [University of Toronto Romance Series, Number 8.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 184. \$4.95.)

THIS is an attractively written and illustrated essay concerning the eighteenth-century psychological notion that the visual arts possess effective emotional power. After analyzing the artistic theories of Diderot and the Encyclopedists, Mr. Leith describes attempts by French royal officials to promote didactic art and by the revolutionaries to mobilize the fine arts after 1789. He concludes that the idea of art as propaganda was "sterile," not because it was ineffective in influencing the masses (he does not consider this question), but because his limited data show that only 5 per cent of the art exhibited at the *salons* of 1789-1799 depicted revolutionary themes. The reasons he advances for this "relative sterility" were political instability, financial limitations, ineffectiveness of the government art program, and tensions arising from such conflicting contemporary views of art as a political and social weapon versus art for its own sake.

Leith rouses his readers' expectations by promising new information on revolutionary propaganda art from "unexplored material." He disappoints them, citing familiar documents from the Bibliothèque Nationale's Deloynes Collection and seven dossiers (already thoroughly exploited by his predecessors) from the Ar-

chives Nationales's F<sup>17</sup> series, instead of exploring the other 1,477 boxes of F<sup>17</sup> and the immense riches of F<sup>4</sup>, F<sup>7</sup>, F<sup>13</sup>, F<sup>14</sup>, and F<sup>21</sup>. Leith consistently plays down the contributions of earlier French and American writers on the subject. The text is marred by numerous factual errors such as representing the crypto-Royalist, Boissy d'Anglas, as a sincere exponent of Robespierre's propaganda festivals and systematically confusing the Dantonist Louis-Pierre Dufourny with Léon Dufourny, elected to the institute under the Directory. The footnote citations contain a high percentage of errors and misprints. The "Essay on Sources" contains others, and its omissions and misleading or inaccurate statements are disturbing.

Leith does not study the effectiveness of propaganda art though he criticizes earlier investigators of revolutionary art for not doing so. He claims that "no writer has focussed his attention *wholly* on the development of the idea of art as propaganda [italics mine]" as if there were some special virtue in divorcing the idea from its application and from consideration of the political and moral influence of didactic art upon the audience for which it was designed. Leith's book is not the pioneering effort it purports to be, and it is far from being definitive; within its limitations, however, it provides a stimulating presentation of the subject for the nonspecialist.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

ANDRÉ CHÉNIER: HIS LIFE AND WORK, 1762-1794. By Francis Scarfe. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 391. \$8.80.)

THE romantic and tragic story of the imprisonment and execution on the eve of Thermidor of the thirty-one-year-old poet André Chénier is a familiar tale, although often told, or sung in Giordano's opera, in highly fictionalized form. Interest in Chénier as a poet has, however, tended to overshadow interest in him as a political figure until recently, when Gérard Walter published his brief but scholarly *André Chénier, son milieu et son temps* (1947), and an edition of the *Œuvres complètes* appeared (1958). Now we have a much more detailed biography in English by Mr. Scarfe. The author's interest is primarily in Chénier as a writer, and the "work" tends to overshadow the "life." Much of the book is devoted to a meticulous yet broad-ranging literary criticism of the poet, who is presented as a bridge between the classical poetry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the romantics of the nineteenth century; this impressed me, but I am in no position to judge. Scarfe has also attempted to do justice to Chénier's political career. He has given us a much lengthier narrative than Walter's, and he has made good use of his literary insights in piecing together the scanty materials in both poetry and prose on Chénier's life. This is particularly true for the period prior to the Revolution, before Chénier came into political prominence as a skillful polemicist for the moderate, Feuillant opposition to the Jacobins during the crucial years 1790-1792. It was a losing battle for Chénier and his moderate friends, and, after the death of the King, Chénier retired from politics and returned to his poetry. But his activities were not forgotten: his name had appeared on a proscription list on August 10; he was arrested in March of 1794 and executed in July, just two days before the events of Thermidor, which probably would have saved him.

Scarfe's account of all this is historically sound, with several exceptions when he yields to the temptation to imagine the facts and to accept untrustworthy legend concerning Chénier. His work is further marred when he allows an understandable bias against the Jacobins to lead him to use such trite epithets as "fishwives" for the objects of Chénier's denunciations. But these are minor criticisms; this is a useful book.

*University of Arkansas*

GORDON H. McNEIL

LE RÉSEAU D'ANTRAIGUES ET LA CONTRE-RÉVOLUTION, 1791-1793. By *Jacqueline Chaumié*. [*Histoire des mentalités.*] ([Paris:] Plon. 1965. Pp. 471. 31.20 fr.)

By her discovery of archives in Madrid containing a large collection of letters written by the Comte d'Antraigues to Las Casas, Spanish ambassador to Venice, Mlle. Chaumié has filled a gap in the history of the counterrevolution. Hitherto, the Dropmore Papers and a collection at the Public Record Office have been the chief sources of information about this active counterrevolutionary, from 1793 on. The present volume covers the period from the flight of the King through his execution, and Chaumié is now working on the sequel from the Madrid papers, which will carry the story through 1796. In her introduction the author describes the informants of the Comte and the role of D'Antraigues himself, and provides extensive internal criticism of the reliability of the correspondence.

Only three implications of the book can be emphasized in the present review. First, Chaumié summarizes the ideology, rather than the purely political and military activity of the counterrevolution; hence, the volume belongs in a series on "Mentality." She distinguishes three types: the Royalists, who advocated absolutism, led by Breteuil; the Constitutionalists, who upheld the limited monarchy of the Constitution of 1791, but who went along with D'Antraigues in his belief that Louis XVI was not sincere in his support; and the ideology of D'Antraigues and his followers, who advocated a benevolent monarchy controlled by the aristocracy. She traces the development of these three ideologies, modifications in response to events, with Valmy a key to changes, and mutual hostilities among the groups, which may help explain revolutionary victories in 1793-1794. Second, the volume should stimulate a search for more such correspondence. I would have liked to have read some typical examples from the correspondence with Las Casas and to have seen a facsimile of one bulletin in order to facilitate identification in public or private archives. Third, this correspondence introduced some new angles on Jacobin leaders, such as Pétion, that will bear checking. D'Antraigues was convinced that the influence and wealth of the Duke of Orléans (Philippe-Égalité) constituted a dominant factor in 1792-1793, more significant than any known facts would now warrant. The most challenging new fact in this volume is the belief of D'Antraigues in the existence of a secret committee of the Jacobins, with spies reporting on its meetings. Chaumié also projects from the correspondence a member of the future Committee of Public Safety as relaying information to D'Antraigues. These two points must certainly be investigated.

While, therefore, this closely reasoned and critical use of counterrevolutionary correspondence helps to explain attitudes and action both within and outside

France, it raises many new questions that are important for an understanding of Jacobinism in 1791-1793.

Hunter College

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP

PARIS PENDANT LA TERREUR: RAPPORTS DES AGENTS SECRETS DU MINISTRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR. Volume VI, 1<sup>er</sup>-11 GERMINAL AN II (21-31 MARS 1794), and Supplement, 9 SEPTEMBRE 1793-27 NIVÔSE AN II (16 JANVIER 1794). By *Pierre Caron*. Revised, annotated, and completed by *Michel Eude*. (Paris: Librairie G. Klincksieck for the Société de l'Histoire de France. 1964. Pp. iii, 358. 36 fr.)

THIS last volume of the collection of the reports of secret agents of the Minister of the Interior during the Terror begun by the late Pierre Caron in 1910 is divided into two parts. The first consists of 133 reports from 21 agents during the last 11 days of March 1794, a climactic span beginning with the trial of the Hébertists and ending with the arrest of Danton. The mission of these agents was to report the state of opinion in Paris. They mingled with the crowds in the streets, the parks, the markets, the cafés; they attended the theaters, the assemblies of the sections, the political clubs, the sessions of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Their reports have unique value. Eyewitness records, written a few hours after the incident or scene described, they reflect with an immediacy lacking in most sources the actualities of the Terror. Their scope is Paris, including such seamy items as gambling, counterfeiting, mendicancy, prostitution, and filth in the streets. Two themes, however, are dominant: the Hébertists and the food shortage. The agents were constant attendants at the Hébertist drama, and in some of their best reporting they described scenes at the *Palais de Justice* where the Hébertists were on trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal: the immense crowds, the appearance of the accused, and tempestuous episodes, such as that on March 21 when the people broke down the gates of the *Palais*, broke the pikes of guards, and trampled women. Wherever they went the trial was the talk of the town, and they agreed that public opinion was overwhelmingly against the Hébertists, though one agent cogently added "sois crainte ou vérité." When the Hébertists were executed on March 24, nine of the ten agents who reported that day were present to provide some of the best accounts we have of the event. As for the food shortage, report after report depicted Paris menaced by famine: the long lines, mostly women, formed before dawn at the food shops, often to be turned away empty-handed hours later; violence in the markets, where people were knocked down and crushed in the throng; the blatant evasion of price controls.

The second part of this volume contains one hundred reports from a single agent, Prévost, the first dated September 7, 1793, the last January 16, 1794, unavailable when the volumes covering this period were published. The majority of these reports concern food supply, prices, and related matters. Prévost was one of the less literate agents, but he was an assiduous observer in the market places, and his reports present a poignant picture of the economic crisis of the fall and winter of 1793.

West Gloucester, Massachusetts

DONALD GREER

REPUBLIC OR RESTORATION IN FRANCE? 1794-7. THE POLITICS OF FRENCH ROYALISM, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE ACTIVITIES OF A. B. J. D'ANDRÉ. By *W. R. Fryer*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 330. 50s.)

FOR a partial answer to the question embodied in its title, this monograph reconstructs the action of a constitutional and parliamentary royalist, D'André, and his political patron, William Wickham, the British envoy in Bern. The account is based upon some sixty unpublished letters from D'André and upon Wickham's reports to Grenville, excellently analyzed. Many quotations, of which a few are *in extenso*, display much of the evidence.

At the end of 1796, while in Switzerland, D'André became the leader of a concerted effort by members of the French legislative councils to use republican institutions to subvert the republic and restore monarchy. The project collapsed in the *coup* of Fructidor (September 1797). Fryer argues convincingly that D'André became involved in it because of his previous relations with Wickham, that he had no connection with the King's Agents in Paris until a late stage, that he was the chosen leader of the monarchist legislators (joining them in Paris in February 1797), as well as Wickham's trusted dispenser of funds. The "Anglo-royalist conspiracy," as Pariset called it, has never been examined in such detail. The story is well told and amply elaborated; its clarity is heightened by a narrow focus upon a single series of episodes reflected in the Wickham papers. There is no extensive discussion of the King's Agents, Pichegru's treasonable negotiations with Condé, the *Instituts Philanthropiques*, or other royalist manifestations.

D'André's efforts occupy the last two-thirds of the volume. They are preceded by a reconsideration of French royalism and its prospects in 1795 and early 1796 as they appeared to Wickham and Mallet du Pan. This part does not compare in authority or solidity with what follows. The documentary base is limited; the view of the French Republic is that of outsiders whose disapproval is not always balanced by their insight; and significant work by other historians is not explicitly taken into account (for example, Suratteau's article on the elections of the Year IV, which corrects the historians relied on by Fryer). Suggestive and interesting, this part of the book has the character of an essay intended to define a context for the subsequent sharper and narrower focus.

*Stanford University*

PHILIP DAWSON

ANATOLE FRANCE: THE POLITICS OF SKEPTICISM. By *Carter Jefferson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 294. \$8.00.)

HERE is one more study of the intellectual climate of a time and place viewed through the works and ideas of an important protagonist, one of the chief literary figures of the *fin de siècle*, somewhat neglected today because uncongenial to our earnest and populist age.

"It would be a great gift to teach men how to enjoy ideas and play with them instead of playing with actions which always injure others," Alfred de Vigny once wrote. "A mandarin harms no one: he enjoys ideas and a cup of tea." It is the

story of such a mandarin that Professor Jefferson tells or, at least, the tale of his political evolution. For the subtitle is borne out by the careful study of a supremely intelligent man whose regard for thought drove him to action, to political commitment, and to a whole series of gestures more or less consistent with his values and his tastes.

But if politics provides the framework of Jefferson's study, skepticism provides its running thread. Anatole France expresses his skepticism about the social order he began by endorsing with *Les Autels de la Peur* (1884) in the *Rôtisserie* of Jérôme Cogniard (1892); his skepticism about the establishment to which he had acceded in the *Histoire Contemporaine* of Monsieur Bergeret (1897-1900); his disillusion with his erstwhile *Dreyfusard* allies in *Penguin Island* (1908); his pessimistic charity (or vice versa) in *La Révolte des Anges* (1913); and, finally, his doubts of the *Voie Glorieuse* (1916) briefly envisaged, when he called (but discreetly) for a "peace without victory" in 1917. Every descent into the arena, every departure from doubt into a moment's idealism, was followed by return to the Pyrrhonic fold, each spasm of passing passion, Boulangist, *Dreyfusard*, or patriotic, by an ironic shrug.

The stylist and storyteller whom Mauriac and Maurras could both admire was too intelligent not to see through the stupidities of any political commitment and intelligent enough to stay committed all the same, but in too lucid, too detached a fashion to reap the worldly benefits of identification with a particular camp. Intelligence, as Jean Levaillant has recently observed, was his lyricism. Until intelligence comes back into fashion, we can expect France to remain out of it.

University of California, Los Angeles

EUGEN WEBER

LE MOUVEMENT SYNDICAL EN FRANCE, 1871-1921: ESSAI BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE. By Robert Brécy. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Société, mouvements sociaux et idéologies. Third Series, Bibliographies, Number 1.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1963. Pp. xxxvi, 217. Glds. 28.)

THIS can be a useful reference work if the author's self-imposed limits are clearly understood. Brécy is quite narrowly concerned with the class struggle-oriented, nonpolitical union movement, for which he seeks with marked zeal to establish a sort of repertoire of the "indispensable primary materials" available for a reinvestigation *au fond*. A long introduction spells out his reasons for undertaking this task (above and beyond its preparation for a seminar at the University of Paris) and sets forth in elaborate detail his highly worked plan of organization. The brief survey of the labor movement, 1871-1921, hits the high points of this history comparatively dispassionately, although here, as throughout the book, the author keeps within the frame of what might be called the "irresistible revolutionary impulse of organized French labor."

Because Brécy finds it impossible to separate the "corporate" from the "political" in the labor movement of 1871-1886, he omits detailed study of these years. Consequently, the real heart of his book lies in a meticulous congress-by-congress treatment of French trade-union and *Bourses du travail* assemblies, 1886-1914. The bibliographical treatment of the minutes of these congresses is of unques-

tioned value. To know all the French repositories where they may be found, together with appropriate call numbers, is no small gain. Also the inclusion of references to the less worked over Archives of the Prefecture of Police is very helpful. Owing to the absence of regular congresses during the 1914-1918 war years, Brécy here falls back again upon the narrative essay device. The individual congress treatment is resumed for the postwar gatherings that culminated in the celebrated 1921 schism of the CGT. In Brécy's handling of the 1918-1921 congresses it is impossible to miss his sympathy for the advocates of affiliation with the Third International.

Copious footnotes testify to the author's intent of thoroughness and contain much valuable information. In his notes, moreover, Brécy is at great pains to point out errors of detail in many of the well-known authors: Dolléans, Lefranc, Paul Louis, Zévaès, and others.

Appended materials give a helpful synoptic table of French and international congresses and a review of elected officers of federal and confederal bodies. There is also a useful list of French syndicalist periodicals, although for reference purposes the chronological rather than the alphabetical order is to be regretted. Finally, a forty-page bibliography in the conventional sense is of very broad scope; here the author stresses that he is selective rather than inclusive. Some additional documentary references are given, but the items relate mostly to printed material, and the failure to separate primary sources from secondary works is perhaps unfortunate. The bibliography rests generally upon French publications, with only a scattering from other countries. The effect of Brécy's general bibliography is to emphasize, in my opinion, that the real merit of his study lies in his work of correlating the *comptes rendus* of the 1886-1914 congresses.

*American University*

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

FORCES RELIGIEUSES ET ATTITUDES POLITIQUES DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE (COLLOQUE DE STRASBOURG, 23-25 MAI 1963). Under the direction of *René Rémond*. [Cahiers de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Number 130.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. ix, 397. 25 fr.)

THIS volume assembles the reports and proceedings of a colloquium held in May 1963 by a group of French specialists engaged in discussing the changing relationships between organized religion and politics in France in the years since 1945. Attempting first to examine some of the fundamental attitudes toward politics and political life to be found in Catholicism, Protestantism, and Judaism, the papers go on to explore the impact of the three major religions on such facets of political activity in France as political parties, the schools, the trade-unions, the press, and even the shaping of foreign policy. The conclusions are somewhat tentative, and the book is more valuable for the questions it asks than for those it answers. For one thing, the nature of "religious forces" is laboriously explored, yet there still remains considerable disagreement over the importance of its various components. In the case of Catholicism, how does one distinguish the relative influence in politics of the hierarchy, the various Catholic lay groups, the Catholic press, the Catholic trade-unions? What is the influence of a Protestantism that



styles itself *L'Église sentinelle*? Who speaks for French Judaism? None of these questions are fully resolved.

Yet some of the suggested conclusions on a variety of subjects will interest students of French politics. Many of the participants note a shift of French Catholicism from the traditionalism, nationalism, and authoritarianism with which it was once identified and see the hierarchy as becoming less directly interventionist and more pluralistic in its outlook than ever before; perhaps, some would maintain, the new orientation reflects a reaction to the collaborationism of the Vichy years, which left the hierarchy embarrassed and humiliated. French Protestantism is categorized as still identified with republican, individualist, and progressive traditions, but at the same time its lack of enthusiasm for the post-war European unity movement receives proper attention. Interestingly, if M. Rabi is to be believed, French Judaism seems to be moving politically toward conservatism for two external reasons: the growth of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and the emergence of the state of Israel.

Most illuminating is the discussion by René Rémond of a fourth major religion in France: anticlericalism. He finds signs that it is on the wane, especially in its older, virulent, and often scurrilous form. The incomplete separation of the churches and the state, the war and the resistance movement, the close ties with the Left of the MRP (distinctly a Catholic party but not a party of the Church) have all contributed; an occasional development shows, however, that the issue is still far from dead. One novelty, sad to relate, is the emergence of an anticlericalism of the Right that has attacked the Church for betraying the cause of *Algérie française*.

One would have liked some more extended discussion of church-state relationships under the Fifth Republic where political problems and the style of politics are so different from preceding years; perhaps the watershed for the colloquium should have been 1958, not 1945. A word of praise is due the compilers of the bibliographical appendixes; they have provided an invaluable guide for continued research in the area opened for exploration by the symposium.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HISTORY OF THE MODERN WORLD. Edited by *Allan Nevins* and *Howard M. Ehrmann*. SPAIN: A MODERN HISTORY. By *Rhea Marsh Smith*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 508, xxxiv. \$8.75.)

WHAT is a "modern" history of Spain? By reason of its subtitle and inclusion in the Michigan series, this full-length account by Professor Smith of Rollins College, which runs from the Iberians to the abandonment of the Moroccan bases in 1961, inescapably imposes assessment in terms of its modernity. Except in one direction, however, this quality is not readily perceived. Certainly there is nothing specifically modern in the considerable amount of factual information, by no means always reliable or up to date; or in the predominantly regnal periodization and biographical, political, and military stress, although this is partially offset by interspersed chapters on general civilization somewhat heavily ballasted with catalogues of writers and artists; or, finally, in the lack of analysis, synthesis, or in-

terpretation. But the assignment of two-fifths of the available space to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, fully as much as is given the traditionally more emphasized three centuries between the Catholic kings and the Constitution of Cádiz, and twice as much as the ancient and medieval sections together, does give the book a distinctly modern weighting. This is highly commendable, and in surveying this vital century and a half since Ferdinand VII's return Smith provides a clear, balanced, occasionally discerning review of the successive Bourbon restorations and dictatorships, the Carlist Wars, the monarchy's repeated failures of leadership, the rise and fall of the two republics, and the shifting lines of power and direction in the twenty-five years under Franco. The important studies of Carr, Jackson, Hennessey, and Kiernan have appeared too recently to be used, and treatment of such central topics as industrialization, the widening gap between Church and lower classes, the army's political role, *federalismo*, anarchism, syndicalism, and socialism is not impressive, but as a broad running narrative of events this is a useful survey for the general reader.

As for the other three-fifths of the volume, this is not "modern" at all, due partly to imperfect familiarity with the pertinent literature of the last several decades—a weakness apparent also in the terminal bibliography with its many archaic or inferior titles, astonishing omissions, and, incidentally, its high rate of typographical errors. It is difficult to understand how Muslim Spain can be discussed without discernible use of Dozy, Lévi-Provençal, or Cagigas; or medieval Christian Spain without reference to Sánchez Albornoz, González, Lacarra, P. E. Russell, or Américo Castro; or the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (for which the usual chapter on internal developments is surprisingly missing) without the indispensable guidance of Hamilton, Vicens Vives, Braudel, and Bataillon. The eighteenth-century chapters, probably the weakest of the book, appraise this age of fundamental and dynamic change as one of "economic and political stagnation," a judgment that fails to display acquaintance with the very different conclusions reached by Herr and Sarrailh.

In general, handling of institutional and constitutional problems is disappointing; social and economic change, while mentioned, too often hangs in a vacuum; and the Church—except for that jaded favorite, the Inquisition—is rarely discussed with success. In comparison with the recent publications of Elliott and Lynch, much of Smith's book has in fact an old-fashioned air. As a whole, it does not supersede other current (and also unsatisfactory) one-volume accounts, and in no firm sense can it be regarded as meeting the requirements for a short, "modern" history of Spain.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

EL CONDE-DUQUE Y CATALUÑA. By *Eulogio Zudaire Huarte*. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Historia Moderna; distrib. by Librería Científica Medinaceli, Madrid. 1964. Pp. 506. 240 ptas.)

THIS book makes a genuine contribution to detailed knowledge of the Catalanian crisis of 1621-1640, but unfortunately little to understanding. Analysis (unnecessarily separated from narrative) is often unrealistic, inconsistent, marred by partiality: Madrid's poverty caused decisions but not delays; Spanish frontier

policy was strategy, French invasion dishonorable; and so forth. Zudaire is shaky on foreign literature: for example, he lists Chaunu, Hamilton, and others, but for silver imports cites Trevor Davis [*sic*], who, like others, is listed more strangely still in bibliography and index.

Zudaire has industriously mined the documents of key institutions and posts, but reveals little about their scope of authority or relative power and importance, knowledge of which we lack and must have to understand actions. As Olivares appears only sporadically, one might expect the author to have learned something about the actual power of the *privanza*, but he tells us nothing; having dealt exhaustively with institutions' actions, he seems not to care about their nature.

Regrettably, the Catalan Revolt was not an objective event; it was a noble fight to defend either the Catalan nation or the Spanish state. Of these partisan versions of history, the pro-Catalan is superior on two counts. It at least recognizes a coherent (if evil) opposition, while pro-Castilians typically do not. When Catalans defensively blame others for their own failings, for example, Zudaire can see only "un fondo de ironía burlesca en estas manifestaciones." Secondly, the pro-Catalan doctrinal bent is not nearly so ahistorical as the pro-Castilian. After two generations of civil war, European tides favored strong central government, and Spain perhaps needed it badly—sufficient grounds for disapproving of schisms. But the offense was against the pragmatic absolutism of that century, not the doctrinaire authoritarianism of this. Yet Zudaire condemns the *sediciosos* [*sic*] not for treason or lese majesty (which make contemporary sense) or simple divisiveness, but for "crime against authority." Objection to this is historical, not political: not to applying a particular modern criterion but any modern criterion in selection and evaluation regarding an event 325 years and several developmental phases ago. To judge the reasonableness of events, as distinct from their consequences, by modern standards is the opposite of historicity; to bring God into the matter as a supporter is the height of arrogance.

Still, this is a catalogue of reservations and complaints about a valuable book. It recounts enough detail on official actions to make it essential reading for historians of the period.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

GUERRA DE LA INDEPENDENCIA: ESTUDIOS. Volume I. By J. García Prado et al. [II Congreso Histórico Internacional de la Guerra de la Independencia y su Época. Institución "Fernando el Católico," Publication Number 381.] (Saragossa: the Institución. 1964. Pp. 785.)

If only because it contains some thirty separate contributions, this volume does not lend itself easily to general characterization. The subject matter is the resistance offered by the Spaniards to the French occupation during the years 1808–1814. The shorter chapters merely reprint, with little commentary, letters found in municipal or family archives. The more ambitious chapters offer detailed geographical, chronological, and military descriptions of such important encounters between French invaders and Spanish defenders as the Battle of Bailén and the siege of Cádiz. Most of the papers were read at the Second International Congress of the War of Independence, held in Saragossa in 1964, and they are filled with the

inflated rhetoric of patriotic orations. We learn that on June 6, 1808, at Valdepeñas, "certain women also participated in the attack, and that the gracious and beautiful Juana Galán, known as 'La Galana,' distinguishing herself particularly by her violence and courage, defying all danger, and armed with a shillelagh, at the gate of her own house, killed not a few soldiers as the latter fell from their horses." The longer the speech, the more names and nicknames are supplied; the more heroic anecdotes, the more citations from military proclamations; the more songs defying Joseph Bonaparte, the more descriptions of archetypical peasants, monks, and soldiers playing archetypical roles in the defense of *patria y religión*. There are no critical apparatus, no integration of the material of the separate essays, and no general interpretation of the six-year struggle against the French (other than in the form of conventional patriotic slogans). There are a few chapters containing demographic and economic information for local areas, but on the whole these studies appear deliberately to ignore the methods of modern historiography that were introduced into Spain by the late Jaime Vicens Vives. Unfortunately there exists no clearly organized and conscientiously documented history of the national resistance against the French. Galdós' *Episodios Nacionales* offer keen insight and serious interpretation, but as with all novels, the documentation is not listed, and the reader can never be sure just where truth ends and fiction begins.

The present volume of *Estudios* may be likened to a mountain of unrefined ore. Someday a patient historian who is engaged in preparing a documented history of this major era in Spanish history may find worth-while nuggets of information therein.

University of California, La Jolla

GABRIEL JACKSON

LES ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DE SIMANCAS ET L'HISTOIRE DE LA BELGIQUE (IX<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES). Volume I, SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO, NEGOCIACIÓN DE FLANDES. Liasses 496 à 634. By Maurice Van Durme. [Collection de Chroniques belges inédites et de Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de la Belgique, Number 60.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 733.)

THIS repertory was commissioned in 1957. To have compiled the thousands of references it contains and to have seen a book of such proportions through the processes of publication within less than seven years is more than merely a commendable achievement. This first volume pertains primarily to the reign of Philip II of Spain, with a few references that antedate 1556 and a limited number referring to the first years of the Age of Philip III. Although designed, as the title indicates, to direct researchers interested in Spanish relations with the Lowlands, scholars concerned with wider aspects of the history of the sixteenth century will wish to consult the volume and will obviously do so with profit.

Van Durme has painstakingly examined in some way the contents of each *liasse* for the *Secretaría de Estado*. It has obviously been impossible in most cases to indicate more than the general nature of the individual documents, sometimes noting only that they refer to finances, or to certain individuals, or, by omitting any meaningful description, labeling them as correspondence between certain

persons. Occasionally one is better informed as to content: in *liasse* 525, 5b, for example, one learns that Philip II wrote to the Duchess of Parma about matters concerning the French and Spanish ambassadors to the Holy See. In rare instances more expansive description is employed, as in describing what are surely most informing documents concerning the publisher Plantin.

Fortunately an admirable index has been provided. Printed in double columns this extends to over one hundred pages. It lists persons, places, institutions, and subjects. There are about ninety references to Elizabeth Tudor, while Mary Stuart commands but fourteen; the city of Brussels requires the space of two columns, with Ghent noted to a lesser degree in one. Even a casual reading of this index is a tantalizing occupation and, as the compiler surely hoped, makes one anxious to get hold of the documents themselves. This fine guide to treasures in the archives at Simancas is well printed on paper of good quality and designed with taste. The binding, however, appears to be fragile.

Northwestern University

GRAY C. BOYCE

THE PRINCIPAL WORKS OF SIMON STEVIN. Volume IV, THE ART OF WAR. Edited by W. H. Schukking. (Amsterdam: C. V. Swets & Zeitlinger. 1964. Pp. v, 525.)

Nor only historians of science, but military historians and those interested in the application of science to technology and of both to warfare will welcome Volume IV of this series, containing the Dutch mathematician's *Art of Fortification* (1594), illustrations from his *New Manner of Fortification by Means of Pivoted Swive Locks* (1617; the text, more relevant to engineering, will appear in Volume V), *Castrametatio, that is the Marking out of Army Camps* (1617), and *Of Besieging Towns and Fortresses and Of Pike Redoubts* (both ably recovered from scattered versions).

Schukking, a retired colonel of the Royal Dutch Engineers, has admirably traced and edited the various manuscript and printed texts. He deals convincingly with Stevin's sources, importance, and connection with Maurice of Nassau (eventually as quartermaster general), and with classical and old Dutch traditions. And he sensibly writes for his non-Dutch audience. Unfortunately, the translations of Stevin's texts and Schukking's thorough and critical introductions and footnotes demonstrate again, by transliteration, archaic English, and peculiar "equivalents," that translation should be to, not from, the native tongue. Further, except for drawings, one must question the desirability of facsimile reproduction of originals of such works; it adds little except price, limiting acquisition and use, and thus usefulness.

Stevin oddly combined virtues as engineer and faults as writer: with unpretentious pragmatism went frequently pompous verbosity; with orderly design, superfluous explanation; with good scientific background, a quaint historicity and an absurd nationalistic philology. The mathematical principles directly applied were usually elementary and frequently combined with practical considerations, as in his rejection of re-entering walls in *The Art of Fortification*. It was on practical grounds that he rejected sharp bastions (they were too fragile), closed gun positions (smoke hampered the gunners), and steep curtains (debris fell into the

ditch). Bastions were spaced empirically according to cannon range, which should overlap, and scour the curtains at the flattest possible angle to avoid shooting holes in them. Provision was made for difficult and special terrain and for the fortunes of war: for example, his outworks' vulnerability to fortress cannon was carefully provided. But his practical plans were impractical for his own time because they were too expensive; they had their greatest influence on Vauban, Coehoorn, and their generation.

The remaining writings here, however, reflect actual practice and realistic innovation about which Stevin, in his official position, was especially knowledgeable. They are of special interest regarding military usage. Stevin's designs for siege tools and other items will particularly interest those concerned with technology and war.

*Tulane University*

CHARLES H. CARTER

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920-1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume I, PÉRIODE 1920-1924. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. 550.)

THIS first volume deals largely with Belgium's external security. The documents cover the period 1920-1924 in four chapters: revision of the treaty of 1839 that guaranteed Belgian neutrality; occupation of Frankfurt by French and Belgian troops in 1920; the Franco-Belgian military accord of 1920 and the abortive negotiations for an Anglo-Belgian guarantee pact, 1922-1924. The volume also includes a brief introduction by the editors and a useful chronological and subject listing of the 244 documents.

Chapter 1 contains some material on Dutch-Belgian negotiations concerning possible frontier rectifications, but does not have any cross references to early negotiations (July 1919-March 1920) and to the direct confrontation between Belgian claims on Dutch Zeeland and Limburg and to a revision of the Schelde Statute and Dutch objections. The Belgian Declaration of March 23, 1920, to the Committee of Fourteen is probably the most interesting item. It explains why Belgium could not accept a general promise for peace under League auspices as a valid substitute for the specific guarantees of the treaty of 1839. Another important series of dispatches deals with the Belgian request that the US extend to Belgium a "defensive guarantee."

The second chapter begins with dispatches pertaining to the Kapp *Putsch*. Later documents deal with the request of the restored German government to send troops into the Ruhr area to crush Bolshevik risings. Chapter III comprises the documents dealing with the Franco-Belgian military alliance, an issue that hinged largely on the settlement of the Luxembourg problem. Unsettled Dutch-Belgian relations further complicated matters, but a draft treaty was readied by July 1920. British authorities were divided. Poincaré thought it likely that Britain would ultimately join, but Lloyd George subsequently made clear to the Belgian Prime Minister that this would not be the case and predicted correctly that Germany would not be able to challenge the West for twenty years. When

the military accord was finally signed, the French were very pleased while the Belgian government stressed the defensive character of the pact.

The last chapter lacks references to earlier moves toward a Belgian-British pact such as Premier Delacroix's statement in November 1920 and the London visit of King Albert in 1921. The January 1922 conversations at Cannes between Jaspar, Curzon, and Briand showed substantial differences in their views. The fall of Briand further dimmed hopes for a tripartite agreement although Jaspar indicated readiness for bilateral treaties. British delaying tactics were conceded by Sir Eyre Crowe when he admitted to the Belgian ambassador that Britain was in no hurry to sign even a bilateral treaty since France would then consider itself sufficiently protected and become unwilling to compromise with the British in non-European areas. For over a year no further discussion took place, and in 1924 MacDonald made it clear that Britain was far more interested in multilateral treaties within the framework of the League. The end of the abortive negotiations also constitutes the end of this collection of important documents, which will be enlarged by two subsequent volumes to cover Belgian diplomatic history to 1940.

*American University*

F. GUNTHER EYCK

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES BELGES, 1920-1940. LA POLITIQUE DE SÉCURITÉ EXTÉRIEURE. Volume II, PÉRIODE 1925-1931. Published by *Ch. De Visscher* and *F. Vanlangenhove*. [Documents relatifs au statut international de la Belgique depuis 1830, Part 1.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1964. Pp. 718.)

THE first volume of this series focused on the creation of the Franco-Belgian military accord of 1920 and the failure of Belgian efforts to obtain additional protection by a treaty with Britain. The theme of the present volume is the achievement of both French and English guarantees through the Locarno Treaties and how, in Belgian eyes, those parts rendered the military agreement superfluous.

Indeed, in Brussels the accord became positively unwanted, as distaste grew over its provisions for the violation of the duchy of Luxembourg and for mobilization upon any general German rearmament. Underlying the Belgian attitude were the vehement Flemish campaign against the accord and the fear of being dragged by France into a war in Eastern Europe. By 1931 the main concern was not for an advantageous position in a future conflict but for avoidance of involvement in any war. Although Foreign Minister Paul Hymans made his views clear to the French, he was unable to force Paris to a joint denunciation of the accord. The Belgians' act of unilateral abrogation in 1936 was already in the making.

Much can also be learned from the documents concerning the diplomacy of the Great Powers. The volume presents interesting reading in this respect, and until the British, French, and German documents series reach the Locarno era, it will be one of the best sources available on the period.

Though the editors have skillfully selected the volume's contents, it may legitimately be asked if a complete picture of the diplomacy of the period can be provided by just 239 documents. Granted the series deals solely with security questions, it is nevertheless surprising that no information is provided on the April 1925 treaty concerning the Schelde, which the Netherlands refused to ratify, or re-

garding the 1926 convention by which Britain and France acknowledged the end of Belgium's neutrality as established by the treaties of 1839. These and other lacunae may be regretted; yet there is no contesting the contribution of this publication to an understanding of the diplomacy of the 1920's and the policies of a small power attempting to assert its independence of action.

*Allegheny College*

JONATHAN E. HELMREICH

OLAVUS PETRI AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL TRANSFORMATION IN SWEDEN, 1521-1552: A STUDY IN THE SWEDISH REFORMATION.

By *Conrad Bergendoff*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 267. \$3.75.)

THIS doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago) on a key figure in the history of the Swedish Reformation was first published by Macmillan in 1928. It has now been reprinted with no changes except the addition of a six-page introduction intended as a summary of research on Olaus Petri during the last decades. When it first appeared, the book was of first-rate importance partly because it was a pioneer American work on the Swedish Reformation and partly because it clearly established connections between the Reformation in Sweden and in Germany that had not received adequate attention previously. For these reasons, historians should be pleased that the book has once again become available. But they also have the right to ask whether it was truly meet, right, and salutary merely to re-issue the book rather than to prepare a carefully revised new edition. None of the errors, big or small, of the original have been corrected, and the failure to incorporate the results of recent research makes the book seem out of date. The dissertation style of the text is marred by an inconsistent and often inaccurate orthography. The patriotic Swedish tone of the book—Engelbrekt revolted against "Danish oppression," and Christian II was a "cruel tyrant"—also seems dated. None of the historical discussion of the past decades on Gustavus Vasa has been anticipated, and the complex nature of the monarch's relations with Olaus is glossed over. The introduction does not make up for these faults. For example, there is a whole chapter on the legal and historical works of Olaus, but the introduction does not include mention of the key monograph on him as a historian: Gunnar T. Westin, *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri* (1946). The text treats the Diet of Västerås (1527), but the introduction ignores the recent important articles in *Scandia* and *Historisk Tidskrift* for 1960 by Sven Kjöllström on this subject.

In short, like the furniture of the 1920's, this book can be used, but must be viewed as old-fashioned, though not old enough to be a prized antique.

*University of California, Riverside*

ERNST EKMAN

MYÖNTYVYSSUUNTAUKSEN HAHMOTTUMINEN YRJÖ-KOSKISEN JA SUOMALAISEN PUOLUEEN TOIMINTALINJAKSI. By *Pirkko Rommi*. [Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, Number 68.] (Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1964. Pp. 372.)

FINNS were sharply divided on how to deal with the Russification crisis of the late



1890's. The Constitutionalists (Leo Mechelin, R. A. Wrede, Liberal and Swedish party elements) urged strict adherence to Finland's constitutional rights. The Compliers, taking what they thought was a realistic if pessimistic view of great power-small state relations, advocated compliance. They came largely from the Old Finnish party; their spokesman was Yrjö-Koskinen (1830-1903).

What is new and welcome in Pirkko Rommi's study is the detailed analysis of Yrjö-Koskinen's stance (which owed much to Woldemar Carl v. Daehn) and the deepening fissures it caused in the Old Finnish party. Two premises dominated Yrjö-Koskinen's thinking. First, in the battle to "win the tsar's soul," it was necessary for the Finns to manifest their loyalty in word and deed; pinpricks and pompous declarations about autonomy would only strengthen the militant conservative-nationalist forces in Russia, whose goal seemed to be *Finis Finlandiae*. Second, the national consciousness of the Finnish masses had to be vitalized. Herein, Yrjö-Koskinen was convinced, lay their ultimate salvation: "What will the future bring? No one can say. But so long as a people preserves a vital national spirit, its will to life is inextinguishable, and no earthly power can destroy it." Foolhardy resistance to every imperial demand, he feared, could result in a worse fate: total Russian administration, a sweeping victory of the Russian language, perhaps in the end the complete loss of Finnish identity. The specter appeared very real. "It truly looks as though the Lord has gone on vacation," Yrjö-Koskinen wrote to his son; yet an abiding faith compelled him often to add, "God watches over our tiny affairs too, that I know." Compliance, however, became less and less acceptable to the party's younger elements; they were more disposed to join in the fight against Russian illegalities than continue a stale language war with the Svecomen. Even the older Fennomans (J. R. Danielson, Agathon Meurman, and E. G. Palmén) took differing positions. Before his death Yrjö-Koskinen lost control, and the Old Finnish party broke in two.

While the strategy of compliance was apparently proved wrong by later history and has been denounced by many as akin to treason, it is, indeed, good to have this penetrating and dispassionate assessment of the movement and its leader. Included are a German-language summary and bibliography.

Heidelberg College

JOHN I. KOLEHMAINEN

DEUTSCHE KULTURGESCHICHTE IM GRUNDRISS. By *Wilhelm Gössmann*. (2d rev. ed.; Munich: Max Hueber Verlag; distrib. by Chilton Books, Philadelphia. 1963. Pp. 145. DM 5.80.)

Writing cultural history is a complex venture that demands breadth of view and sophistication. This effort to pack a millennium of German cultural history into 150 pages is almost a self-denying ordinance. Gössmann tries to transcend the limitations of an encyclopedia article. At times his concepts are suggestive and his insights thoughtful. But mostly he has written a sort of cultural history primer.

Beginning with early Germanic times, the author considers eight major eras in German cultural continuity. Each section begins with a historical-sociological summary, moves on to intellectual and spiritual characteristics, and concludes with a literary-artistic survey. The earlier chapters profit from established evaluations and certainties of historical perspective. By the time the book arrives at the

twentieth century, however, it deteriorates to little more than a representative listing of names and movements.

Inevitably the narrative reflects the tensions, pretensions, and tragedies of German history. Gössmann clearly must state that, in addition to Germany proper, German Switzerland, Austria, and some of Central Europe constitute the stage on which his drama unfolds. Yet, with its limitations, the book cannot begin to come to grips with the historical problems that explain the gap between political disasters and cultural achievements. Indeed the whole tone of the study is one of political passivity, of a kind of escape into *Kultur*, rather than engaged analysis. Perhaps its major benefit for Americans will be that, with its direct and uncomplicated style, it offers a useful and informative vehicle for students to improve their knowledge of German.

*University of California, Irvine*

HENRY CORD MEYER

DEUTSCHES JUDENTUM—AUFSTIEG UND KRISE: GESTALTEN, IDEEN, WERKE. VIERZEHN MONOGRAPHIEN. Edited by *Robert Weltsch*. [Veröffentlichung des Leo Baeck Instituts.] (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1963. Pp. 426.)

"The thousand-year history of German Jewry is over," declared the late Leo Baeck in 1933. One of the most difficult problems that confront historians is that of explaining the complex and almost unique relationship between German Jewry and Germany, in the era between Jewish emancipation in the eighteenth century and extermination in the twentieth. The Leo Baeck Institute, founded by refugees from Germany, has taken as one of its first responsibilities the analysis of this relationship and of the remarkable creative achievement of Jews in the political, economic, and cultural life of Germany. It was a halcyon century and a half between Moses Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible and the Nürnberg Laws.

The fourteen monographs presented here are a small selection of studies already, with one exception, originally published in English in the *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* between 1956 and 1962. Most of the collection is devoted to studies of outstanding Jewish personalities in German life: the philosophers Martin Buber and Julius Guttmann, the politician and philanthropist Paul Nathan, the industrialist and Zionist Salman Schocken, the banker Gerson von Bleichröder, the writer Franz Kafka, and the painter Max Liebermann. These figures have been chosen not so much because of their public prominence as because they illustrate interesting and important aspects of the Jewish experience in Germany. For an account of the contribution of the great luminaries of the German-Jewish cultural synthesis—Heine, Marx, Freud, Mahler, and Einstein—the reader must turn to Annedore Leber's *Doch das Zeugnis lebt fort* (1965). Like the essays edited by Leber, these studies are not directly concerned with explaining why the ultimate catastrophe occurred.

The final section of the book consists of five essays on the reaction of German Jewry to the Nazi threat in the deceptive years between 1933 and Hitler's decision to proceed to the Final Solution. The attitudes of German Jews and the institutions they created in an attempt to go on existing in Germany, even if in an

inferior and precarious status, are still the subject of impassioned controversy. This contribution to the subject is significant.

Although these are translations, intended to bring already published work to German readers, scholars will find this a valuable combination, in one easily accessible volume, of a variety of scholarly approaches to the Jewish-German experience. The editor's introduction is a useful guide to further work in this important field. For the specialist, this collection will not, of course, be a substitute for going to the files of the *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* itself, and beyond that, to the original sources.

Queens College

ANDREW G. WHITESIDE

HERDER'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT: FROM ENLIGHTENMENT TO NATIONALISM. By F. M. Barnard. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 189. \$4.80.)

HERDER is one of the most original and influential thinkers of the eighteenth century. He made significant contributions to many fields of thought, yet he has been relatively neglected by British and American students of the history of thought. Here, at last, is a thorough and systematic examination of his social and political ideas.

The author begins with a biographical survey of Herder's life and a study of the thought of the German Enlightenment before Herder. He then proceeds topically to examine Herder's thought on society and the state. The most original and most influential of his ideas was his belief that the *Volk*, with its national memories and a common language, is the most basic unit to be considered in all social and political thinking. Herder looked forward to a new humanity organized into independent and democratically organized nation-states, each unique in its language and culture and each bound to respect the right of other nations. His nationalism was a cultural one of living and let live. He disliked the subjugation of one nation by another, hated imperialism and war, and always believed, as Goethe declared, "Above the nations is Humanity." He also heartily disliked dynastic despotism, the aristocracy, and the censorship of thought and the press. Herder's formulation of the modern ideas of nationalism is more fully treated in R. R. Ergang, *Herder and German Nationalism* (1931).

The weakest part of the discussion is on Herder's influence. In treating his effect on nationalist ideas in Germany, Barnard only considers Herder's influence on the writers of the German romantic school, most of whom were either indifferent or hostile to Herder's ideas. He fails to move beyond the 1820's and to examine Herder's influence on Young Germany and on the whole German unification movement. In treating Herder's influence outside Germany his coverage is more comprehensive. He shows the enormous influence of Herder's nationalist ideas on the peoples of Southern Central and Eastern Europe. He fails, however, to note, as shown in Monod's life of Michelet, Herder's influence on Michelet, the most nationalistic of French historians, and he says nothing about his influence on the Hungarian nationalist movement.

Nevertheless, this study of Herder's social and political ideas is now the best available in English.

Oberlin College

FREDERICK B. ARTZ

THE FALL OF STEIN. By R. C. Raack. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 58.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 217. \$6.50.)

My first thought when I was asked to review this monograph was to wonder what more can be written about a subject that has attracted the attention of so many distinguished historians. The answer is summarized by Dr. Raack in his preface and supported in detail by the rest of the book.

"Though many historians," he writes, "have recounted the dramatic events leading to the fall of the Stein government, I have taken as my special province for detailed investigation the personal intrigues and infighting among the small circle of men near the court just before Stein's resignation. The evidence I have found seems to show the need to explore the relations between what historians view as the larger historical movements—in this case the reform effort—and the constant harassments embodied in social and institutional life and the game of politics itself. Thus I have tried to put into perspective within a historical narrative the roles of chance and misunderstanding, clumsy bureaucratic machinery, patterns of action dictated by irrelevant conventions, clashes of personality and petty aspects of human relations, and the small vexations of the daily round. My purpose has been to resuscitate, where possible, something more than faceless shades and bloodless forces, and thus win the reader's indulgence for re-telling parts of a story of which the main outlines are already known."

It was Raack's good fortune to find unexploited sources in the East German archives at Merseburg and in a number of collections, some of them formerly German, now preserved in Poland. The new documents fill out the story of the intrigues and influences to which the King was exposed in his choice of ministers and make possible a better interpretation of the characters involved. The most important new evidence comes from the Altenstein and Hardenberg files at Merseburg. Apart from Stein, Hardenberg is the only actor in this confused drama who might claim the title of statesman, but Raack is able to demonstrate that Hardenberg, without realizing it, became a major tool of lesser men in persuading the King to drop Stein from his entourage. The influence of Napoleon was important, but after the ratification of the peace treaty Stein might have survived the outbursts of imperial bad temper if they had not been used by Stein's enemies at the Prussian court to support the arguments and suspicions that worked on the King's mind and will. Such influences cannot be weighed with assurance, but Raack's temperate conclusions seem justified by the evidence.

University of Minnesota

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL

ROBERT VON MOHL, 1799-1875: LEBEN UND WERK EINES ALTTLIBERALEN STAATSGELEHRTEN. By Erich Angermann. [Politica, Nummer 8.] (Neuwied: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag. 1962. Pp. 470. DM 36.)

ROBERT von Mohl was one of the trail blazers of the German *Rechtsstaat*. In his most important works, published while he taught at the Universities of Tübingen and Heidelberg, he set forth the principles by which the bureaucracy of a constitutional state would have to be guided. Mohl was also one of the first German

political scientists to pay attention to social questions and to explore the relationship between state and society. Venturing into practical politics, he became Minister of Justice in the ill-fated all-German government formed during the Revolution of 1848. In the 1860's and 1870's he held a number of diplomatic and administrative positions.

Dr. Angermann's book is the first large-scale treatment of Mohl's life and work. Angermann has wisely refrained from using a strictly chronological approach; after an introductory chapter on Mohl's life and career he discusses his writings arranged in accordance with the three problem areas that claimed most of his attention. The picture that emerges is that of a nineteenth-century liberal of good will trying to adjust the political institutions of his day to the needs and aspirations of the rising *Bürgertum* and analyzing with notable realism the problems facing the working class in the beginning industrial age. To deal with these problems, Mohl called for the creation of a separate science of society distinct from political science.

Mohl had the satisfaction of seeing the *Rechtsstaat* become the basis of public administration throughout Germany. On the other hand, he struggled in vain to find a satisfactory solution to the demands of the working class. In the end, like many other German liberals, he turned to Bismarck. If earlier he had been opposed to the Chancellor, he finally saw in him the best safeguard of domestic unity and peace.

Angermann has written a painstaking, not uncritical study based in part on unpublished materials. Yet Mohl's story is not unusual, and while his innumerable writings provide a useful source of information on the concerns of his time, his was not a very original mind. Given these limitations, the book seems overly detailed at times. This applies in particular to some of the scholarly controversies in which Mohl became involved with contemporaries such as Treitschke and Lorenz von Stein. Anyone in need of specific information on Mohl's life and thought, however, will find it in Angermann's treatise.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

DIE BAYERISCHE VATIKANGESANDTSCHAFT, 1803-1934. By Georg Franz-Willing. (Munich: Ehrenwirth Verlag. 1965. Pp. 283.)

THE account of the Bavarian diplomatic representation at the Holy See is the third and last in the series dealing with the relationship of the Vatican with the Central European powers. (The other volumes are A. Hudal, *Die Österreichische Vatikanbotschaft 1806-1918* [1952], and F. Hanus, *Die Preussische Vatikanengesandtschaft 1747-1920* [1954].) Since the Vatican archives were closed after 1848, the author based his account on the documents in the Bavarian state archives, primarily those of the Bavarian legation at the Holy See, the pertinent files in the Austrian archives, and on the personal papers of two of the more important Bavarian representatives, Tauffkirchen and Ritter.

The relationship between Bavaria and the Holy See throughout the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries was placid and considerably less significant than that between Austria or Prussia and the Holy See. The end of World War I brought changes. With the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian

Empire, the fall of the monarchies, and the coming to power of socialist governments, a reassessment of the Church-state relationship became necessary. As far as Bavaria was concerned, the unitary tendencies of the Weimar Republic threatened to submerge Bavarian particularism. The endeavor of the Bavarian episcopate to conclude a new concordat with Rome and to keep its diplomatic ties with the Holy See became part of Bavaria's struggle to maintain its identity at least in the field of cultural and religious affairs. The Vatican, in turn, was interested in preserving and bolstering Bavaria, the foremost Catholic state, against the predominantly Protestant, socialist, central government in Berlin. Events of the post-war years put Bavaria in the forefront of German affairs. The short-lived Communist regime in Munich and the subsequent rise and unsuccessful *Putsch* of the newly formed National Socialist Workers party left their mark on Bavarian-Vatican relations and particularly on the papal nuncio, Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli, who later became Pope Pius XII. The author hardly touches upon Pacelli's opinions and impressions of these events, probably because material of this sort, which should be in the files of the Munich nunciature, is still closed to scholars. From the Catholic point of view, however, the most important event of this period was the conclusion of the concordat between Bavaria and the Holy See on March 29, 1924, primarily the work of Pacelli. It became the model for subsequent concordats, such as that with Poland (1925), Prussia (1929), Baden (1932), Austria (1933), the *Reich* (1933).

Thus, the most interesting sources and materials are concentrated in the last two decades of Bavarian-Vatican relations. The author, fully aware of the importance of these events and the unevenness of his documentation, allocated 158 of 250 pages to the period 1909-1934. This gives the contents of the book a poor balance. The documentation is extensive, and details of the concordat and points of dispute between the negotiating parties are given in footnotes and appendices. It is certainly a work of scholarship. To imply, however, that Freemasons were involved in the Sarajevo assassination and to state that Germany was faced with open civil war at the end of 1932 and that there was no other choice at that time except Communism or Nazism will surely cast doubt on the author's comprehension and interpretation of recent European history.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE O. KENT

BISMARCK. By *Werner Richter*. Translated from the German by *Brian Battershaw*. Foreword by *F. H. Hinsley*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1965. Pp. 420. \$6.95.)

BISMARCK literature has grown rapidly in recent years. America has contributed nobly to it, especially through the first part of Otto Pflanze's masterful treatise. From Britain has come A. J. P. Taylor's elegant, if controversial, portrait. But the German historical profession has not given us thus far a biography of the Iron Chancellor that could be called a classic. Erich Marcks had the literary gifts to do so, but his hero worship makes his writings on Bismarck unacceptable and almost unreadable today; A. O. Meyer's final work appeared at a time when it had little impact, and the same happened to Otto Becker's posthumously published study. The popular image of Bismarck was formed in the twenties by outsiders like

Emil Ludwig. During the Second World War Erich Eyck's monumental reappraisal from the critical outlook of a liberal exile appeared; it is deplorable that his magnum opus was never fully translated into English. Now Werner Richter, a former correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and more recently of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, residing in New York City, who established his reputation as a biographer of Emperor Friedrich III and King Ludwig II of Bavaria, has presented a new full-length portrait of great literary merit. Extensive research went into the preparation of the volume, although one might argue about some strange omissions from his bibliography.

Richter tries hard to avoid the pitfalls of both excessive criticism and patriotic adulation. He observes correctly that "history and hagiography are two distinct sciences which must not be confused with each other." Richter is at his best in those chapters in which he offers a penetrating analysis of Bismarck's personality. Richter's colorful sketches of Napoleon III and Alexander II also add to the attractiveness of the volume. On the other hand, Richter takes certain positions that are open to disagreement. He is too critical of the work of the *Paulskirche*, and he tends to overrate the accomplishments and the potential of the *Deutsche Bund*. He deplores the ultimate consequences of Königgrätz: it "cut deep into the very substance of Germany which it reduced by a third, and caused its intellectual and economic influence . . . to stop short at Vienna which now became a mere frontier post." While one may debate such theses, Richter's vivid and eminently fair account of Bismarck's life deserves to find many appreciative readers in the English version. The translation by Brian Battershaw is generally satisfactory; the text has, however, been shortened in spots without explanation. There are more printing errors than would seem excusable, and a few factual mistakes might have been corrected. The pictorial material is rather well selected, but poorly executed.

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

AUGUST BEBELS BRIEFWECHSEL MIT FRIEDRICH ENGELS. Edited by *Werner Blumenberg*. [Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen und österreichischen Arbeiterbewegung, Number 6.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. liii, 824. Glds. 96.)

THE correspondence between Bebel and Engels, edited under the auspices of the *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam, is one of the most important sources of the history of the German socialist party as well as of international socialism. Though its publication was originally contemplated soon after Engels' death, the first larger edition of the correspondence did not appear in Russian translation until 1932, in connection with the publication of other letters of Marx and Engels, and subsequently also in German (1933, 1958).

The correspondence includes 319 letters, 96 by Engels to August and Julie Bebel, and 216 of their letters to Engels. Though many of Engels' and quite a few of Bebel's letters have been lost, the continuity of the correspondence by and large has been preserved. Only a few letters cover the seventies, many the eighties, and most the period up to 1895, the year Engels died. As far as his letters are concerned, the present edition is the most authoritative one; Bebel's letters have not

been previously published except those quoted in his memoirs and others used by Gustav Mayer in his biography of Engels (1934).

Bebel became the parliamentary leader of the best-organized and most disciplined socialist party in Europe. Though he esteemed the theoretical accomplishments of Marx and Engels, he was never overawed by their prestige. Toward Engels, twenty years his senior and after Marx's death the recognized "general" of the movement, Bebel displayed independence and frequently rejected, in friendship but with determination, his views and advice. According to the Russian and German editors of the correspondence that was published in the thirties, Engels, with Marx, had been the guide and mentor of the German Social Democratic party. Mayer similarly asserted that Engels, who esteemed Bebel's political judgment but was frequently disappointed at his theoretical position, had in the end made him a disciple. Bebel himself, however, stressed that Marx and Engels had never gone beyond giving advice, which in "very important cases" he had not followed. The correspondence even shows Bebel's influence upon Engels in matters of tactics, especially after 1890 when the party's electoral successes made an increasing impression. Bebel did not accept Engels' advice concerning the fusion of the two Social Democratic parties in Gotha in 1875 and the complete elimination of Lassalle's continuing impact. The occasional difference of views was partly that between the practical, though radical, politician with his concern for immediate problems and the absentee theoretician. On the other hand, both Bebel and Engels stressed the class character of the Social Democratic party and the danger of abandoning revolutionary goals, and both shared the same naïve optimism that the German proletariat would move with giant strides toward revolution and be in control by 1898. A general European war was considered the greatest misfortune, but should one break out, socialism would come to power in its wake.

The volume is a masterpiece of scholarly editing and furnishes in the preface a competent, sympathetic, but critical evaluation of Bebel's policies and Engels' views, and in its footnotes rich and reliable information about contemporary German and international events and personalities referred to.

*Marquette University*

ALFRED D. LOW

FRIEDRICH EBERT: EINE POLITISCHE BIOGRAPHIE. Volume I, DER AUFSTIEG EINES DEUTSCHEN ARBEITERFÜHRERS, 1871 BIS 1917.

By *Georg Kotowski*. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1963. Pp. xii, 280.)

THERE is a need for a good professional biography of Friedrich Ebert. This first of two projected volumes records his origin and rise to prominence, from his birth in 1871 to 1917, just after he assumed leadership of the majority Socialists in World War I. The second volume will provide an analysis of Ebert's role in the Revolution of 1918 and as President of the Weimar Republic, until his death in 1925.

This work is an unexciting, although accurate, rendition of Ebert's colorless climb to political power. Although Ebert could turn "purple in the face and roar inarticulate threats," as he did in the *Reichstag* in support of Germany's war effort in 1917, his main trait of sober common sense usually prevailed. Kotowski's treatment of his subject also reflects sobriety and good judgment.



Ebert often found himself to be "the man in the middle." Within his party he moderated between the orthodox and revisionist Socialists, during the Revolution between the Spartacists and imperialists, and during the republic between the Communists and reactionary elements of German society. Similarly, the author follows a middle course in his evaluation of Ebert, abstaining from extreme statements and unorthodox interpretations.

Kotowski appropriately casts Ebert within the context of social democracy, which was a major movement in the last hundred years of German history. Although the development of social democracy ran like a prominent colored thread in the history of the periods of Bismarck and William II, Ebert was virtually ignored, if not unknown, among Germans until he assumed political leadership by default in the 1918 Revolution. It was at this point that Ebert became the symbol of transition for social democracy, which the German nation then accepted after many years of rejection.

Before reaching the pinnacle of acceptance he worked as a party functionary and trade-union organizer, suffering persecution for the cause in which he believed. He espoused social and political reform first as labor secretary in Bremen from 1900 to 1905, then as secretary of the Socialist party after 1905, and finally as a representative of the party in the *Reichstag* in 1912. In these years he learned the art of political compromise and shrewdness, which later served him, his party, and his country well.

The author has prepared a careful and sound biography, notwithstanding a scarcity of original materials. Ebert was a saddle maker by trade, without either formal academic preparation or a penchant for prolific writing, who did not systematically commit to writing his political and social theories for future examination. Letters and other routine documents, for years unavailable, were apparently destroyed during World War II. Ebert's son joined the Communist cause and is not available for information. This volume necessarily draws heavily on the writings of contemporaries and on the minutes of party congresses and committee meetings.

The reader will find here a faithful political record of Ebert moving through a jungle of Socialist party caucuses and congresses and *Reichstag* sessions, but failing to emerge as a flesh-and-blood German labor leader.

Wisconsin State University, Superior

K. W. MEYER

THE TRACK OF THE WOLF: ESSAYS ON NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND ITS LEADER, ADOLF HITLER. By James H. McRandle. (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 261. \$4.95.)

ANIMALISTIC symbols used in folklore and literature form a fascinating subject which, I am sure, has been analyzed more than once. Some enterprising scholar should soon look into the particular fascination that the canine species seems to hold for students of German National Socialism. After Hughes's *Fox in the Attic* and Grass's *Dog Years* we now have Professor McRandle's *Track of the Wolf*, a title derived from Hitler's apparent identification with that beast. We are told in the first of the five essays in this book that "The suggestion of power, destructiveness, and loneliness inherent in the wolf figure fits closely the facts of Hitler's life."

McRandle feels, however, that there were two sides to Hitler's character and that the "ravening wolf hungering for, and attaining, political power" was complemented by the "dawdling dreamer" with aspirations toward an artistic, that is, highly humanistic life. The latter Hitler conceived as the goals of Nazism; the former broke the trail. The creator and the destroyer, the worker and the warrior, the common man and the uncommon heroic leader are the dichotomous polarities that represent major thematic elements in this often fascinating, frequently provocative, and generally stimulating series of essays.

Those who may feel that it is the job of the historian to report the facts and shun imaginative speculation will find much to criticize in this book. McRandle has taken the liberty of choosing and arranging available information about Hitler, his movement, and modern German history to present and lend support to interpretations that may well arouse passionate disagreement, above all in his essay entitled "The Suicide," which takes up close to half the volume. Relying on certain psychological studies, particularly Karl Menninger's, he comes to the conclusion that Hitler's life represents a progression of self-defeating acts always pointing toward the suicide that finally concluded it. Hitler is said to have methodically courted disaster, and, if he often seemed certain that he would prevail against great odds, according to McRandle he may have been motivated not so much by a conviction of his objective superiority as by a subjective masochistic desire to invite failure by risking all.

I found myself frequently in disagreement with the interpretations offered, particularly in the chapters on the "revolution" in modern German society and Hitler's character, but I was never bored. The readability of the book might have been improved by better editing, the arguments might have been strengthened or weakened by greater familiarity with such relevant literature as Erik Erikson's study of the young Hitler, and at times McRandle seems to push the "iffy" reasoning rather far. But such caveats should not prevent anyone interested in the history of modern Germany and the writing of biography from making this book required reading. Here at least is one young historian who has taken to heart Professor Langer's call in his 1957 presidential address to the American Historical Association for "a deepening of our historical understanding through the exploitation of the concepts and findings of modern psychology."

*Washington University*

LEWIS J. EDINGER

DAS GESICHT DES DRITTEN REICHES: PROFILE EINER TOTALITÄREN HERRSCHAFT. By *Joachim C. Fest*. (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag. 1963. Pp. 513. DM 22.)

EVEN for one who has read nearly all the major works, and an exhausting number of scholarly monographs, on Nazi Germany, a reading of Joachim Fest's *Das Gesicht des dritten Reiches* is a rewarding and disquieting experience. Fest is a young man, still under forty, with a career in radio and television; in fact, this profile of the Third Reich had its origin in a series of RIAS-Berlin broadcasts on recent German history. But he has a firm grasp of the scholarly historical writing on Nazism, combined with an ability to bring depth psychology, sociology, and cultural history to bear on the problem of understanding Nazism. His method is

to sketch individuals so that each illuminates some part of the total picture; at the end, a single chapter draws all the parts together.

Each Nazi in turn—Hitler and Göring, Heydrich and Himmler, Bormann and Röhm, aristocrats and plebeians, ideologists and technicians, generals and intellectuals, and housewives—is sketched against the distracted Germany left by war, peace, inflation, rationalization of industry, and the Great Depression. Here was a twisted, deformed society, and here were the twisted, deformed individuals who fought their way to power over that society, and over a Europe that had been, like Germany, twisted and deformed by events since 1914.

The emphasis throughout is, first of all, on alienation, on the frustrations and hatreds of men and women who for one reason or another could find no secure footing in the Weimar Republic. The emphasis next is on direct action, struggle against a society which rejected these misfits, a society in which, before the end, too many felt alienated and ready to bring the whole structure down in a paroxysm of hatred. The emphasis finally is on power, the struggle of "the movement" to attain power, and the struggle of each of the Nazis against all other Nazis. What, after 1933, appeared a monolith was in actuality an arena in which each battled for power over the others, with Hitler alone as the manipulator, and the beneficiary, of the sordid struggle.

Ideology, in a positive sense, is given only a minor place in the story. The Nazis, including Hitler, were violent in their hatred of the old; their positive program, aside from the lust for power, shifted with the tactical needs of the moment. It is false, Fest argues, to call this a revolution of nihilism, but it is equally false to present Nazism as a coherent body of doctrine that guided action.

Scholars will quarrel with this or that part of Fest's synthesis of their work, but on the whole this is the best short popular presentation of the Nazi experience. It is to be hoped that the volume will be translated. In these days when alienation is so much in vogue, and when direct action has so much appeal to young idealists, when, so to speak, the bulldozer is the one approved instrument for effecting change, this study of the Nazi experience has disquieting relevance.

*University of California, Berkeley*

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

**KURT SCHUMACHER: A STUDY IN PERSONALITY AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR.** By *Lewis J. Edinger*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 390. \$8.95.)

THIS well-prepared monograph portrays Kurt Schumacher as a political leader. Therefore, the author's concern is not the whole man, but only those facts and circumstances that can illuminate Schumacher's political behavior. In order to achieve this goal, Professor Edinger focused his painstaking investigation on the interaction between the politician's personality and the setting in which he operated. A quite new approach, the "actor-centered personality model," in Edinger's terminology, has been applied to the subject with reliance primarily on the following types of sources: published material; interviews with about a hundred informants, part of whom were once closely linked with the politician; and unpublished documents, notably Schumacher's papers.

The organization of sources is partly chronological, partly topical. The forma-

tive years of Schumacher's personality are related in Chapters II-IV, in which the author briefly and correctly delineates the personality patterns that apparently took shape prior to 1945. Chapter V interestingly surveys the political setting and perspectives of a posttotalitarian leader in war-torn Germany. In the subsequent chapters Schumacher's personal qualities are so well reviewed that the reader has no alternative but to accept Edinger's conclusions. Accordingly, Schumacher's firm convictions, his personal sacrifice, and his dedication to the moral mission to which he had assigned himself may not have made him a great politician or statesman, but they perhaps allow us to view him as a figure of heroic proportions. Though the volume is an excellent characterization of Schumacher's political image and behavior, some of its shortcomings should be mentioned. For instance, the unbearable economic conditions imposed upon the Weimar Republic by the shortsighted policy of French encirclement attracted only superficial attention from Edinger, though French diplomatic actions were significant in shaping Schumacher's career and views and contributed to his negative attitude toward the occupation powers following the collapse of the Third *Reich*. Similarly, the peculiar form of German social democracy did not receive proper treatment. Partly owing to this insufficient background analysis, Edinger has been somewhat hesitant in depicting the politician's ideological posture. This is all the more conspicuous because Schumacher, as well as most of his German and Central and East European contemporaries who were involved in the leadership of the Social Democratic movement, was not well trained in dialectical materialism. Their frequent use of dialectical phraseology appeared to have served tactical rather than ideological purposes.

The impressive volume is equipped with carefully selected illustrations, a bibliography, a chronology of Schumacher's career (1945-1952), explanatory notes, and an index. Among the appendixes the compilation of the main themes of 129 of Schumacher's speeches (1945-1952) and a sampling of his public image are of great value.

This well-based, scholarly, and highly fascinating contribution to the solution of the Schumacher problem distinctly separates the man from the myth.

*Library of Congress*

FRANCIS S. WAGNER

**DIE SPD NACH HITLER: DIE GESCHICHTE DER SOZIALDEMOKRATISCHEN PARTEI DEUTSCHLANDS, 1945-1964.** By *Theo Pirker*. (Munich: Rütten & Loening, 1965. Pp. 360. DM 18.)

THIS detailed and amply documented study of the SPD in the two decades 1945-1965 reconstructs in fascinating detail the successive phases of the opening situation after 1945; the SPD participation in the founding of the Federal Republic, 1947-1949; Schumacher's intransigent opposition to Adenauer until his death in 1952; the two election fiascos of 1953 and 1957 because the party could not shake off Schumacher's legacy; the reorientation under the leadership of Wehner and Brandt, 1957-1961; and its post-1961 position of standing in the "ante-chamber of power" while being unable to penetrate the inner sanctum. The story is cast in a useful, though sometimes rather unreadable, form of a strictly chron-

ological narrative interspersed by long documents drawn from official party sources.

Pirker's book is written from a particular, and highly explicit, point of view. The author is a Left-wing intellectual who deplores the degeneration of the SPD from a starting position in 1945 of championing the "democratic and humanistic hopes of anti-Fascism" to its present position of acquiescent participation in the Federal Republic's "authoritarian democracy," albeit only in the role of an "institutionalized opposition." He concedes rather reluctantly that the hopes of 1945 were utopian, but insists angrily that the SPD's active cooperation in the abandonment of these hopes was not necessary. He bitterly assails Schumacher's authoritarianism, pharisaism, nationalism, and faith in "Prussian centralization"; excoriates the SPD's active participation in the creation of the separatist "Western state" (with special attention to the "hypocritical" and "Machiavellian" role played by Carlo Schmid and Ernst Reuter); notes satirically the glaring contrast between the SPD's rhetorical opposition to Adenauer's authoritarian, capitalistic, and "separatist" state while in fact feeling increasingly at home in it; and treats the Bad Godesberg program of 1959, which registered the complete abandonment of the hope of achieving either socialism or reunification, with a mixture of disgust and relief, the latter because it at least had the merit of terminating the long-standing cleavage between theory and practice, pretense and reality.

The author's *ex parte* interpretation is especially interesting because it opposes on every point the more frequently heard criticism that the SPD was much too slow in abandoning its anachronistic Marxism and its unattainable reunification goal. The argument is, however, vulnerable on several grounds. Pirker is so virulently hostile to the SPD policy that he criticizes it from variegated, and sometimes incompatible, points of view. For example, Schumacher is attacked both for his excessive intransigence and his insufficient intransigence. Pirker shows too little appreciation of the objective historical factors that dictated the main substance of Adenauer's policies, and it is surely significant that the author is unable to suggest a meaningful alternative to the policies he criticizes other than simple reaffirmation of socialist dogma and hostility to West Germany's integration into the Western world.

Pirker fails, moreover, to provide an adequate explanation of why the SPD developed as it did, such as is provided in the excellent recent American book by Douglas Chalmers, *The Social Democratic Party of Germany* (1964). Further weaknesses of the book are its highly tendentious treatment of some important chapters of Germany's post-1945 development and specific statements that are sometimes marred by error derived from *a priori* conceptions. It should be stressed in conclusion, however, that this book, for all its one-sidedness, is worth reading as an antidote to more conventional treatments of the subject.

Brown University

KLAUS EPSTEIN

HISTORICA: STUDIEN ZUM GESCHICHTLICHEN DENKEN UND FORSCHEN. Edited by *Hugo Hantisch et al.* (Vienna: Herder. 1965. Pp. vii, 197. Sch. 130.)

This collection of ten essays is a *Festschrift* for Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi.

Among the contributors are three Americans (Kent Roberts Greenfield, Robert A. Kann, and Frederic C. Lane), seven Austrians, and one Italian (Franco Valsecchi). Some readers will miss a bibliography of the works of Engel-Janosi, who has devoted most of his life to problems of Austrian history, especially to the diplomatic relations between Austria and the Vatican. Like most books of this kind, it discusses a great variety of subjects and is therefore difficult to review.

Three essays deal with the background and essence of Josephinism. Max Braubach shows how Prince Eugene of Savoy shared in the then general distrust of the Jesuits and of any attempts on the part of the Church to assert its influence even in Catholic states and how this line of thought led to Josephinism. Adam Wandruszka publishes Maria Theresa's instruction to her son Leopold, when in 1765 he became Grand Duke of Tuscany. Valsecchi shows the full "fury" of Josephinism in its effort to replace outdated and ineffectual traditional administrative conditions in Lombardy by a rational order. He stresses equally the shortcomings of enlightened absolutism and its necessity. "Um die Lombardei in den Kreislauf des Fortschritts der Zeit eintreten zu lassen, war ein grosser Schritt zu vollziehen und dieser Schritt konnte nur unter dem Antrieb eines entschiedenen Druckes vollzogen werden." Emperor Joseph cleared the road for the new forces that emerged in the early nineteenth century. Valsecchi's essay excels by its sense of fairness and understanding of the modern changes in the intellectual climate and the class structure.

In the last chapter Hugo Hantsch acquaints us with some characteristic letters written by Archduke Franz Ferdinand to Count Leopold von Berchtold, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister from 1912 until 1915. Hantsch regards both the Archduke and the Minister with sympathy. Yet some readers of the Archduke's letters will be unpleasantly reminded of William II's famous marginal notes: there are the same impulsive lack of restraint and the same uncontrolled primitive language. He disliked the Slavs and the Magyars as much as the Italians. In April 1914, when Berchtold was to meet the Italian Foreign Minister, Marchese di San Giuliano, the Archduke wrote him: "Von ganzem Herzen bedaure ich Sie, dass Sie die schönen Ostertage mit diesem italienischen Seeräuber zubringen müssen! Warum dauert denn die Geschichte so lange, und warum wurde dieses ekelhafte Judenaquarium Abbazia, eingekeilt zwischen Slawen und Irredentisten, gewählt? Hoffentlich sind Sie sehr grantig und unausstehlich, . . . und machen dem verfluchten Katzelmacher begreiflich, er solle nicht mehr so frech sein. . . ." Only the Germans and their Kaiser had the Archduke's full confidence. After reading these letters one begins to sympathize with the old Emperor's distrust of the heir to his throne.

*Saint Joseph's College*

HANS KOHN

MITTELALTERLICHE HEILKUNDE IN WIEN. By *Harry Kühnel*. [Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, Number 5.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 114, 16 plates. DM 23.)

DIE WIENER MEDIZINISCHE SCHULE IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Erna Lesky*. [Studien zur Geschichte der Universität Wien, Number 6.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf. 1965. Pp. 660, 100 plates. DM 66.)

UNTIL the beginning of the Second World War the University of Vienna was world-famous for its excellent school of medicine. In fact, the reputation of those American physicians who could claim some years of postgraduate study in Vienna was greatly enhanced. But beyond medicine proper, the excellence of Vienna has also extended to the basic sciences and other specialties ancillary to medicine proper, such as the history of medicine. Professor Erna Lesky, the current incumbent of the medizohistorical professorship and director of the Institute of the History of Medicine, has truly lived up to the great example of her predecessors with the publication of this superb work. It deals with Vienna's most important historical epoch, the nineteenth century, at the beginning of which medicine was first subdivided into the branches of which it now consists: internal medicine, pediatrics, surgery, obstetrics, ophthalmology, anatomy and physiology, pathology, pharmacology, and public health. These fields formed the "First Viennese Medical School." The "Second Viennese Medical School," begun in the middle of the century, gave rise to many new specialties and numbered a great many eminent clinicians and scientists among its faculty. Into this period also falls the tragedy of the extraordinary genius of Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis who made himself the martyr of obstetrics by discovering the source of and combating the scourge of puerperal fever. Semmelweis' studies of the devastating effect of childbed fever were possible largely because of the extraordinarily thorough and complete statistics kept by the department of pathological anatomy that revealed the striking epidemiological contrast between the infectiveness of the physicians and medical students who attended the parturient women immediately upon leaving the pathological laboratory. The midwives, however, who did not enter the pathological laboratories could never be guilty of transmitting puerperal infection. Semmelweis' pleas that his medical colleagues undergo a thorough cleansing of their hands before approaching their women patients remained not only unheeded, but were received with the same hostility that has generally been extended to medical innovations. Thus, another Viennese contemporary, Ferdinand von Auenbrugger, who first described the practice of percussion in physical diagnosis was simply ignored by leading Viennese clinicians.

Although Sigmund Freud also belonged among those whose innovations were received with hostility and disdain, such rejection was not the invariable fate suffered by the great Viennese medical innovators. Theodore Billroth, the brilliant, daring, and inspired surgeon whose work was based upon the understanding and conquest of surgical infections, succeeded in hitherto unthought of surgical interventions, and he was not exposed to rejection and hostility. The Viennese Medical School abounds in illustrious names and personalities, all of whom are described in Lesky's superb volume. The author has brought to life not only the important beginnings of medicine in Vienna but significant aspects of the history of medicine the world over.

The remarkable and praiseworthy feature of this volume is that in spite of its completeness, length, and scholarship, it is enjoyable to read and free of pedantic impedimenta. The book is recommended not only to medical historians but also to specialists of modern European history who will find here important aspects of cultural history of which traditional historians tend to remain totally unaware.

Kühnel's work is a slim companion volume to Lesky's sizable tome. The reason

for this apparently unequal distribution of space to the two epochs is entirely justified because medieval medicine, in spite of its intrinsic importance, contributed little to the actual art of healing and has never been completely explored. It does, however, furnish an indispensable link between the medicine of antiquity and the Renaissance. Also of equal interest is the consideration of the early university medical schools which, in addition to their task of affording medical training, were charged with the supervision of the practice of medicine and the laws of medical licensing. The volume further deals with the clerical physicians, the founding of the University of Vienna, and the special tasks of its medical faculty. In the sixth and longest chapter the leading faculty members and physicians of medieval Vienna are discussed; in the subsequent chapter is a description of the personalities of the body physicians of royalty and nobility. Like Lesky's, this volume is also an important contribution to the history of medicine and culture; it is well illustrated, aesthetically pleasing, and recommended to all historians who feel capable of mastering its elegant yet simple German style.

San Francisco, California

ILZA VEITH

GESTALTEN UND IDEEN AUS DEN SCHRIFTEN DES FÜRSTEN  
KARL JOSEPH DE LIGNE. Selected and edited with an introduction by  
*Hans-Henning von der Burg*. With a preface by *Vicomte Paul van Zeeland*.  
[Österreichische Diplomaten.] (Graz: Verlag Styria. 1965. Pp. 232. Sch. 138.)

CHARLES Joseph, prince de Ligne, is known mainly for his role at the Congress of Vienna: for saying, "le congrès danse, mais il ne marche pas," for catching pneumonia while waiting in the snow for a lady, and, by his subsequent death, for providing the congress with one of its finest spectacles, the funeral of an Austrian field marshal. By then he was almost eighty years old and had lived at least the preceding sixty years to the full. He had embellished his ancestral estate of "Beloeil," near Mons, and lost it to the French Revolution. He had participated in the Seven Years' War, the War of the Bavarian Succession, the Austro-Turkish War of 1788-1791, and had been Austrian governor of Hainault. He had intimately known Joseph II, Catherine the Great, and Casanova, had been called the most charming man in Europe by Voltaire, had acquired a reputation for unconditional loyalty to his friends and unconditional disloyalty to his mistresses, and had written and published thirty-four volumes of *Mélanges militaires, littéraires et sentimentales* between 1795 and 1811.

Historically his reputation has been preserved in excerpts and condensations, in the studies of Du Bled, Dumont-Wilden, and Marthe Oulié, and in the voluminous pages of the *Annales, Prince de Ligne*, edited by the great De Ligne scholar Félicien Leuridant. Along with other eighteenth-century figures he has experienced a post-World War II revival, of which the present work, edited by Hans-Henning von der Burg, is a part. The book is meant for the general reader, is relatively brief, and is topical rather than chronological in arrangement. It covers De Ligne's reactions to the major experiences and events of his life.

He emerges from these pages as a thorough cosmopolitan, a connoisseur of the arts, a defender of the Jews and of the cleanliness of the Tartars, a brave soldier who accepted the rigors of the Turkish war with equanimity. Yet, there are curious lacunae. He was deeply interested in the character of Joseph II, but not in



his reforms. Of the pacification of Belgium in which he was closely involved, he wrote in very general terms. We hear next to nothing of his activities as governor of Hainault.

De Ligne shared the cosmopolitanism and rationalism of the great eighteenth-century figures, but he lacked their passionate commitment. Joseph II, Voltaire, Diderot knew hate and anger, but they tried to change the world. Charles Joseph, prince de Ligne, did not.

Hunter College

EDITH M. LINK

AUSZTRIA-MAGYARORSZÁG ÉS A FRANCIA-POROSZ HÁBORÚ, 1870-1871 [Austria-Hungary and the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871]. By István Diószegi. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 275. Ft. 60.)

THE period during which Hungary was a partner with Austria enjoying equal rights within the Habsburg monarchy was relatively short. Even after the Compromise of 1867, Hungarian interest remained focused on interior affairs, particularly on the maintenance and constant reassertion of Hungarian independence. Ever since, Hungarian historians have tended to concentrate their efforts on what was essential from the Hungarian point of view and have paid little attention to the foreign policies of the monarchy. This book is a welcome exception to the rule and shows that for the purposes of research centered on the non-Hungarian aspects of Habsburg political activity Hungarian scholars can make good use of their familiarity with the functioning and the mentality of the Habsburg state.

In examining Austro-Hungarian reaction to the Franco-Prussian War the author pays particular attention to the effect on foreign policy of the problem of nationalities endemic in the monarchy. The author's thesis that the Franco-Prussian War and its sequel, the creation of the German Empire, brought a rapprochement between Vienna and Berlin will hardly be disputed. But in trying to trace the reasons for such an attitude, Diószegi shows that when it became evident that the creation of a great German Empire was not incompatible with the existence of the multinational monarchy, the problem of Prussian propaganda among the German-speaking populations of Austria-Hungary lost its acuteness, and the conditions for collaboration were greatly improved. The author adduces much interesting material showing the reluctant reorientation of Habsburg foreign policy, from a strongly pro-French attitude, through a cautious approach to Germany, to the *Dreikaiserbund*. Thanks to the author's excellent documentation, it is possible to see with greater clarity than before the mechanism of what must have been an agonizing reappraisal for the monarchy. The figure of *Reichskanzler Graf Beust* gains much through this close scrutiny. He appears not only as a shrewd tactician, but also as a man of vision, seeing with great clarity the basic antagonism between Germany and Russia and the inevitability of the French *revanche*.

This is a useful, intelligent book, which incorporates the fruits of serious research in Austrian, Saxon, and Hungarian archives. The original French or German of the documents quoted in Hungarian is given in footnotes. The absence of an index in a book of this type and quality is unpardonable.

Indiana University

DENIS SINOR

AUSTRIA UNDER THE IRON RING, 1879-1893. By *William A. Jenks*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. ix, 332. \$6.00.)

IN point of time this authoritative study treads hard on the heels of *Vienna and the Young Hitler* (1960) by Professor Jenks, and like it, the present book incorporates wide knowledge, resting upon fresh and imaginative research and subtle insights, and it is written with easy, relaxed, literary grace. Though Jenks is resourceful in handling institutions and the competitive nationalisms that plagued the realm on the Danube, he is less at ease in dealing with ideas and the social and economic urges that underlay them. Necessarily, any reconstruction of the Taaffe regime, that oddly assorted cartel of Austro-German clericalism and of most of the Slavic-speaking elements, requires intricate dissections of ministerial stratagems and parliamentary (and undercover) maneuvering, both of which suffer somewhat from the absence of an attempt to analyze the divergent national groupings according to the standard categories of intellectuals, bent on attaining dignity along with identity, the aristocracy, the educated middle classes, and the broad masses, urban and rural. To ask for a convincing assessment of this character may be proposing the impossible, but one dares to wish that someone sometime will give the idea an experimental try. It would also have been relevant to paint a fuller portrait of Taaffe the man, as well as the public personality, than is furnished on these pages.

Persuaded that Taaffe was "an ideal *Kaiserminister*," who "maintained the wealthier half of his master's realm in reasonable order for fourteen years," Jenks offers highly professional accounts of such fundamentals as army expansion, the division of the University of Prague, the tortuous transactions that led to the verge of an Austro-German-Czech rapprochement in 1890, Austro-German clamor to secure German as the official language of the Empire matching clerical pressure to recover full confessional surveillance over schools, success in limited franchise extension and failure in a broader suffrage program, violent Pan-Germanism flaming up in connection with the renewal of the franchise of the privately owned Nordbahn line, the outbreak of direct action by partisans of the socially discontented and the response of the "Iron Ring" to it. If individual chapters are to be singled out for special applause, precedence must be assigned to those devoted to social security legislation pointed toward a welfare state. The summary is a little masterpiece, and the book list is excellent, though crisp appraisals of the principal titles would have made it even more serviceable.

*University of Rochester*

ARTHUR J. MAY

ITALY. By *Massimo Salvadori*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 184. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THE first and the last three chapters of Professor Salvadori's book are the most satisfactory. They deal with "Italy Today," "Crisis of 1914-1922," "Fascist Dictatorship, 1922-1943," and "Experiment in Democracy," topics about which the author has considerable intimate knowledge. Salvadori, whose bias is that of a democratic liberal, emphasizes correctly the importance of the First World War as

a turning point in Italian history. He may well be correct in his assertion that Fascism was the most original contribution made by the Italian nation to human experience since the Counter Reformation, but he is less credible when he declares that Pius XI was "always an enthusiastic admirer" of Fascism, and it is at least debatable whether agriculture was really the "main concern" of Fascist economics. In his conclusion Salvadori observes that Italy overcame the growing pains of the 1890's, but failed to overcome those of the post-World War I period. He cautiously predicts that the late 1960's will witness a repetition of what happened seventy, not forty, years ago.

Sandwiched in between the sections dealing with the twentieth century are six chapters that seek to explain the significance of the preceding two thousand or more years of history in the Italian peninsula. Inevitably much of this part is little more than a compendium of dates and events, interspersed with sweeping generalizations. Thus in Chapter II Salvadori argues that the cultural unity of the peoples inhabiting Italy was attained through the expansion of the ancient Roman Republic and the centurieslong identification of Italy with Rome. The thesis of the next chapter is that the fragmentation of the Middle Ages was responsible for today's deep-seated regional differences. Catholicism, which "was molded ideologically and institutionally during the early Middle Ages and has been modified but not basically changed since then," is the subject of the fourth chapter. Next the author discusses the evolution of the Italian language and comments on those classics that have formed the basis for much of Italian education. In Chapter VI he takes up the early modern period, when foreign overlordship and the Counter Reformation produced new and dominant (and generally unfortunate) traits of national character. The nineteenth century is the subject of Chapter VII.

Salvadori's account will be useful to those who wish to have a concise summary of Italian history, and his interpretations will often be of interest to specialists, but his book could have been much improved if he and his editor had spent more time on it. Throughout the text there are far too many misspellings and strange uses of words, and the list of suggested readings, though helpful, is full of errors and omissions. It is regrettable, too, that no first names are provided either in the index or the text for many of the people mentioned by the author.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

I BAGLIONI. By *Baleoneus Astur*. ([Florence: Casa Editrice Leo S. Olschki.] 1964. Pp. 502. L. 9,000.)

THE Baglioni were the leading family of Perugia during the Renaissance and from the fourteenth century *de facto* lords of the city under the overlordship of the popes. The relationship between the Baglioni and the papacy fluctuated; until the sixteenth century papal rule was more or less nominal, but in the sixteenth century the popes made it real, and, under Paul III, Perugia was reduced to complete submission. In addition to their uneasy relationship with the popes, the Baglioni had to contend with rival factions in the city, and bloodshed and violence were frequent, even endemic. After the loss of their lordship, members of the family continued to be prominent in Perugia and elsewhere. The military pro-

fession was always their chief occupation, and Baglioni fought and died bravely in many wars and for a variety of masters.

The story is colorfully told in this book by a member of the family. It is full of vivid and bloody incidents, including family massacres, papal intrigues, and heroic deaths in lost causes. At the beginning the book tends to be episodic and anecdotal, but it improves as it goes along, perhaps because of the greater availability of materials, and achieves a more sustained narrative quality, while also dealing with subjects of broader scope and more general interest. A sort of climax is reached in the detailed and moving account of the siege of Florence in 1529-1530, which ended with the victory of the Spanish, imperial, and papal forces, the return of the Medici, and the extinction of the last Florentine republic.

Florence had entrusted its defense in the siege to Malatesta Baglioni, who negotiated the terms of the surrender instead of trying to fight to the end in a hopeless cause. For this he has been accused by some of betraying the city, while others have defended him for having made the best arrangement possible and sparing Florence the horrors of a sack. The author devotes the longest chapter of the book to his defense. It is an excellent chapter, but on the whole the book suffers from an excess of family piety. The Baglioni were often violent and passionate men, with a reputation for treachery and such other peccadillos as parricide and incest. In other words, for a ruling family in Renaissance Italy, they were just plain folks, but the author constantly defends them. In some chapters, particularly at the end of the book where he discusses the Baglioni tradition of culture and fails to find anything very impressive, he comes close to falling into the kind of thing that Osbert Lancaster lampoons in his book on Draynesfete.

The book is not a history of Perugia. Constitutional, political, and diplomatic developments are subordinated to the story of the family; economic history is virtually ignored. No attempt is made to do for Perugia what Gene Brucker has been doing for Florence. If these facts are remembered, and the book is read for what it is, it is interesting, informative, and quite often exciting.

*University of Kansas*

WILLIAM GILBERT

ITALIAN REFORMATION STUDIES IN HONOR OF LAELIUS SOCINUS. Edited by *John A. Tedeschi*. [Università di Siena, Facoltà di Giurisprudenza. Collana di Studi "Pietro Rossi," New Series, Volume IV.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, Editore. 1965. Pp. viii, 331. L. 4,000.)

THREE pieces in this collection have to do directly with Laelius Socinus: a discussion of his influence (not great) upon Calvin's doctrines of the merits of Christ and the assurance of faith by David Willis; a translation of four letters from Laelius' correspondence with Calvin by Ralph Lazzaro; and genealogical notes on the Sozzini family, together with a list of the writings and letters of Laelius and a note on the text of his *Confession of Faith*, by John A. Tedeschi. The rest deal with other personalities and aspects of the Reformation in Italy. I would single out George Huntston Williams' biographical sketch of Camillo Renato as containing much new material and Oddone Ortolani's analysis of the nonrevolutionary spirit of the Italian reformers as the most stimulating contribution. Ortolani does not work out all the implications, but he offers some food for thought on the complex

and even contradictory heritage of the Renaissance to the Italian mentality. Josephine von Henneberg's translation of Faustus Socinus' unpublished essay on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* provides evidence that Faustus had more philosophical training than previously believed. Ruth Prelowski offers a translation of the *Beneficio di Cristo*, attributing it to Don Benedetto of Mantua and distinguishing between its Valdesian inspiration and its debt to the German Reformation. The other contributions are: five reviews by Roland Bainton of books by Delio Cantimori, Benedetto Nicolini (two books), Oddone Ortolani, and Domingo Ricart; a translation by Dorothy Rounds of Camillo Renato's *Carmen* attacking Calvin for the burning of Michael Servetus; a translation by David Pingree of the apology for Servetus of Alphonsus Lyncurius (Caelius Secundus Curio); a translation of the proceedings of the heresy trial of the Modenese evangelical, Pietro Antonio da Cervia, by Tedeschi and Henneberg. The latter two of these translations are based on the manuscript texts.

This is a book that offers few surprises, that, on the whole, helps to fill out the picture of the Reformation in Italy along already established lines; one of those "useful" books that it is difficult to get excited about, but, once in existence, difficult to do without.

Rutgers University

DONALD WEINSTEIN

ALLE ORIGINI DEL RISORGIMENTO: I TESTI DI UN "CELEBRE" CONCORSO (1796). In three volumes. By *Armando Saitta*. [Italia e Europa: Collezione per il primo Centenario dell'Unità.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 337; 436; 477. L. 4,000 each.)

IN 1796 the General Administration of Lombardy offered a prize, probably with the consent of General Bonaparte, for an essay on the theme "What form of free government is best suited to the happiness of Italy?" The winning essay is well known, and the contest has remained famous, a subject of obvious interest to historians. Now Professor Saitta has assembled all that can be found of the essays submitted in that competition. He scrupulously notes the errors made by preceding historians and produces an amended list of entrants. There were, he finds, fifty-seven essays submitted of which thirty-six have been found and reprinted here; an appendix contains eight contemporary essays on a similar theme that were not written for the contest (though some of them were previously thought to have been). Together they provide an interesting if very uneven historical source. Many of the authors of these essays remain anonymous; there is uncertainty in the identification of some others. Two essays are over one hundred pages in length, but nearly half the items printed here take only ten pages or less; some are incomplete. Even so, we have a thousand pages that can reveal much to the historian. There seems every reason to accept Saitta's identifications, explained in his general introduction and in brief notes before most of the essays (aside from this his editorial hand remains unobtrusive), and to look forward to the subsequent volume of his comment and analysis.

All the contestants agreed that true *felicità* required a republic; the more conservative stressed the virtues of a "mixed" government, but the majority were

pure democrats. Nearly all demanded abolition of noble titles and aristocratic privilege. The debt these Italian Jacobins owed to Montesquieu and Rousseau was enormous. If some almost swooned before their own rhetorical calisthenics and classical erudition, most seriously meant to face real issues. They expressed considerable admiration for the French. A few almost groveled, but a large number declared that an Italian constitution should be no mere copy of the French one. Their reasons were not always so clear. Some merely noted the less volatile temperament of Italians. Many felt that the French had made too much of the problem of religion. Yet often those who would avoid all conflict with the Church quietly praised natural religion or the suppression of all theology save the Bible. Ornate elaborations of constitutional projects were mixed with considerable respect for custom and local differences.

Most of these essayists were sensitive to French power in Italy and rather candid about its dangers as they tried to convince themselves that the true interest of France required the independence of Italy. The discussions of Italy's long history of invasion and subjection were strikingly like those of the later *Risorgimento*, and there was a kind of defensive nationalism in their fervent insistence that neither history, climate, nor Italian temperament made Italian freedom impossible. For most of these writers freedom required then, as it would two generations later, a centralized, national state.

Finally, there is a certain comfort in noting that 170 years later the judges still seem to have been right in awarding their prize to the essay of Melchiorre Gioia.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

L'INDUSTRIA LANIERA IN PIEMONTE NEL SECOLO XIX. By *Valerio Castronovo*. [Archivio economico dell'unificazione italiana, Series 2, Volume IX.] (Turin: ILTE—Industria Libreria Tipografica Editrice. 1964. Pp. xxiv, 685.)

IL BANCO DI NAPOLI NELLA VITA ECONOMICA NAZIONALE (1863-1883). By *Luigi De Rosa*. (Naples: L'Arte Tipografica Napoli. 1964. Pp. xi, 569.)

ECONOMIC history has a place of honor in Italy. Not only does it attract scholars of exceptional merit, but it has enlisted the enthusiastic support of men of affairs. These two studies attest to these views. Both are by masters of their craft, and both were made possible by business concerns. The former is one of a series of economic histories edited by Carlo Cipolla of the University of Pavia and financed by the state's business holding company, the *Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale*; the second was aided in many ways by the Bank of Naples, not the least having been that the bank opened its archives to the author.

The volume by Valerio Castronovo is an excellent complement to G. Quazza, *L'industria laniera e cotoniera in Piemonte dal 1831 al 1861* (1961), and L. Bulferetti, *Agricoltura, industria e commercio in Piemonte nel secolo XVIII* (1962). The author makes clear how the woollen industry moved from widely dispersed production at the handicraft and later putting-out stages to production in factories by machines driven by power from mechanical sources. Inasmuch as water power was the prime mover when the shift to mechanization took place,

woolen mills settled along the rivers flowing from the Alps, as at Susa and Biella, and there they have remained even to the present time. Their locations were not particularly economical, for transportation of raw materials from ports and of finished products to markets was costly. Moreover, trained labor was not abundant, nor power great enough to permit large-scale operations. For the most part, entrepreneurs in the woolen trades were local people who developed their plants by plowing back their earnings and who kept their concerns as family enterprises.

The author maintains that the low tariff policy of Cavour stimulated the adoption of machines around the middle of the century, but he presents plentiful evidence to indicate that woolen manufacturers knew of the advantages to be gained from the new machines and sought them avidly in England, Belgium (Verviers), and Austria even before protection had been reduced. He also provides much information about costs of production, earnings, labor conditions and wage rates, marketing, and the drive for protective tariffs which eventuated in the tariff of 1887.

The volume by Professor De Rosa has to do with the other end of the peninsula and with the leading banking institution of the region. His study is in a sense a sequel to the study by Domenico Demarco, *Il Banco delle Due Sicilie* (1958). Because banking reaches into so many aspects of economic life, this volume is perforce at once a history of the Bank of Naples from unification to the end of a period of inconvertibility of the currency and an economic history of the Neapolitan region. Its author makes the very important point that the building of railways and the improvement in transportation generally facilitated the importation of industrial goods and injured handicraft production. Unfortunately, few entrepreneurs came forward in the south to establish manufactures, in part because locational factors at the time were not favorable, with the result that the bank had few opportunities to make industrial loans. Most of its lending was in agriculture and to a lesser extent in commerce. Restricted as it was, the bank did grow rapidly in these years. The bank's history illustrates well the role of banking in an underdeveloped economy.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

IL PROBLEMA DELLO SVILUPPO INDUSTRIALE NELL'ETÀ DELLA DESTRA. By *Giuseppe Are*. (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi. 1965. Pp. 358. L. 2,5000.)

THE title of this work is to be taken literally. The book concerns not the early industrialization of Italy itself, but the debate conducted between 1861 and 1876 on how this might best be accomplished. In his introduction Giuseppe Are remarks that "researches of a predominantly quantitative nature" into Italy's post-unification economy have been plentiful in recent years. In contrast Are offers a "reconstruction of the sociological and cultural background that conditioned the process of industrialization." A vast, not to say limitless, field is thereby revealed, and the author confesses that his book of essays "does not pretend to do justice even in part to the many and weighty questions of which it treats." Are issues, moreover, a further disclaimer of intent; he eschews any analysis of the groups involved in the debate over industrialization. Thus the book's purpose is reduced

to "tracing only the discussions of these years" and their immediate social and political ambience. For this the author finds sufficient source material in contemporary periodicals, parliamentary debates, and chamber of commerce reports often contained in government publications.

What Are illustrates is a drastic shift in Italy's conventional wisdom from Cavourian laissez faire to the recognition of the necessity for a national plan of industrialization. The former body of belief, which held sway in 1861, degenerated at its worst into a blind faith in the formation of capital through agriculture, in national unification as a "sufficient motor" for industrialization, and in the power of individual enterprise. The latter school of thought succeeded in asserting itself by 1876; the political upheaval of that year was to some extent a refutation of doctrinaire liberalism. The way was thus prepared for a policy of economic nationalism and, some would add (although Are skirts this issue), to a species of state capitalism.

This book advances no new or unexpected interpretation; rather it fills in details of a long-recognized trend in Italian economic thought. The documentation is thorough, and where the footnotes are expository they are most useful both in the way of bibliographic résumés and of suggestions for further investigation. (On the other hand, as with so many Italian publications, an actual bibliography is irritatingly lacking.) Are writes clearly, and his approach is dispassionate almost to a fault. By shunning any analysis of industry's pressure groups and by allowing their representatives to speak in their own rhetoric, the impression is created, however inadvertently, that the industrialization lobby was motivated solely by a disinterested concern for Italian *civiltà*. We know perfectly well that considerations of the countinghouse and the annual dividend were uppermost.

University of Pennsylvania

ALAN CASSELS

MOMENTI E FIGURE DEL RISORGIMENTO ROMANO. By *Alberto M. Ghisalberti*. [L'Età del Risorgimento. Studi e testi, Number 5.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1965. Pp. xv, 294. L. 2,200.)

ALBERTO M. Ghisalberti, recently retired as professor of the history of the *Risorgimento* at the University of Rome and still editor of the *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento*, is one of our principal authorities in the field of nineteenth-century Italian history in general and the Roman nineteenth century in particular. Ghisalberti here describes himself as a "'risorgimentista' all' antica," which for him means a refusal to "radically detach" himself from a "traditional" approach to the field. We may therefore expect his firm opposition to the recent work of "revisionist" historians, whether of clerical, Marxist, or radical persuasions. In the preface to this work, he does give rather rough treatment to Denis Mack Smith, the more or less radical English historian of the *Risorgimento*. He charges that Mack Smith's revisionist interpretation of Cavour is an example of the "excessive ease with which scholars of undeniable capability—even though their work does lie between journalism and history—deal with the documents on which they construct their theories."

This latest work of a most prolific author is not a historical synthesis of nineteenth-century Roman history, but rather a collection of random essays published



between 1948 and 1962 and unified only by chronology (nearly all deal with mid-nineteenth-century Rome) and by the writer's "bon plaisir."

The heart of the collection is contained in three essays, the first a fine description of the origins and work of the "Council of Deputies at Rome in 1848." The other two are devoted to Mazzini and the background to his assumption of power as the leading "triumvir" on March 29, 1849. Ghisalberti emphasizes the essentially conservative character of the Council of Deputies and, indeed, of Pius IX's entire "Statuto" of 1848. Despite the inefficacy of this first Roman parliament, Ghisalberti concludes that it did provide invaluable experience for a number of future members of the parliament of the kingdom of Italy.

Ghisalberti's principal theme in the Mazzinian essays is his assertion that there was considerable and constant opposition to the Genoese leader even within democratic circles in revolutionary Rome. He opposes such scholars as Franco Rodelli, who see a greater unanimity of Roman democrats around Mazzini's "national" ideas. Democratic opposition to Mazzini is amply demonstrated by Ghisalberti, but its importance in critical moments is perhaps not fully demonstrated.

American readers will probably take special interest in Ghisalberti's sympathetic portrait of our first diplomatic representative accredited to the Papal States, Jacob L. Martin of North Carolina. Although death cut short his mission, Martin's knowledge of Italian and enthusiasm for the reform program of Pius IX brought much good will to the United States.

Rutgers University

JOHN M. CAMMETT

LES SLAVES: PEUPLES ET NATIONS. By Roger Portal. [Collection Destins du Monde.] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 518. 69 fr.)

THE eminent French Slavist, Roger Portal, has accomplished a tour de force: an intelligible summary of the history of the Slavs. His achievement is all the more remarkable considering the requirements imposed upon him by the editors of the historical series "Destins du Monde." Designed more for the "grand public cultivé" (*et riche*) than for the historian, this work includes no less than two hundred illustrations, photographs, portraits, sketches, statistical tables, and other miscellany covering almost one-fifth of the five hundred printed pages. The format itself, spectacular rather than utilitarian, further reduces the actual content of Portal's study to approximately three hundred ordinary pages. Yet the author has written a highly imaginative collection of essays on the evolution of the Slavs, eastern, western, and southern, from the eighth century to the present. He discusses the problems of the three branches separately within well-defined chronological periods, never yielding to the temptation of belaboring the *mystique* of the "Slavic World" or "l'âme slave." One of the volume's greatest merits, indeed, lies in the excellent introductory statement devoted to the witty refutation of myth and exaggeration.

Portal does not attempt the impossible: a total synthesis of Slavic history. Nor does he torment the reader with arcane allusions, geopolitical acrobatics, or straining "universal" historical principles. Instead, Portal has selected the most representative and significant problems of the history of the Slavic peoples, presented

a coherent outline and interpretation of each component branch, and drawn general conclusions applicable to all Slavic nations.

His ideas, comments, and data on the Russians and Poles are distinctly superior to those on the Czechs, Slovaks, and southern Slavs; in fact the history of Russia is treated with far greater insight than that of the Ottoman and Habsburg Empires. Readers concerned with intellectual and cultural problems as such will also be disappointed. But the uninitiated layman, the student, or even the specialist will find the book's greatest merit in the sophisticated analysis of complex socioeconomic and political problems of Slavic and East European history.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

THE BALKANS. By *Charles and Barbara Jelavich*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. xi, 148. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

Two well-known Balkan historians have struggled valiantly in this volume to fulfill an impossible assignment. The statement describing the series in which this book appears defines the aim as being to "summarize the chief historical trends and influences that have contributed to each nation's present-day character, problems and behavior . . ." and "to achieve a fresh synthesis and original interpretation." But the difficulty here is that there are five nations rather than one, and the period covered for each is about fifteen hundred years. Concretely, this means that Greece, Rumania, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Albania are dealt with, one after the other, during the medieval centuries, the half millennium of Ottoman rule, the nineteenth-century national awakening, the First World War, the interwar years, the Second World War, and finally the post-1945 period. And all this in 135 pages!

If the authors had ignored the first of the stated objectives and had confined themselves to "fresh synthesis and original interpretation," they could have made a valuable contribution. Balkan historiography is now at the stage where there is urgent need for precisely such innovation. On the other hand, it is manifestly unfair to criticize the authors for not writing something other than what they were assigned. Yet the fact remains that in accepting the assignment, and executing it faithfully, the unavoidable outcome was this encyclopedic summary, with the interpretations, if they may be so called, limited to the final six pages.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that it is a tribute to the authors' skill and mastery of the subject that this work is as judicious and integrated as it is. A recently published work of a similar nature on this topic demonstrates how different the outcome might have been in less capable hands.

Northwestern University

L. S. STAVRIANOS

DIE RUMÄNISCHE NATIONALBEWEGUNG IN DER BUKOWINA UND DER DAKO-ROMANISMUS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NATIONALITÄTENKAMPFES IN ÖSTERREICH-UNGARN. By *Erich Prokopowitsch*. [Studien zur Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie, Number 3.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau Nachf. 1965. Pp. 192. DM 28.)

THE virulent controversy raging over the relative strength of the various national movements in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the extent to which each contributed to the eventual dissolution of the Empire by-passed until 1965 the Rumanian national movement in Bucovina. The rival positions, expressed most vituperatively at the Budapest Conference of May 1964 on the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy, had avoided any discussion of areas now under Russian domination. Erich Prokopowitsch, the Austrian historian, has none of the caution displayed by the historians of Eastern Europe regarding Bucovina; nor does he share the prejudices of prewar writers on minority problems. He has thus produced the first lucid and impartial study on the Rumanian national movement in the former Austrian province.

Unfortunately the monograph is hardly more than an intelligent summary of documents contained in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv and of several minor contributions on a variety of socioeconomic, political, and cultural problems related in one way or another to Bucovina. The author traces the development of the Rumanian national movement from 1774 to 1918 within the total framework of nineteenth-century Rumanian nationalism. He emphasizes cultural rather than economic and political transformations, although the systematic summary statements on the development of the Rumanian press, educational system, and religious life are followed by brief discussions of economic change and political organization. An attempt is also made to analyze the relationship between the Rumanian and other national movements, particularly the Ruthenian.

Prokopowitsch was clearly handicapped by his inability to secure access to sources located in Russian and Rumanian repositories and by his almost exclusive reliance on materials in German. Under the circumstances the study can only serve as an introduction to the subject. It is to be hoped that the *Kommission für die Geschichte der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie*, the sponsor of the publication, will encourage further research on the extremely complex nationality problems of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALAȚI

GEORGE JARVIS: HIS JOURNAL AND RELATED DOCUMENTS. Edited with introduction, prologues, sequel and notes by *George Georgiades Arnaķis*. With the collaboration of *Eurydice Demetracopoulou*. [Americans in the Greek Revolution, Number 1.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1965. Pp. xxxii, 282, 8 plates.)

THE philhellenic movement—that product of the Hellenic revival, the love for liberty, and a sense of Christian solidarity—which had swept over all of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had found fertile ground also across the Atlantic, especially when the Greek Revolution broke out in 1821. The story of American philhellenism has been studied in the last forty years by E. Earle, S. Lascaris, M. Cline, Th. Vaghenas and E. Demetracopoulou, D. Dakin, and S. Larrabee, who have illuminated its various aspects. The movement held an important place in the American public mind throughout the entire course of the Greek War of Independence and won devoted friends such as Edward Everett and Matthew Carey. Philhellenic committees were established in the main cities of the

United States, funds were raised, and relief was sent to the fighting Greeks, while a number of young Americans decided to join them as volunteers in their struggle for freedom. Among the volunteers probably no one saw more actual fighting than George Jarvis, who went to Greece in 1822 from Altona, near Hamburg, and gave his unfailing service, both on sea and land, to the Greek warriors. He immediately won the affection and esteem of his comrades in arms, and from a simple guerrilla soldier he had advanced to the rank of lieutenant general by the time of his death in Argos in 1828. It is fortunate that Jarvis should have left a journal of his experiences during the Greek Revolution, which is now published for the first time along with a number of related documents by two such painstaking scholars as Professor Arnakis and Miss Demetracopoulou.

The editorial work, which leaves nothing to be desired, must certainly have been an arduous task since the manuscript is so carelessly written and employs four different languages: English, German, French, and Greek. The editors have provided the text with an excellent introduction in which the manuscript is described and its problems discussed, and they have accompanied it with useful commentaries and explanatory notes. Thus they have made available to the student of the history of the Greek War of Independence a new source, which, although it cannot be compared in importance with the existing memoirs of other warriors, such as Makriyannis and Kasomoulis, is nevertheless an interesting and vivid account from the battlefield itself.

*University of California, Berkeley*

GEORGE C. SOULIS

A NAGYBIRTOKOS ARISZTOKRÁCIA ELLENFORRADALMI SZEREPE 1848-49-BEN. Volume III, IRATOK: 1849 MARCIUS-1850 ÁPRILIS [The Counterrevolutionary Role of the Landholding Aristocracy in 1848-49. Volume III, Documents: March 1849-April 1850]. Compiled and edited by *Erzsébet Andics*. [Magyarország Újabbkori Történetének Forrásai.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 543. Ft. 98.)

1848 SZÉCHENYIJE ÉS SZÉCHENYI 1848-A [The Széchenyi of 1848 and the 1848 of Széchenyi]. By *György Spira*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 368. Ft. 50.)

A SZÉCHENYI-ÁBRÁZOLÁS FŐ IRÁNYAI A MAGYAR TÖRTÉNETÍRÁSBAN (1851-1918) [Leading Portrayals of Széchenyi in Hungarian Historiography (1851-1918)]. By *Zoltán Varga*. [Magyar Történelmi Társulat, Tudománytörténeti Tanulmányok, Number 3.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1963. Pp. 374. Ft. 58.)

THESE three volumes have one aspect in common: they discuss in part or entirely the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849. The first work contains 239 documents in various languages from the period that saw the last Hungarian victories, the Russian intervention, the defeat of the Revolution, and the establishment of the Austrian military administration in Hungary. Gathered in many Hungarian and foreign archives, these documents were written by and addressed to opponents of the Revolution whose socioeconomic background was much more diverse than that indicated by the title. From these documents we learn as much about the

activities of the revolutionaries as about those of their adversaries. The contents of this volume are, therefore, not as tendentious as the title might indicate. This careful selection of papers brings to our attention interesting and often new details and is a welcome addition to our collection of sources available in print.

Mr. Spira's volume is devoted to a reappraisal of the position taken and the part played by the great Hungarian patriot, Count István Széchenyi, during the Revolution. Széchenyi is usually classed with the moderates by 1848. Although he became Minister of Public Works in the revolutionary government headed by Count Lajos Batthyány, but dominated by Kossuth, Széchenyi is generally regarded as the latter's chief antagonist. Spira attempts to reverse this interpretation and tries to show that, in spite of occasional disagreements and misunderstandings, the two men collaborated, and that Széchenyi fully agreed with the course the Revolution took. The new thesis is based on a wealth of documents, thorough research, and is supported by good scholarship and a clever use of the material, but the arguments remain unconvincing. Some of the documents used by Spira could easily mean the opposite of what the author believes they prove. One could also cite a great number of other papers, not used by Spira, supporting the older interpretation. This book is thought provoking, but we need more proof before we can accept the thesis.

That Spira follows a long line of Hungarian historians, writers, newspapermen, and even engineers who tried to understand and evaluate Széchenyi's work and ideas becomes clear from Mr. Varga's volume. This work reviews all major and even most of the minor Széchenyi studies published in Hungary between 1851, when Zsigmond Kemény brought out the first biography of his famous compatriot, and the end of the First World War. Very well written, the volume covers not only biographies but also short studies, articles, specialized treatises, newspaper articles, and evaluations appearing in various general works. Varga also includes the views of the critics who disagreed with or followed the views expressed by the major authors whose works he discusses. One must not agree with everything Varga adds on his own, but everyone interested in the extensive Széchenyi literature will be grateful to have this study as a basic guide.

University of Washington

PETER F. SUGAR

AZ ELLENFORRADALOM TÖRTÉNETE MAGYARORSZÁGON, 1919-1921 [A History of the Counterrevolution in Hungary, 1919-1921]. By *Dezső Nemes*. [Magyar Történelmi Társulat.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1962. Pp. 503. Ft. 50.)

THE Hungarian Soviet government, established on March 21, 1919, and associated with the name of Béla Kun, fell on August 1 of the same year. A former aide-de-camp of Emperor Franz Joseph and rear admiral of the Austro-Hungarian Navy, Miklós Horthy was proclaimed Hungary's regent governor on March 21, 1920, a post he held for a quarter of a century. An anti-Communist, antisocialist, antiliberal, and anti-Semitic White Terror followed the Red Terror, anticipating the fascist period of history. "Subversives" were killed, jailed, or lodged in detention camps. Army officers headed some of the Terror detachments. Gradually the extreme Right spent its dynamism, and in April 1921 Count István Bethlen

became Hungary's Prime Minister, staying at the helm for ten years. His regime saw the end of the naked terror and the institutionalization of reaction. Dezső Nemes' book covers the period between Kun and Bethlen.

The author seems to have drawn on three main sources: the archives of the Horthy ministries; those of the Communists (Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Labor party); and the diary in four volumes of Lieutenant Colonel Pál Prónay, a Terror detachment chief. Excerpts of the hitherto unpublished Prónay diaries speak of a plan of German, Austrian, and Hungarian extremists to stage a Right-wing *Putsch* in Austria and to break into the Czech Sudeten region. This was to occur in 1921, when Austria was about to take possession of the Burgenland, prewar Hungary's German-speaking extreme west, assigned to Vienna by the victorious Allies. Neither of the projects materialized. The book claims that even at the height of the White Terror the Communists managed to keep active, publishing clandestine reports and organizing strikes. The documentation of these claims is very scanty.

Much of the book is devoted to the retelling of such well-known facts as the politicians' maneuvers for leading roles; the Treaty of Trianon; Emperor Karl's attempt to regain his Hungarian throne; and the barter of leading Hungarian Communists for prominent Hungarian officers held as hostages by the Soviets after the war.

The author tends to present his cast of characters as angels and devils. Anticipating the cold war, he lines up post-World War I America with the devils, particularly General Harry Hill Bandholtz, US chairman of the Inter-Allied Military Commission to Hungary. "Four imperialist great powers," the author writes, "the United States, England, France and Italy, organized the boycott and military intervention against the Hungarian proletarian regime." Much of the book is in the same vein.

Fairleigh Dickinson University

EMIL LENGYEL

A MÜNCHENI EGYEZMÉNY LÉTREJÖTTE ÉS MAGYARORSZÁG KÜLPOLITIKÁJA, 1936-1938 [The Origins of the Munich Agreement and Hungarian Foreign Policy, 1936-1938]. Compiled and edited by *Magda Ádám*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Diplomáciai Iratok Magyarország Külpolitikájához, 1936-1945, Number 2.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1965. Pp. 1029. Ft. 170.)

MAGYARORSZÁG KÜLPOLITIKÁJA A II. VILÁGHÁBORÚ KITÖRÉSÉNEK IDŐSZAKÁBAN, 1939-1940 [Hungarian Foreign Policy at the Outbreak of World War II, 1939-1940]. Compiled and edited by *Gyula Juhász*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete, Diplomáciai Iratok Magyarország Külpolitikájához, 1936-1945, Number 4.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1962. Pp. 904. Ft. 160.)

A TELEKI-KORMÁNY KÜLPOLITIKÁJA, 1939-1941 [The Foreign Policy of the Teleki Government, 1939-1941]. By *Gyula Juhász*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1964. Pp. 368. Ft. 60.)

ANSCHLUSS 1938: AUSZTRIA ÉS A NEMZETKÖZI DIPLOMÁCIA, 1933-

1938 [*Anschluss* 1938: Austria and International Diplomacy, 1933-1938]. By *Lajos Kerekes*. (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1963. Pp. 407. Ft. 65.)

EMLÉKIRATOK ÉS VALÓSÁG MAGYARORSZÁG MÁSODIK VILÁGHÁBORÚS SZEREPÉRŐL: HORTHYSTA POLITIKA A MÁSODIK VILÁGHÁBORÚBAN [Myth and Reality concerning Hungary's Role in the Second World War: Horthy's Policy in the Second World War]. By *György Ránki*. [A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történettudományi Intézete.] ([Budapest:] Kossuth Könyvkiadó. 1964. Pp. 302. Ft. 21.)

THE massive publications of the Historical Studies Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences contain diplomatic documents transcending localized events. The volume by Ádám covers a particularly crucial period, 1936 to the end of 1938. At the time Hitler seized the Sudetenland, Hungary was ready to array its forces against the territories of Czechoslovakia that contained large Magyar settlements. Berlin called off the mobilization; it had other plans. Hungary sought to wreck the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania. Since the Budapest government could not afford to embroil itself on three fronts, however, it made diplomatic approaches to Yugoslavia. That country, being the neighbor of Italy, was considered the operational terrain of *il Duce*.

The book by Juhász shows Hungary as a focal point of the 1939-1940 "phony war." The Hungarians were traditional friends of the Poles, comrades in arms in the feud of the West against the East. Although Budapest was in the Axis camp, it remained neutral in the German-Polish war, and its sympathies were with the Polish neighbor. The Hungarians were close to Italy and tried to get even closer. Its representatives maintained close contact with Foreign Minister Ciano, and even Mussolini's doors were open to them. (That could not be said of Hitler's door.) From Italian sources they received information considered top secret in those days. Rome was deeply distressed by Hitler's highhanded action against the Czechs and promised direct help to the Hungarians against German aggression. While dreading Hitler's recklessness, the Hungarians were preparing for a showdown with their Rumanian neighbors, or perhaps were pretending to prepare for it. Hitler stopped them in their tracks by announcing the second Vienna award, returning to them the northern portion of Transylvania. The Hungarian mission chiefs whose reports are reproduced in this volume were skeptical of Germany's ultimate victory.

The books by Ádám and Juhász contain many diplomatic documents pertaining to Hungary's conduct of foreign affairs; they are well organized and footnoted, with German summaries.

The virtue of the volume covering the foreign policy of Count Paul Teleki's government is that it provides the most detailed narrative of the events leading up to his tragic end. Teleki was convinced that Hungary's place was not on the side of the *Reich*. When events threatened to overwhelm him he sought to avert danger by signing a friendship pact with Yugoslavia. A few months later he was forced to break that pact by opening Hungary's gates to Hitler's armies on their way to the conquest of the southern Slav kingdom. Teleki did not survive the betrayal forced upon him, and he committed suicide on April 3, 1941.

Kerekes' book concerning the *Anschluss* places Hungary's reaction to the

anti-Nazi policy of Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss into sharper focus. Even though swept into the pro-German camp eventually, the Hungarians feared the *Anschluss* for two main reasons: it would bring an aggressive *Reich* to their door, and it would interfere with an orderly marketing of their agricultural produce in Austria. From diplomatic documents reproduced in this volume it seems that the formation of a united front among the Austrians, Hungarians, Yugoslavs, and Poles was contemplated to counteract Nazi encroachments, but the plan never materialized.

Ránki's volume, contrasting Hungary's World War II role in "reality" and as represented in the recollections of leading politicians, is polemical. The author takes issue with statements in the memoirs of Horthy, Premier Kállay, and others. The book gives a detailed description of Hungary's World War II participation against the Soviets on the Voronezh front where its Second Army was ground to pieces: about a hundred thousand dead, of whom some seven thousand were frozen to death. The author also details how clumsily Horthy sought to take Hungary out of the Nazi camp when it was too late.

*Fairleigh Dickinson University*

EMIL LENGYEL

RUSSIA AND THE CHOLERA, 1823-1832. By *Roderick E. McGrew*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 229. \$6.00.)

*Russia and the Cholera* contains a preface, six chapters, an epilogue, an appendix presenting statistics of cholera mortality in Moscow during the epidemic of September 1830 to January 1831, notes relegated to the end of the volume, a bibliography, and an index.

The preface speaks of "three widely separated sources" of inspiration for the study: Professor William L. Langer's presidential address to the American Historical Association, which "provided an historiographical milieu" and in particular the central theme of a "traumatic shock on a societal level"; Professor Louis Chevalier's investigations of the cholera in Paris; and the author's colleague and friend, "Professor Charles F. Mullett, whose major work on the bubonic plague in England showed precisely and empirically what Langer discussed synoptically and theoretically," and whose emphasis on medical history as an essential part of cultural history led to a corresponding stress in the present book.

After a general chapter on "The Cholera and History," Professor McGrew discusses "Russian Medicine and the Coming of the Cholera," "The Cholera Returns: Orenburg to Nizhny, 1829-1830," "Moscow, 1830," "The Summum: 1831," most of which is devoted to cholera in St. Petersburg, but which also deals with cholera and the Polish Revolution and other topics, and, finally, "Russian Medicine and the Cholera." The brief epilogue restates the author's views concerning the impact of cholera on Russia and what the cholera years revealed about Russian government, society, and medicine. The book is well written and attractively published.

McGrew's compact volume represents a distinct, if modest, contribution to several kinds of historical literature. It treats thoroughly and intelligently an important lengthy episode in the reign of Nicholas I. It adds to medical history a



Careful, up-to-date study of a major epidemic. And it illuminates the evolution of medical science in Russia. While the author's method of approaching Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century through cholera and reaction to cholera produces little that is novel or striking, his analysis is on the whole highly competent, fair, and indeed convincing. McGrew is perhaps at his best in the discussion of the development of Russian medicine where he shows a sure touch and an appreciation of Russian contributions rarely found outside Soviet borders and a discrimination and a sophistication sadly lacking within them.

*University of California, Berkeley*

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

THE RUSSIAN ARMY UNDER NICHOLAS I, 1825-1855. By *John Shelton Curtiss*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 386. \$10.00.)

As far as Russian military history is concerned, the reign of Nicholas I is a strange record of initial victories over rebellious Decembrists and insurgent Poles at home and over Persians, Turks, and Magyars or Caucasian chieftains abroad. Together with the memories of the triumph over Napoleon it represented an impressive record indeed. Yet there was something rotten in the Empire of Nicholas I. Much of it was caused not by wickedness but by shortsightedness that brought a fiasco by the end of the reign. The devouring institution of serfdom and the practiced savage discipline demanded blind obedience and stifled all initiative. Young men were under the shadow of constant suspicion since Nicholas I was never able to forget the Decembrists. Leading positions, with a few exceptions, were held by elegant old generals who often proved empty husks. The army was trained more for magnificent parades than for combat. These unsavory facts should have been recognized as warning signals of the oncoming Crimean disaster, but Nicholas was incapable of detecting any forewarnings.

Such is the broad canvas on which Professor Curtiss draws the picture of military history in Russia during 1825-1855. His eighteen chapters give detailed descriptions of depressing petty intrigues that disturbed the army command and tended to undermine morale. With a discerning eye, the author wades through a mass of historical evidence with admirable skill and rare detachment. He includes accounts of life in the army, administrative corruption, and the part the army was compelled to play in repression of social unrest. All this makes the work instructive, enabling the student of history to pass melancholy judgment.

Curtiss has skillfully utilized a huge amount of available Russian materials. At the risk of being considered churlish, I might question a few minor points. Is it as definite as the author seems to convey that Alexander I died of cholera? Curtiss states with equal assurance that Nicholas was totally ignorant of Constantine's renunciation of his right to the throne; conflicting evidence challenges such a definite conclusion. Further, Curtiss states that General Miloradovich was shot by Kakhovskii and that "soldiers fired on him." The first is correct; the latter assertion is problematical.

These are minor points that should not detract from this solid scholarly piece of work. The author deserves hearty congratulations on his accomplishment. It is a particularly laudatory accomplishment amidst the emotionalism that dominates much of current writing and causes peculiar moral standards. Curtiss has added

another proud item to the slowly growing list of works on Russian prerevolutionary history in the United States.

*Stanford in Germany*

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

SONS AGAINST FATHERS: STUDIES IN RUSSIAN RADICALISM AND REVOLUTION. By *E. Lampert*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965. Pp. vi, 405. \$10.10.)

RECENTLY Western scholars have devoted increasing attention to nineteenth-century Russian social thought, both for the insight it provides into the background of contemporary Soviet Communism and in its own right as a significant chapter in modern European history. *Sons against Fathers* is the second volume in a planned trilogy by Dr. Evgenii Lampert of Oxford University dealing with the leading revolutionary thinkers of tsarist Russia. The first, *Studies in Rebellion* (1957), concentrated on three founders of the Russian intellectual revolutionary tradition: Belinski, Bakunin, and Herzen. The present volume deals with three of their contemporaries and followers: Nikolai Chernyshevski, Nikolai Dobrolybov, and Dmitri Pisarev. As in the initial installment of his study, Lampert prefaces his collection of three lengthy essays with a brief introduction that sketches in the political and social background against which the life and thought of his subjects are traced. The dominant social force moving Russia at mid-century was the reforms of Alexander II, which, as Lampert shows, failed in their irresolute objectives and succeeded only in antagonizing conservative opinion and inflaming radical thought. Instead of changing the old order in Russia they resulted in "a kind of retrenchment, a re-making, an enlargement, and elaboration of what was essentially the same. . . ." The disillusionment, frustration, and desperation of the radical young generation of the decade of the sixties—that peculiar group of rootless, humane, and extremist "sons" of the idealistic but ineffectual "fathers" of the preceding decade, as Dostoevski dubbed them—are examined through detailed studies of its three leading representatives.

Each of the three essays dealing respectively with Chernyshevski, Dobrolybov, and Pisarev is a polished gem of biographical analysis. Lampert penetrates far beneath the surface of factual detail to probe the psychological and intellectual impulses that shaped each of these men with consummate skill, sympathetic sensitivity, and artistic insight. The result is a fascinating and revealing study of the complex forces that impelled feeling men of innate good will, entrapped in an immoral society, to turn to amoral means in order to achieve moral ends, of the intellectual and spiritual dilemmas to which this led, and of the legacy they bequeathed to their later successors. Despite its brilliant treatment of its three central figures, however, the book suffers from the fact that comprising, as it does, only part of a larger projected study, it has neither a true beginning nor an end and very little internal unity. Possibly Lampert should have waited to present his work in finished form with a comprehensive historical introduction and a final summing up of his reflections rather than in three separate installments. Had he done so, however, readers would have been denied for some time yet the immense benefit of this study and the volume that preceded it for a deeper compre-

hension of the ideas that have shaped the Russian intellectual and political tradition for the past century.

Colorado State University

SIDNEY HEITMAN

RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN ALLIANCE OF 1912. By *Edward C. Thaden*. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1965. Pp. 192. \$7.50.)

A CAREFUL analysis of Volumes XVIII-XX, Second Series, of the *Russian Diplomatic Documents, 1878-1917* (1938-40), is the main basis for this re-examination of Russia's part in the formation of the Balkan League of 1912. To these documents the author has added an examination of the debates in the Duma, contemporary Russian newspapers, and other primary and secondary material. His thorough search is amply documented in thirty-three pages of footnotes and thirteen pages of bibliography. The book again demonstrates that the events of pre-1914 diplomacy are already well known. The added detail confirms rather than overturns the main outlines of Balkan policy as established by scholars since 1912.

Thaden feels that Otto Bickel in his *Russland und die Entstehung des Balkanbundes 1912* (1933) exaggerated the influence of Iszvolskii and Hartwig. It is, no doubt, too strong to say that the alliance of March 13, 1912, was Hartwig's work, but Thaden himself shows that Hartwig, and Russian policy in general, played a leading role in furthering the treaty negotiations. After mentioning the insertion of the clause in the alliance treaty that provided that "no offensive military operations were to be undertaken without the preliminary agreement of Russia," Thaden, with the wisdom of hindsight, adds the observation: "It was problematic, however, whether St. Petersburg could exercise much control if Serbia and Bulgaria should decide that it was expedient to attack Turkey." True enough, but the Russian statesmen certainly did not realize this in the spring of 1912. They assumed that through the alliance they could speak the deciding word. As Kokovtsov, the Russian President of the Council, told the English ambassador: "Bulgaria . . . would never move without Russia's permission. . . ."

The author makes several generalizations that are at least debatable. Is it entirely correct that after 1878 and up to 1905 "Official [Russian] policy returned to its traditional European and power-political orientation, and the public quickly forgot the Balkan Slavs while turning to more pressing internal problems"? Not all would agree that "Russia consistently avoided military and diplomatic adventures in the Balkans after 1908." Thaden himself gives an excellent account of Charykov's Straits adventure of 1911, and the backing of the Balkan League might well be classed as an adventure in power politics. The following is a safely guarded historical statement, but one may ask if the over-all impression is the correct one. "In a word, by 1911 much of the resentment Russian diplomats had felt for Austria-Hungary during the Bosnian Crisis had subsided." Did not the Russian diplomats down to 1914 still find the Bosnian affair hard to swallow? In a study where most statements are fully footnoted it is unfortunate that the author did not cite chapter and verse as to what historians he had in mind when he wrote: "It is not, however, fair to argue that Russia systematically prepared the Balkan alliance for aggressions against Austria and Germany."

But these are matters on which opinions may differ. They do not detract from the excellence of the scholarly monograph, one that I thoroughly enjoyed.

*Bowdoin College*

E. C. HELMREICH

THE LIFE OF LENIN. By *Louis Fischer*. [Harper Colophon Books.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. viii, 707. \$2.95.)

Louis Fischer, since the 1920's a prolific reporter on the passing global and, particularly, the Soviet scene, is not a scholar. Unaccustomed to the mechanics of research, he ignores most scholarly and other materials on Lenin, Marxism, Bolshevism, and the formative years of the Soviet Republic.

At his best when he falls back upon the reporter's technique, he "interviews" many of Lenin's contemporaries, citing verbatim from the writings of such as Trotsky, Gorky, Radek, Makhno, Bertrand Russell, Emma Goldman, and H. G. Wells. He allows Lenin to "talk on" endlessly, joining the many passages from his collected works with the aid of a running historical narration. This device creates a highly dramatic motion picture of Lenin. But too often Fischer interrupts the action with homespun philosophizing, cold war sermonizing, and hindsight pontificating. His reasoning, too, is often fuzzy. Declaring Lenin to have been "as selfless as the human animal can be," he remarks on the same page that "Lenin and Trotsky were dictator types." Hailing Lenin for his Brest-Litovsk policy, which revealed his great statesmanship and "saved the state he had created," Fischer subsequently shows that the policy had made for a desperate situation and that Lenin had no idea what to do about it.

Fischer discusses various tracts of Lenin at considerable length. He demolishes *Imperialism* by demonstrating how events have disproved its thesis, and he skillfully captures Lenin studying philosophy in order to go after the detractors of materialism. He fails on the whole, however, to recognize that Lenin's ideas, forged in the heat of battle, were essentially tactical weapons, meant to be modified or even discarded according to the way his struggle for power or for leadership in the world revolution was going. There is then little point in sniping away at any ideological bastion, such as *State and Revolution*, which Lenin completed at a particular time for a special purpose, but which he did not necessarily expect to follow forever.

More than half of this "life" takes up the years 1918-1921. What little there is of 1917 might as well be omitted, Lenin barely managing to make an appearance. A chapter entitled "The Third International" runs five pages, while "Lenin on Art and Literature" rates twenty. Although Fischer's is the best of the trio of books on Lenin that have recently appeared, it will offer no serious challenge to the major biographer whom Lenin still awaits.

*City College of New York*

STANLEY W. PAGE

FORCED LABOUR AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EXPERIENCE OF SOVIET INDUSTRIALIZATION. By *S. Swianiewicz*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 321. \$7.20.)

THIS work presents two engrossing types of analysis: the first is an elaborate and carefully reasoned study of the economic background of forced labor in the Soviet Union; the second is a sometimes blood-chilling examination of the significance this Soviet experience has for economically backward nations presently seeking ways to force the pace of their development. To summarize the author's theses about the Soviet evolution of forced labor: By 1930, Stalin's First Five-Year Plan had produced a labor bottleneck because conditions were such that only direct physical threat could frighten peasants away from their villages and into factories. Dekulakization, like the enclosures of British history, uprooted millions of peasants, many of whom, seeking food, employment, or a place to hide, entered the industrial labor force. Others, deported to camps, were compelled to work under the harsh rule of the OGPU and, subsequently, the NKVD. Thus Stalin achieved the required shift of agricultural manpower into industry.

Thereafter, the drift into slavery developed its own dynamics. The NKVD assumed responsibility for continuing the geographical redistribution of the labor force and, by expanding its empire, deliberately reduced the consumption of millions to starvation levels as a means of enabling the regime to continue its heavy investments for industrial growth. Professor Swianiewicz' estimates of the inordinate costs of the NKVD's machinery of coercion in relation to the forced savings actually achieved lead him to conclude that the great purges and swollen labor camps of the late 1930's actually made very little economic sense.

In the second major portion of his book (Part IV) the author discusses the principal lessons developing nations in Asia, Africa, and Latin America may be drawing from Soviet experience. Stated simply: The leaders of these nations must initiate effective development programs as quickly as possible, an imperative made especially urgent by soaring rates of population growth. Lacking adequate conventional means of capital accumulation, they may be tempted, or feel compelled, to exploit their huge underemployed agricultural populations as forced labor—human capital to be invested for the sake of those who come after them. To do so, the author warns, is to risk suffering all the economic, social, intellectual, and moral evils of Soviet totalitarianism at its worst.

Although Swianiewicz emphasizes the influence of economic forces, his chapters are illuminated by a profound understanding of the complex interrelationships between economic, social, and political processes. He has produced a humane and sophisticated historical study and has made a significant contribution to modern development theory.

*Michigan State University*

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

POLITICAL SUCCESSION IN THE USSR. By *Myron Rush*. [Publication of the RAND Corporation and of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 223. \$5.95.)

BRIEF, simple, and clear, this volume deals with one of the most interesting and significant issues facing the leaders of the world today: the absence of "a legitimate and recognized means for the transfer of power" in the Soviet Union and the uncertainties this inevitably introduces into world politics. Dr. Rush, a senior

research staff member of the RAND Corporation, is convinced that Soviet politics are qualitatively different between the era of firm personal rule and a period when the succession is in any way in doubt and that Western policy makers ought therefore to be prepared for periods of unstable equilibrium, indecision, and inaction. He was persuaded that the period after Khrushchev would be critical. He had completed this volume before Khrushchev was overthrown suddenly on October 15, 1964, and made only minor revisions and additions after that event. He admits that he was surprised by Khrushchev's overthrow, as was Khrushchev himself.

The problem Rush analyzes is such a stark one and his study is so brief that it adds little to what any scholar or government official who deals with the Soviet Union already knows. The historical accounts of the succession to Lenin and to Stalin provide a brief framework for Rush's analysis of the situation before 1964, but they are so limited, and our own knowledge of the interior workings of the Soviet power system in 1953 may be so restricted, that they are truly elementary. The theoretical analysis suffers from the same handicap. Both Rush and all of our specialists on Soviet politics may, moreover, be suffering from long years of Kremlinology, an infectious disease that will not be cured until we have far more data available than is now the case. The Soviet system may also have changed so gradually but so significantly over the past decade that we need a new framework for the study of Soviet totalitarianism, which may now have resolved the succession problem more than Rush had anticipated. At least, the stability in Soviet politics during the year since Khrushchev was ousted suggests that we have been too long impressed by Stalin's domination of the scene and of the system for a quarter of a century. The very ease with which Khrushchev was replaced and his policies continued suggests that we need to reconsider all of our theories about the Soviet system.

*Indiana University*

ROBERT F. BYRNES

FROM PURGE TO COEXISTENCE: ESSAYS ON STALIN'S & KHRUSHCHEV'S RUSSIA. By *David J. Dallin*. [Foundation for Foreign Affairs Series, Number 8.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 289. \$6.95.)

No scholar inside or outside the United States has done more to illuminate the Soviet scene than David Dallin. This collection of essays exhibits the same qualities of scholarship, insight, and sober analysis that one has come to expect from a study bearing his name. Some critics may find that the essays are too heterogeneous to be grouped in a book, yet there is a solid thread of unity—the discrepancy between the claims and the performance of the Soviet system—and the variety of subject matter actually adds to the reader's interest. Aside from a brilliant though not infallible forecast of things to come, made in 1919 in the midst of the Civil War, all of the essays were written between 1957 and 1960.

Half the book is devoted to a searching analysis of the Pyatakov-Radek trial of 1937 after it has been placed in its setting. It would be well if Americans who entertain illusions about Soviet Russia would read these pages. It would be even better if Americans who pride themselves on being the best-informed public in the world would read them. They would find the American ambassador completely

accepting the official version of the trial. They would find the Soviet expert of the chief organ that presumes to interpret the foreign scene to the American public assuring his readers that prosecutor Vyshinsky "is serious minded and an earnest seeker after truth." We now know, of course, officially and from on high, how earnestly Vyshinsky sought the truth. They would find the regular correspondent of the same newspaper (who once told me that he would not know six words of Russian) assuring his readers on the eve of the grand terror that Yezhov's replacement of Yagoda as head of the NKVD meant the end of the terror. And why? Because Yezhov was a man who knew how to smile. Dallin does not play up these once-known but long-forgotten pearls of American journalism, perhaps because of his foreign origin, but the casual way he presents them does not lessen their devastating effect.

The finest analysis in the book is "the eastward path of social revolution." Here Dallin identifies Communism as the movement, not of the proletariat, but of the semi-intellectuals, who are found in greatest number ever further to the east as one society after another awakens and gives birth to a crude, half-educated class that knows everything and doubts nothing and so is imbued with revolutionary fanaticism: hence the progression from France to Germany to Russia to China and the backward countries. The only fault in his analysis is that it ignores the fact that more than enough of these semi-intellectuals linger on in Western society, where they may not be able to dictate their country's course, but certainly can make it wobble.

Occasionally a contradiction appears in these essays. Dallin found hope in the new middle class in Russia in 1957; three years later he doubted that it could change the course of the hard men at the helm. Unfortunately, he does not develop this line of thought, the essay ending rather abruptly, as does also the essay on Stalin's failure in Austria. Dallin is also inconsistent in respect to Austria's importance to Soviet Russia. But aside from these points, his logic is unchallengeable. His death in 1962 removes from the scene a major source of clear thinking in respect to the world beyond the curtain.

*University of Texas*

OLIVER H. RADKEY

## Near East

DIE ALTORIENTALISCHEN REICHE. Part 1, VOM PALÄOLITHIKUM BIS ZUR MITTE DES 2. JAHRTAUSENDS. Edited by *Elena Cassin et al.* [Fischer Welt-geschichte, Number 2.] ([Frankfurt am Main:] Fischer Bücherei. 1965. Pp. 398.)

WRITING an authoritative and unified history of the ancient Near East is virtually impossible for a single scholar for there are few, if any, who can simultaneously control at firsthand the source material written in Egyptian, Sumerian, Akkadian, or any of the other pertinent languages, and likewise be thoroughly versed in the archaeological background of the area. A history of the ancient Near East should be the product of multiple authorship.

This volume is the joint work of an Egyptologist, a Sumerologist, and two Assyriologists, each of whom is a recognized authority within his own discipline.

Their combined efforts have produced for the general public an excellent, authoritative, and informative history of the development of the major civilizations of the ancient Orient, that of Pharaonic Egypt and of Mesopotamia-northern Syria. The five chapters covering Mesopotamia take the reader from the birth of civilization down through the fall of the Old Babylonian Dynasty and the beginnings of Kassite domination. The six chapters covering Egypt start with a survey of the late Paleolithic period and end with the expulsion of the last Hyksos rulers of the Delta by the resurgent Theban Seventeenth Dynasty. As the following examples will show, the history of the ancient Near East is, and must be, constantly being revised and rewritten in the light of current archaeological discoveries and scholarly research: Kenyon's excavations at Jericho and Mellaart's at Çatal Hüyük have forced us to re-examine the beginnings of urbanization; the Mari Letters have caused a re-examination of the achievements of Hammurabi as an empire builder, while the Ur-Nammu and Lipit Ishtar law codes have eliminated the claim of his being the world's first lawgiver. The authors of this work have incorporated in their chapters the results of the recent discoveries and current research within their individual disciplines, and the resultant narrative is comparable, on the popular level, to the contribution that the revised edition of the first two volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History* has made on the scholarly level. One can only look forward with pleasure to an English edition of this book.

Queens College

ALAN R. SCHULMAN

A SHORT HISTORY OF LEBANON. By *Philip K. Hitti*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 248. \$7.50.)

THIS most recent book by Professor Hitti is based on his *Lebanon in History* (1957). It is admirably suited for the general reader, and it should be useful to teachers and students involved with the Middle East.

Lebanon and its varied peoples are the focal centerpiece of a historic tapestry into which Hitti has woven multitudinous historical strands of the peoples and nations whose destinies and cultures became intertwined with those of Lebanon. Hitti's book is replete with facts without, however, overburdening the reader. The narrative flows clearly and interestingly along a stream of history covering nearly five thousand years, from the Late Stone Age to the present nuclear age.

It is interesting that Hitti emphasizes the continuity of Semitic culture and language in Lebanon despite the vicissitudes of repeated invasions and conquests, from those of the Hittites and ancient Egyptians down to the period of the French mandate. The author's Lebanese origin and Christian Arab culture give zest to his writing. Enthusiasm for his cherished heritage arouses his readers' interest in the interplay of the varied alien cultures that molded the distinctive personality of the Lebanese.

Mesopotamian and later Persian domination are briefly dealt with as is that of Alexander and his successors who introduced significant elements of Hellenism. The Christianization of Lebanon during Roman rule and more especially the three hundred years of Christian Byzantine rule from Constantine I to the Arab conquest are rather scantily covered.

Two-thirds of the volume is devoted to the history of Lebanon from the time



of Muslim-Arab conquests to the present. Hitti gives major emphasis to the Arab-Islamic impact upon the Lebanese and writes of Lebanon "in the Orbit of Islam and Arabism" quite appropriately because it still remains a significant part of the Arab lands of Western Asia, though during the crusades it became a battlefield between Christians and Muslims.

The author deals in considerable detail with the Ottoman Empire describing the growth, under the Turks, of Lebanese feudalism and the rising power of the Druses and the Maronites. Thus he prepares his readers for an understanding of the various factors that dominate the political and social life of the republic of Lebanon. Finally Hitti writes of the intellectual awakening in the nineteenth century, which led to the rapid modernization of Lebanon during the last few decades.

An error of considerable political and historic significance on page 217 should be called to the reader's attention: Hitti states that "On October 7 a French naval division landed in Beirut, giving France priority claim . . . before the end of the month Faisal had entered Damascus with British troops." These statements are both misleading and contrary to fact. When the Turks evacuated Beirut on September 30, 1918, they turned the government over to local Lebanese officials who promptly notified the Damascus provisional government which sent Shukri Pasha with one hundred Arab troops to Beirut. They arrived on October 4 and raised the Hejaz flag on government buildings. A French naval force reached Beirut harbor October 6. The French naval commander, Vice-Admiral Varney, on landing saw the Hejaz flag flying and promptly re-embarked. Accompanied by Major de Sambouy, Captain William Yale, American military observer attached to General Allenby's staff, arrived in Beirut October 7. French warships were in the harbor; there were no British or French troops in the city; the Hejaz flag was flying. On October 8 the British Seventh Infantry Division marched into the city. Damascus was occupied by British and Arab forces on October 1, 1918, and Allenby and Faisal arrived there for a conference on October 3.

*Boston University*

WILLIAM YALE

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITIES IN SYRIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINION. By *Avedis K. Sanjian*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Studies, Number 10.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 390. \$8.95.)

THE Armenian community of the Holy Land has always claimed a major share in the custody of Holy Places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It has clung tenaciously and successfully to that "right" throughout its long and checkered history since the beginning of the fourth century, as revealed in this volume devoted to Armenian studies. This part of Professor Sanjian's first book, even with its long, tedious, and bewildering details, is a well-connected narrative of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem from the early seventh century to the end of World War I. In the study of this unique institution the author has gone through a large body of published Armenian works (no archival material, however), but his uncritical use of these works is a serious weakness of his book. The story of Armenians in Cilicia and Syria to the beginning of the sixteenth century is just adequate in Chapter I. Chapter II on the Armenian communities "under Ottoman Dominion"

(why not domination?) is rather perfunctory and too sketchy, as is the treatment of the economic status of the Armenian communities in "Syria" (the area extending from the Taurus Mountains to the Sinai Peninsula). Instead of depending too much on Siurmeian's gossipy and ponderous tomes, a more careful study of the works of Runciman, Stevenson (*Crusaders in the East*), and even Deansley's *Early Medieval Europe* would have enabled the author to present a fuller and better narrative. The chapter on the Armenian Catholicate of Cilicia is long enough, but it is badly cluttered with unnecessary and at times disgusting details. In a number of places the author refers to the "so-called Armenian Question," but his last brief chapter is entitled "The Armenian Question and Its Impact on the Syrian Communities." The "Selected Bibliography" includes nearly all Armenian books and periodical articles on the subject, as well as important works in English, French, and German. Fifty-seven pages of closely printed notes testify to Sanjian's prodigious industry, but his index is barely adequate.

This welcome addition to the slowly but steadily increasing number of books in English on Armenian studies is thus of uneven merit. It is regrettable that its author does not seem to have had much competent guidance in his pioneering work; otherwise, the result would have been considerably improved. Even so, one can be satisfied without being content, and all serious students of Middle East studies can thank Sanjian for his book.

*Library of Congress*

A. O. SARKISSIAN

NESHRI'S HISTORY OF THE OTTOMANS: THE SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXT. By V. L. Ménage. [School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London Oriental Series, Volume XVI.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 86. \$5.60.)

THIS is an exhaustive account of the early sixteenth-century Ottoman historian Neshri, whose work is one of our principal sources for the study of Ottoman origins and the Ottoman rise to power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It demonstrates all too clearly the difficulties met by historians in the use of Ottoman sources. Various previous attempts to identify the author with known historical figures are shown to be in error. Thus we have no information about Neshri except that he was a member of the ulama, who apparently served in the Ottoman army under Mohammed the Conqueror, wrote his history in the early years of Bayezid II (1481-1512), and died sometime during the reign of Selim I (1512-1520). His known work apparently was only the introduction to a much larger world history that has not survived. Much of his information apparently was derived from the earlier chronicle of Ashikpashazade, but through an unknown intermediary, and has survived in several distinct editions. While the earliest known manuscript of the work, published by Franz Taeschner as *Gihannüma: Die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Mehmed Neschri* (1951), is accepted as an accurate rendition compiled during the author's lifetime, in 1493, the text subsequently published by the Turkish scholars Faik Resit Unat and Mehmed A. Köymen as *Mehmed Neşrî: Kitâb-ı Cihan-nümâ, Neşrî Tarihi* (1949-57) is shown to be most likely the product of an entirely different author.

This monograph contains a useful concordance of the various manuscripts,

along with extremely detailed analyses of various critical points. It actually is a collection of historical notes written by Ménage in the process of compiling a thesis on the various fifteenth-century Ottoman chronicles. It is to be hoped that this latter study, as well as translations of the texts themselves, may be published for the use of a wider group of historians than those who will benefit from the present work.

Harvard University

STANFORD J. SHAW

THE TURKISH POLITICAL ELITE. By *Frederick W. Frey*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 483. \$12.50.)

FOLLOWING the defeat, dissolution, and partition of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, the Turkish people, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, established a republic, became a nation, and underwent one of the basic revolutions of our time. Many books have been written on this grand theme about the drama of the Turkish transformation. Without doubt the achievement in the Turkish revolution, whatever its limitations or shortcomings, may be traced both to the character of the Turkish people and to the political elite that emerged under Atatürk and his successors after 1938.

Professor Frey has now made the first fundamental and authoritative analysis of this elite, its historical and geographical origins, its social backgrounds, its intellectual and educational development, and its occupational distribution. To achieve an understanding and characterization of the political elite of the Turkish Republic, the author has investigated the backgrounds of all 2,210 members of the Turkish Grand National Assembly from 1920 through 1957, with extended coverage down to 1960, when the first republic came to an end with the *coup d'état* of May 1960. The treatment is both quantitative and qualitative, and it leads to interesting evaluations and estimates of the character of the elite, although one may have questions, at times, concerning some correlations between various skills and selection, election, and re-election to office. The author rightly makes education the "hallmark of the elite," and he well notes that "throughout most of Turkey's modern history, the fundamental social distinction has been that based on education." His data indicate that more than 60 per cent of the 2,210 Turkish deputies had some university training. In professional distribution, the high incidence of lawyers (18 per cent) is noteworthy, if not, perhaps, unique. Chapter x provides an interesting analysis of "elites within an elite: cabinets and ministries," that is, of those who emerged at the highest levels of the Turkish government.

Although Frey's work is confined to Turkey, it should prove interesting to any social or political scientist dealing with the problem of the emergence of elites in any society. Chapter 11, for example, is a disquisition on methodology in research in this field. It should also interest anyone professionally or otherwise involved in the contemporary Middle Eastern scene or with the problems of developing societies. As Professors Lasswell and Lerner note in their foreword, Atatürk "was the nearest approximation to a genius of modernization that any emerging na-

tion' " had seen in his period, and emerging or developing nations may well have much to learn from the Turkish experience.

While hardly designed for popular consumption, the work is well written, is replete with statistical data, contains a very useful appendix, and closes with a selected bibliography, based both on Turkish and other sources. This is a distinct contribution to literature on Turkey and should certainly be on the reference shelf of all students of modern Turkey.

*American University*

HARRY N. HOWARD

## Africa

A HISTORY OF POSTWAR AFRICA. By *John Hatch*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. 432. Cloth \$8.50, paper \$2.95.)

JOHN Hatch is to be commended for his effort in presenting a history of Africa since 1945, for this book is one of the first attempts to describe and analyze the recent history of the whole African continent. The difficulties of writing a contemporary history are enormous, however, and the incomplete availability of contemporary sources must perforce always limit an author to a narrower view of his subject than would be the case after the passage of a suitable length of time.

Although the reader will find a useful amount of reasonably accurate information in a convenient package as Hatch deals in turn with Western, Southern, Central, Eastern, and Northern Africa and stresses contrasting as well as common elements in the recent political history of each region, many readers will object to the author's perspective, his basic assumptions, and his interpretation of the facts. To begin with, his claim that the African political revolution has been the most dramatic international phenomenon since World War II may be disputed by Sinologists, by Asian specialists, and by students of the Soviet Union, although it is understandable in view of his onetime position as Commonwealth officer of the British Labour party and his career as a journalist in Africa. Africanists will be dissatisfied with the author's consistently non-African perspective on African history. The background to the independence struggle is to be found in Africa in the colonial period over three decades before the achievement of African independence, and it has been convincingly described by Thomas Hodgkin. To analyze African history by playing down internal African developments and by referring largely to Europe and a European chronology is to do an injustice to the history of Africa. Certainly the great conflagration of World War II is a major dividing line in European, American, and Japanese history, but I quarrel with the implication that it was a major turning point for Africa.

Historians in general may challenge the validity of the author's approach to this political history because of the heavy emphasis on constitutional development and the not always appropriate use of a vocabulary borrowed from Western socialism. Here one cannot avoid the conclusion that the author has been greatly influenced by an older school of British historiography. The attempt to explain much of African history through economic determinism is unsuccessful because in this political history there is a dearth of information about social and economic history. Nor is much attention paid to the fascinating and not unimportant role of

syncretist religion and modern African thought, particularly the highly relevant concepts of *negritude*, the African personality, African socialism, and *Ujamaa*.

The book has no notes, and the bibliography does not do justice to the scope of the subject.

*University of Illinois, Chicago*

ROBERT L. HESS

REALM OF THE EVENING STAR: A HISTORY OF MOROCCO AND THE LANDS OF THE MOORS. By *Eleanor Hoffmann*. (Philadelphia: Chilton Books. 1965. Pp. xxv, 307. \$6.95.)

THIS rather overblown title announces, according to its author, the first attempt in English at a complete history of Morocco. Chronologically, it is that. Meakin's *The Moorish Empire* ended in 1899, and there remains over a half century of change in Morocco from the black-bearded Moulay Hassan to his grandson, King Hassan II, clean-shaven in his silk suits. Eleanor Hoffmann fills in the outlines of these years; the several thousand years of the western Maghrib's history that precede them are chronicled in the main from extensive English and French sources. The result, while lacking in scholarly analysis, is a pageant of Moorish history in its pomp, vivid color, religious mysticism, and brutality.

The work's chief merit is its continuity. Northwest Africa's history, as shown here, unfolds from legendary beginnings, through Roman and Vandal visitations, to the arrival of Islam. Thereafter Morocco's growth is set within the limits of traditional Muslim dynasties until the French conquest introduces a Western element and cleaves the Moroccan soul between traditional and progressive worlds. A second merit lies in the author's inclusion of Muslim Spain and the Negro empires of West Africa. Cordova, Mali, and the Songhai Empire share with Morocco a common historical experience of gold, slaves, ivory, and Islam.

Despite these assets, the book is marred by errors and, more serious, a lack of purpose. Apparently unable to decide between history and travel approaches to Morocco, the author fuses both, with disastrous results. It reads at times like a guidebook, again like women's club speeches. The sections on post-1962 developments are shallow. Errors, both factual and interpretive, sprinkle its pages. The accounts of France's conquest of Algeria, and of Abd-el-Krim's career impact on Maghrib nationalism, reveal a basic misunderstanding of North African political history. Wholesale borrowings from various authorities without attribution further weaken the documentation. The account of the Istiqlal movement has been told better elsewhere. As a whole the book suffers from careless editing, and several specialists will be disappointed to see their names misspelled.

The work contributes something to guidebook literature on Morocco but almost nothing to our understanding of the forces shaping Moroccan history.

*American University*

WILLIAM SPENCER

ENGLAND, EUROPE & THE UPPER NILE, 1882-1899: A STUDY IN THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. By *G. N. Sanderson*. [Edinburgh University Publications: History, Philosophy and Economics, Number 18.] (Edinburgh: University Press; distrib. by Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago. 1965. Pp. xiv, 456. \$14.50.)

THE main features of the international struggle for control of the Nile Basin have been recognized for some time, but some of them at least were not very clearly discernible. During the past generation, however, the opening of various Foreign Office and colonial archives, as well as private papers, has enabled students to work out many details and correct the perspective on certain interrelationships. Thus Zaghi contributed significantly through use of the Italian records, Hornik exploited the Austrian archives, A. J. P. Taylor, Shibeika, and Robinson and Gallagher adduced valuable evidence from British sources, and Renouvin reviewed the background of the Fashoda crisis in the light of French documents. Of the utmost interest and importance, furthermore, have been the articles on King Leopold II and the activities of his Congo government published by Jean Stengers, together with the quite fascinating studies of Mahdist and Ethiopian policy contributed by Professor Sanderson. In the preparation of this synthesis Sanderson has reviewed the large and scattered literature and has drawn on the British Foreign Office and colonial records, the intelligence reports from Egypt and the Sudan, the French archives of various kinds, and the Mahdist records at Khartoum.

The author recognizes in his preface that some points in the story are still obscure and will perhaps always remain so since crucial records have been destroyed. For the rest, Sanderson's book is certainly a definitive treatment of one of the greatest and most dangerous, as it was certainly one of the most involved, episodes in the history of European imperialism.

The struggle for the Upper Nile became acute after the Mahdist conquest of the Sudan and the gradual realization that the very life of Egypt might be endangered by hostile interference with the waters of the White Nile. Within a few years not only Britain, but also Italy, Germany, the Congo, and France all forced their way into the picture. No effort can be made in a review to touch even the high points of this complicated and ever-shifting scene, or even to specify the contributions made by the author. The book is a large one which goes into considerable detail regarding prolonged and often futile negotiations. In the course of his narrative Sanderson shows how adventurous officers in the field often ran away with the show, and how at home the Foreign and Colonial Offices were at times working in opposite directions. He brings to life the leading actors: Salisbury with his attention focused on European alignments and his skepticism about the "wretched stuff" which was much of Africa, yet in the end as avaricious as anyone; Rosebery the imperialist, constantly frustrated by Harcourt; Crispi, with his fantastic dreams of an Anglo-Italian Sudan; the rapidly changing French ministers, notably Hanotaux and Delcassé, both at times the victims of permanent officials; and, above all, Leopold, who alone was able to pursue his ambitious and devious policies in secret and who made himself a past master at exploiting the conflicting interests of others. Mention, too, should be made of that crafty non-European who was the first to score a resounding victory over European imperialism—Menelik, whom the author has shown to have led the French astray while actively promoting an alliance with the Khalifa directed against all European encroachment.

One can have nothing but praise for this excellent example of historical research and analysis. It fills in many of the data required for complete understand-

ing and at the same time sums up our knowledge of the problem. The publishers, too, are to be congratulated on having produced an attractive volume, with footnote references where they belong, with detailed descriptive bibliography, with good map material, and with a first-rate analytical index.

*Harvard University*

WILLIAM L. LANGER

THE MODERN HISTORY OF SOMALILAND: FROM NATION TO STATE. By *I. M. Lewis*. [The Praeger Asia-Africa Series.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xi, 234. \$6.50.)

WHILE Africanists often joke about the anthropologist who has studied a people for so long and so intensely that they become "his people," such a sense of identity seems to have been useful to Dr. I. M. Lewis, an anthropologist turned historian, in his new general, nonspecialist history of Somaliland from the late nineteenth century to 1964. His description of the mode of life and social institutions of the Somali is succinct, but describes the historical importance of clan patrilineal kinship well. Lewis has further applied his deep knowledge of Somali society and language by using considerable unpublished traditional source materials in his valuable fourth chapter on the period 1900-1920 about the holy war of Sayyid Muhammed 'Abdille Hassan, the so-called "Mad Mullah." Sayyid Muhammed's struggle against a serious Christian threat to the faith of his people "not only failed in its purpose of driving the 'infidels' into the sea, but actually led to a further extension and entrenchment of alien rule." Nonetheless, the fight "left in the Somali national consciousness an ideal of patriotism which could never be effaced and which was to inspire later generations."

Chapter II, "Somaliland before Partition," is based largely on oral documents and is a useful summary of the limited information now available. Lewis' description of the origins and development of Italian Somaliland through 1940 (Chapter V) is a particularly good survey, containing a description of the important agricultural developments of the first quarter of the twentieth century. Chapters VI-VIII, which trace Somali history from 1940 to 1964, present useful materials, but, along with Chapter III on the period of the imperial partition of Somaliland, 1860-1897, are marred by the author's sympathetic involvement with the affairs of "his people" and by his apparent distaste for Ethiopia, the particular *bête noir* of modern Somalia.

The author is nonetheless correct in his estimation that modern Somalia's problem of national unity has its origins in the unfortunate imperialism of the horn of Africa during the late nineteenth century; that, because the present-day Somali Republic follows a policy of irredentism, it "has been manoeuvred into a position of unenviable isolation in the Pan-African world." The rest of Africa has made it quite clear that nation building must take place within the state boundaries laid down by the imperialists. This decision is really quite a shame because the Somalis do have the type of "culturally defined identity" that most observers consider essential for the existence of a viable nation-state, and to which most other African states aspire. The Somalis are thus an anomaly in modern Africa, a nation in search of a country, instead of a country in search of a nation.

*Howard University*

HAROLD G. MARCUS

THE NIGER JOURNAL OF RICHARD AND JOHN LANDER. Edited and abridged with an introduction by *Robin Hallett*. [Travellers and Explorers.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. ix, 317. \$8.00.)

THE journal records the efforts of the Lander brothers during a seventeen-month period in 1830-1832 to trace the Niger from a point in the present Northern Region of Nigeria to the sea. At the time of their modest expedition no one in Europe knew for certain where the river reached the sea or even whether it reached the sea at all. Earlier expeditions, including one led by Clapperton on which Richard Lander was present, had failed to unravel the mystery of the river's outlet. The Landers' discovery that the Niger emptied into the sea through the so-called Oil Rivers delta had far-reaching consequences, for it spurred the British commercial and antislaving activities in the river basin that contributed to the establishment of colonial rule later in the century.

Richard and John Lander came from humble origins in rural Cornwall. They were not scholars. Nor did they possess scientific training or great linguistic ability. But they recorded what they saw in the Niger area in a quite accurate and unbiased fashion. John Lander, who wrote most of the journal, did not share his older brother's benevolent attitudes toward West Africa and its peoples. But in general his sentiments and his Gothic romantic prose style seem more amusing than offensive. Throughout the journal the Landers describe vividly the peoples they encountered: kings and peasants, traders and holy men, the marauding Fulani, the effete Yoruba of Old Oyo, the energetic Nupe, the vigorous Ibo canoemen of Aboh, and the men of Brass. Their picturesque account gives much information on the relationships of the various states of the Niger area and on the trade routes of the interior during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Robin Hallett has done a fine job of reducing the original journal of 175,000 words to a fluid narrative of 100,000 words. He has wisely kept the number of notes in the text to a minimum. To supplement them, he has provided an excellent background introduction, as well as an epilogue telling of Richard's third and fatal visit to Nigeria in 1831.

The volume contains a fine foldout map which allows the reader to trace every step in the voyage from Badagry on the Gulf of Guinea inland to Bussa and from Bussa down the Niger to the sea. It has good place name and general indexes. On the whole, this first contribution in the new "Travellers and Explorers" series has set very high standards for subsequent volumes.

*Ohio University*

DAVID E. GARDINIER

CAMEROON: UNITED NATIONS CHALLENGE TO FRENCH POLICY. By *David E. Gardinier*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 142. \$1.70.)

It is difficult to be certain of the purposes that this book was expected to serve. The Institute of Race Relations, its publisher, obviously hoped that Professor Gardinier's discourse would further advance the cause of racial understanding. According to a foreword by the director of the institute, it was specifically in-



tended to answer questions about the effectiveness of international bodies as guardians of colonially ruled subjects. The title also promises an examination of the role of the United Nations in the formulation of Cameroun political development. Unfortunately, however, although the UN does now and again enter the chapters of this book, it appears merely to provide a passive setting for the machinations of local Cameroun politicians. Essentially the author's focus is almost exclusively upon their struggle against the inflexibilities of French rule. (Except in a concluding chapter, this book does not narrate events in the former British Cameroons.) Race relations, as commonly understood, nowhere occupy the stage. Analysis of any kind is almost entirely absent.

What Gardinier does provide is a useful, brief introductory survey of events in former French Cameroun from the beginning of World War II to independence in 1960. Of its various sections, those on the rise of nationalism, the revolt of 1955-1960, the organization of politics and political parties, modern economic development, and the achievement of independence are least satisfactory. A final, comparatively fact-filled chapter sets out the political events of the period between 1960 and late 1962. In it the author discusses the mechanics of the unification of the two Cameroon trust territories and charts the rapid consolidation of power therein by the northern-based *Parti de Union Camerounaise* under President Ahmadu Ahidjo. Throughout there is excessive repetition of detail, and the latter half of the book is strangely pervaded by an air of *post hoc* apologia for and acceptance of the succession of events that brought about the present distribution of power within the Cameroun. Finally, there is no index.

But despite these and other criticisms, most of which probably stem from the form in which this book was cast, Gardinier's narrative will, in lieu of a more comprehensive account, continue to be of use to students of the modern Cameroun. It is in numerous respects more authoritative than the more recently published study of the same subject by Victor T. Le Vine (*The Cameroons from Mandate to Independence* [1964]).

Harvard University

ROBERT I. ROTBERG

## Asia and the East

ANCIENT CHINA IN TRANSITION: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY, 722-222 B. C. By *Cho-yun Hsu*. [Stanford Studies in the Civilizations of Eastern Asia.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 238. \$6.50.)

DR. Hsu proposes to write a history of the Chinese societies in the Ch'un Ch'iu (722-464 B.C.) and Chan Kuo (463-222 B.C.) periods with special stress on social mobility. In a compact volume, he presents a lucid account and a vigorous analysis of ancient China in its most eventful period of transition.

That the Ch'un Ch'iu and Chan Kuo periods witnessed many basic changes is a thesis traceable at least to an essay by Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) in his *Jih-chih lu*, Volume XIII. It has been developed by later scholars and is now found even in textbooks. Hsu's book is valuable, nevertheless, because it attempts to quantify the data on social mobility, to synthesize textual and archaeological evi-

dence for a general picture, and to use modern sociological concepts, especially those of Max Weber, for interpretation. Changes in social mobility are meaningfully discussed against political, economic, ideological, and social changes in general.

The book begins with a chapter on "Problems and Background" and ends with a "Conclusion." In between are five chapters on "Changes in Social Mobility," "Wars and Warriors," "The New State," "Economic Changes," and "Changes in Ideas." Two of these chapters are outstanding: the chapter on social mobility contains four tables on "social stratification in the Ch'un Ch'iu period," "the increasing importance of ministers," "the concentration of ministers in big families," and "persons of obscure origin in the Ch'un Ch'iu and Chan Kuo periods"; the chapter on economic changes reviews a considerable amount of newly excavated materials, notably iron implements, bronze coins, and walled cities.

Explaining changes in social structure, Hsu says: "a contractual relationship seems to have replaced the familial relationship during the Chan Kuo period." Here the term contractual should be understood to mean "relatively free contractual" because in a sense the feudal, familial relationship was also contractual, although the contract was expected to last for life and often to involve future generations. The study of social mobility perhaps can be refined further by differentiating large and small states, states in central China and those in outer areas. For instance, one scholar (*shih*) of a small state who migrated and became a minister in a large state may be considered higher up the ladder of success than another who stayed and became a minister in the small state. In this connection, it may be observed that several of the small central states in the Chan Kuo period tended to export talent to the large, powerful, outer states.

Altogether, Hsu's book is a remarkably well-balanced synthesis that should be recommended to Western students of ancient China.

*Harvard University*

LIEN-SHENG YANG

REFORMER IN MODERN CHINA: CHANG CHIEN, 1853-1929. By Samuel C. Chu. [Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 256. \$6.00.)

RECENT biographical studies in the field of modern China have in large part been concerned with transitional figures, the men who escorted China out of the nineteenth century, with the traditional heritage it sought to preserve, into the twentieth-century world of nationalism and industrialism. Chang Chien was unusual not so much for the versatility of his interests and efforts, which this study illuminates commendably, but rather because he was neither an official nor militarist. It was characteristic of Ch'ing China that large enterprise, major sources of wealth, and educational policies, as well as many educational institutions, were monopolies of government and its scholar-official servants. Most of the best-known reformers operated from exalted positions within the bureaucracy, bringing to bear upon their promotions the resources and prestige of their offices. Chang was exceptional in that his official career was brief and commenced only after he had successfully launched numerous daring economic and social enterprises.

Whereas the other famous reformers were primarily scholar-officials whose entrepreneurial ventures supported their regional administrations, Chang was a scholar-entrepreneur whose productive efforts were largely confined to his native Nantung district. More than merely an entrepreneur, he was a social reformer and a pioneer in land reclamation and in the reform of the age-old salt administration. He also grappled with the problem of taming the Huai River.

Professor Chu's approach is an objective appraisal of the major achievements and failures of Chang. Within his own locality and for a limited span of time Chang demonstrated the vision and resource that educated Chinese possessed both because of and in spite of their Confucian heritage. He was awakened by the West at the very moment that he became disillusioned with the traditional examination system. A confidant of political giants, he failed to understand the basic political issues of his time and thus missed his opportunity to make a fundamental impact upon his nation.

In tracing Chang's efforts and contributions in a wide range of public affairs, Chu furnishes us with a series of useful accounts of the workings and development of industry (especially cotton), education, national affairs, constitutional development, reclamation, and water conservation, but none of these constitute a major survey. Like Chang, the author has pursued a wide variety of interests that never quite add up to a completed picture. One might wish that both had looked for a radical note upon which to build a structure of major significance. One might wish that Chang's successes and failures had been analyzed more broadly against the patterns rather than merely against the events of their place and time. And yet, as one would not wish China to have been without its Chang Chien, one cannot dispense with this conscientious and authoritative study.

*Washington University*

STANLEY SPECTOR

INDIA. By *Stanley Wolpert*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 178. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

Past months have witnessed the proliferation of small volumes designed to describe India's past and the current scene. Of all these books, it seems to me the volume by Stanley Wolpert is the best. With clichés held to an absolute minimum and with no desire to write down to some assumed audience of naïve readers, Wolpert has done a commendable job of conveying, in brief scope, the sweep of India's past, the era of British domination, and the period of independence until the death of Nehru. As an extra boon, the volume is well written and lively.

I have a few small criticisms, however. It seems to me, for instance, that his discussion of Hindu polity and society is rather slim. The discussion of Islam in India is a bit trite, a tired story told again in slightly worn phrases. His discussion of Gandhi has elements of brilliance and is on the whole quite good. However, I fear Dr. Wolpert has failed to distinguish between the strengths and the limitations of Gandhi's leadership. Gandhi played the role of a political leader with a curiously limited idea of what politics is about. If this is not seen clearly, one is landed in some awkward anomalies. The treatment of reform and renaissance in India under British rule is good, but fails somewhat to convey the variety of

ways in which Indian society was being modified. The facts are there and are well presented; the over-all impact of diverse British lines of policy is not given sufficient analytical attention. The development of a major anomaly—British interactions with the newly educated class—fails to come through in all of its significance. After page 135 it seems to me the book tends to become somewhat stale. One gets the feeling that the author had covered all that interested him at that point and finished the book in a relatively uninspired and mechanical fashion. For me it came as a letdown.

Nonetheless, it is a good survey, it has few errors of fact or of opinion, and it has a number of passages of genuinely important insight. The educated layman or the undergraduate in a survey course on India will surely benefit from a close reading of the book. Wolpert is to be commended for carrying it off so well.

*Duke University*

ROBERT I. CRANE

**BOMBAY PRESIDENCY IN THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.** By *Holden Furber*. [Heras Memorial Lectures, 1962. Issued under the auspices of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture.] (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1965. Pp. v, 76. \$4.00.)

ECONOMIC history is one of the neglected aspects of the long chronicle of India's past. Works on the economic history of ancient India are just beginning to appear in a significant number, and the case of the later periods of Indian history is not much different. Works of W. H. Moreland and R. C. Dutt, published decades ago, are still the standard authorities though recent studies have added much that is valuable for our understanding of the economic developments in India during the seventeenth to the nineteenth century.

Holden Furber has been a pioneer in the economic history of India during the "Company Era." The present volume is a happy indication of his continuing interest in Indian economic history of the neglected period.

This work is part of a much larger one under preparation. The period selected for the present study extends from the 1720's to the 1750's, and the author is mainly concerned with western India, viewed from the vantage point of the British establishment on Bombay Island. The first lecture discusses commercial happenings in Bombay and on the Malabar Coast in the 1720's; the second deals with the country trade of Bombay and Surat in the 1730's; and the last describes conditions in Bombay Presidency during the period of the War of Austrian Succession. The focus is essentially on country trade and the role of private interests in the development of the company's trade in western India. The study is based on British and Dutch sources and brings to light many little-known episodes of the turbulent times. The importance of the approach and treatment lies in the fact that it is perhaps the first attempt to analyze and evaluate the impact of private trade, both on the commercial fortunes of the company and on the economy of the Bombay area. Furber has uncovered much valuable information from hitherto untapped Dutch sources, which is a distinct contribution to Indian economic history. The style is anecdotal, bearing a deep impress of the spoken word addressed to a selected audience, and makes for very interesting reading.

One cannot obviously expect firm and extensive conclusions from a volume of this nature, but what is offered is enough to raise high expectations of the work to come. Furber rightly laments the absence of Indian sources for they would have revealed the impact of the economic revolution ushered into the life of western India by the company's trade and the private commercial operations of its servants. Some of this material, at least from 1700 onward, is, in part, available in the Marathi documents, and one wishes the author had had the opportunity to consult them. But what he has done and has projected to do is of great value and deserves the attention of students of Indian economic history.

*Wake Forest College*

B. G. GOKHALE

#### THE BENGALI REACTION TO CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

1833-1857. By *Muhammad Mohar Ali*. (Chittagong: Mehrub Publications. 1965. Pp. xii, 243. Rs. 16.)

DESPITE poor printing and numerous typographical errors, this is a valuable study, effectively carried out. The subject of indigenous consequences of European rule has long been discussed in broad and impressionistic terms, and the nature of the complex responses by segments of native society has tended to be dealt with in a similar fashion. In recent years serious studies—of which this is one—have begun to appear, giving us an informed and detailed insight into important facets of the complex interaction produced by British rule in Indian society.

Because British rule was first firmly established in Bengal, and because the concentration of officials and nonofficial Europeans was greatest in Bengal in the early period, developments there are critical to our comprehension of such interactions. This study uses Bengali responses to Christian missionaries as its focus, with happy consequences. The missionaries were important in a variety of ways, and the complex Bengali reactions to their presence serve to show how different segments of native society perceived the implications of European impact. From this account it becomes clear that current oversimplifications of indigenous response must be radically revised. In addition to the varying responses of different segments of Bengal society, there was an added complication of groups that responded in one way to certain stimuli and in other ways to other stimuli. The curious case of shifts in stance by the so-called Young Bengal party illustrates this phenomenon quite well, and Mr. Ali's volume documents other numerous instances of this. In so doing, he has made particularly effective use of journals, newspapers, and tracts that were published by different groups in the period 1833-1857. His bibliography is most helpful, particularly because he has made a substantial effort to specify the location of many of the items crucial to his research. The volume, meanwhile, is well organized, effectively knit together, and lucid in presentation. The research clearly indicates several fruitful lines of serious inquiry that can be followed by other scholars to extend our comprehension of the variety of ways in which Indian society adjusted to the British presence. I am pleased to recommend the book highly.

*Duke University*

ROBERT I. CRANE

AFGHANISTAN: HIGHWAY OF CONQUEST. By *Arnold Fletcher*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 325. \$7.50.)

THIS pleasant introduction to Afghanistan does not provide much information that is not readily available elsewhere, but it does have the distinction of portraying with warmth and sympathy Afghan views. As such, it is a welcome antidote to the almost inevitably British-centered accounts of Afghanistan that have so far appeared in English. Thus, what is referred to as the "Third Afghan War" quite unabashedly becomes "The War of Independence." The author, who broadly sketches the toils and troubles of the area from 1747 to the present (with three short, introductory chapters on the land, the people, and "ancient Afghanistan"), has tried to be objective; where his sympathies for the Afghans have triumphed, however, he makes his primary contribution, for the value of this book lies in its presentation of the Afghan view.

Arnold Fletcher has spent several years in Afghanistan. At one time he was deputy director of Habibia College in Kabul, the first public school ever established in the country. The book is both well written and entertaining; Fletcher has a penchant for the striking adjective and utilizes some fine anecdotes to good purpose.

Unfortunately, several errors have crept into the text, and some hoary chestnuts have been kept warm. Selim the Grim, for example, was not the first Ottoman sultan to claim the title of caliph. It seems a little odd to refer to southern Dir and Swat as "part of the Indus plain." The wrong date—1904—is given for the Anglo-Japanese treaty, and the remark that this bolstered British defenses in India because of a clause "in which Japan agreed to cooperate in the protection of India's northwest frontier" is in error. There was no such clause, and Japan explicitly exempted India from the terms of the agreement. One is somewhat surprised, too, to read in a book on Afghanistan that German planners "had entered the world of Islam with customary thoroughness." In fact, World War I found the Germans so unprepared for activities in this part of the world that the expedition of Wassmuss and Niedermayer had to be staffed with personnel taken from the German African colonies, with no knowledge of either the Persian or Afghan languages.

This is, nevertheless, a refreshing account of a little-known country, presented by one who has learned to admire and respect its peoples. There are some fine photographs, but it is unfortunate that the book contains no maps.

*Tufts University*

FREELAND ABBOTT

DER GEDANKE DER BLOCKFREIHEIT IN SÜDOSTASIEN: GESCHICHTE UND DEUTUNG DER SOLIDARITÄTSKONFERENZEN DER COLOMBO-STAAATEN, 1954-1961. By *Raden Soerjono Wirjodiatmodjo*. [Darstellungen zur auswärtigen Politik, Number 3.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag GmbH. 1964. Pp. vi, 178. DM 25.)

THIS study attempts to explain historically and analytically the "foreign policy style" of the five Asian countries that sponsored the first Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955. The author acknowledges that for documentation he relied primarily on fifteen volumes of *Facts and Documents* published

in his native language by the Indonesian Department of Foreign Affairs. Consequently not all five "Colombo states"—Ceylon, Burma, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan—briefly united in a common diplomatic effort in the spring of 1954, are given equal attention in this volume, which presents primarily an Indonesian point of view. Significantly, the author chose to study only those "solidarity conferences" that had a truly neutralist intention, and he ignored completely the Communist front "Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Conferences."

Dr. Soerjono introduces the historical part of his study with some reflections on the nature of nationalism in Southeast Asia, particularly in Indonesia, as it affects the attitudes of contemporary nationalist leaders in the area. He ascribes particular importance to the memories of past moments of national glory and to the bitterness left behind by the period of Western colonial dominance.

That part of his study devoted to "the development of the non-aligned policy of the Colombo states through the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conferences" is not really a historical essay, but a lucid and moderate Indonesian commentary on some key events of the last two decades.

In the second, analytic part of this study Soerjono attempts what he describes as a "phenomenologic-spectographic" approach. Under this forbidding label he discusses several of the factors determining the policy of nonalignment: the bipolarity of the international system in the relevant years, the ideological conflict between Communism and the West, the existence of nuclear weapons. More interesting, as an Indonesian commentary, are the pages concerning the respective attitudes of the Soviet Union and of the United States toward the Colombo states.

After attempting to characterize three types of neutralism—militant, conservative, and moderate—Soerjono makes the useful point that nonalignment, as a voluntary political attitude, should not be confused with neutralization by international agreement as in the case of Laos in 1962 and of Austria in 1955. The author predicts, in conclusion, that increasing numbers of newly independent states will favor a policy of nonalignment even though it may have been abandoned by some of its initial advocates.

*Santa Monica, California*

GUY J. PAUKER

AN INTRODUCTION TO INDONESIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY. Edited by Soedjatmoko *et al.* [Prepared under the auspices of the Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 427. \$9.75.)

LIKE most scholarly works in English on Indonesia, this book is highly welcome, the more so since it is a true pioneering effort. Like most symposia, it is almost by definition uneven, and like most reviewers of symposia, I am unable to do justice to it.

This collective enterprise is first of all pretty unique in its breadth of coverage. It is not restricted to an examination of available source materials in archaeology and epigraphy, local and regional records, nor written documentary treasures available in indigenous, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch, and British writings. There are even two chapters on Japanese and Soviet "sources," though especially the

latter, not unexpectedly, lists secondary rather than primary materials. The catholicity in coverage is mirrored by its international character, and, one might add, its "intergenerational" one. The twenty-two contributors include, most happily, Indonesian as well as Western scholars, and they range from such famous historians as C. R. Boxer and the late Jan Romein, through such well-known stalwarts of Indonesian history as the late Hoesein Djajadiningrat, C. C. Berg, and H. J. de Graaf, to younger authors, some already reasonably well known, others, notably Indonesians, just finding their way to a broader international audience: R. Soekmono, Buchari, and also the chief of the Indonesian National Archives, Mohammad Ali, and Soedjatmoko himself, who in addition to editing the volume with Ali and G. J. Resink and George McT. Kahin, has contributed a penetrating and highly sophisticated concluding chapter. The scope of this work is wide; indeed, its value is considerably enhanced by some first-rate excursions into what to most traditionalists might well seem problematical borderlands, such as Professor Koentjaraningrat's "Use of Anthropological Methods in Indonesian Historiography" and W. F. Wertheim's brilliantly suggestive "The Sociological Approach."

Preoccupations with the nature, scope, and purpose of Indonesian history, especially with regard to the problem of "centricity," that is, the "Indonesian-centric" versus the "Europocentric" approach, are paramount in the minds of the younger Indonesian historians, suddenly called upon to come to grips with, write, and teach it in an era of revolutionary nationalism. It would surely be premature to expect positive accomplishments, but their critical tackling of these bewildering problems, indeed their very bewilderment, deserves careful reading.

We may also be grateful for the chapters discussing some of the "frontiers" of Indonesian historiography proper. One of the most welcome chapters, especially to those unable to read Dutch, is Resink's "The Significance of the History of International Law in Indonesia." Resink, a lone pioneer, has tried to show how late the Indies really became "Netherlands." And then there is the "Berg thesis," that brilliant challenge to the historicity and reliability of Javanese traditional sources. The wide impact of Berg on the minds of others, especially again the younger Indonesian historians, is brought home to us quite unmistakably; that it is by no means limited to them is perhaps well known already, as witness the recent writings of D. G. E. Hall and of B. H. M. Vlekke. By the same token, however, this volume brings us two additional, and highly authoritative, rejoinders to Berg, one by the well-known French scholar L. Ch. Damais, the other by Professor P. J. Zoetmulder of Gadjah Mada University.

A third point is worth pondering. For, though this sizable volume contains a rich sampling of the continuing dialogue concerning Javanese historiography, it is of course by no means limited to it. Let me therefore draw more than passing attention to Dr. J. Noorduy'n's highly important contribution, "Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing." "Turning from Java to South Celebes," he says, "one feels as though one were coming into quite another climate. . . . In general, South Celebes historical writing is characterized by a certain terseness and matter-of-factness." None of the contributors have asked why such deep-seated differences in the approach to their own history among various Indonesian peoples exist, or rather, how they may be accounted for. In any case, our genuine in-



debtedness for this important, well-produced (and, in several instances, also well-translated) symposium may by now have proved justified.

*Yale University*

HARRY J. BENDA

THE CHINESE IN PHILIPPINE LIFE, 1850-1898. By *Edgar Wickberg*. [Yale Southeast Asia Studies, Number 1.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 280. \$7.50.)

ONLY recently have the few scholars concerned with the Philippines turned their attention to the nineteenth century, despite its being evident that the most fecund roots of its present are to be found in that century—a century almost utterly distinct in every way from its predecessors.

Dr. Wickberg, therefore, examines the profound changes that occurred in Chinese communities of the Philippines during the last four decades of the nineteenth century and, in so doing, enormously illuminates what has been until now a misty, perplexing, and vaguely unsettling era in the history of the peoples of the Philippines. This is a major contribution to the miniscule list of worth-while books on this fascinating land, far more so than the relatively short compass its indicated coverage might suggest, for so well has Wickberg controlled the rather scattered sources (both in range and location) available to the scholar, and seen so clearly their relevance to greater questions, that his work is undeniably useful and essential as a guide toward understanding past, present, and future in Philippine life. Its great value is derived not only from the fact that it is unique in subject and quality of treatment, not only because it is almost unique in searching behind and beneath the surface of the Philippine scene, but because of its informed and critical evaluation of hitherto undefined aspects of cultural change in the Philippines.

This study is arranged into four parts: a summary of Chinese history in the periods before 1850, which, in a relatively brief forty pages, supplies the most meaningful and balanced statement on the subject ever written; an analysis of "economic expansion," which discusses the many economic changes within Chinese communities; a dissection of "social contraction," that is, the interaction between Chinese and the larger society as well as the tightening of intragroup identification; and two chapters in which are discussed attempts by Philippine Chinese to seek protection and aid from China and their general condition at the opening of the twentieth century. A glossary of Chinese names and terms and a list of Chinese *gobernadorcillos* (1875-1898) are appended. An informed bibliography is considerably enhanced by the inclusion of Chinese and Japanese sources. The index is detailed and excellent.

This book is highly recommended as an essential addition to the library of all who are interested in or concerned with the Philippines.

*Western Michigan University*

CHARLES O. HOUSTON

A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC. By *Milton Walter Meyer*. ([Honolulu:] University of Hawaii Press. 1965. Pp. 321. \$7.00.)

Why should recent history be made to appear remote? In writing a diplomatic history of the Philippine Republic, 1945-1961, Professor Meyer has accomplished a scrupulous, discriminating, and orderly digest of pertinent published materials, chiefly government publications and newspaper collections available at Berkeley, Stanford, and the Hoover Institution. His work has a studied air in the best sense—balanced and meticulous—but the air of the study is a trifle stale. Meyer's analysis is of a kind traditional in Western diplomatic history, but applied here, even to the most Western of new nations, it misses much of the underlying racial, cultural, and economic tension in Philippine-American relations, a tension common to argument and even agreement between most "Southern" and "Northern" powers. Perhaps if the author had interviewed some of the men involved in making, executing, and criticizing Philippine policy—Romulo, Elizalde, Garcia, Serrano, the late Claro Recto, not to mention their Asian and American counterparts—more of their sense of doubt and struggle would have entered and enlivened his writing.

Within his chosen manner, however, Meyer has done something extremely useful. He summarizes his subject chronologically by administrations, and by issues in each. The chief issues concern relations with the United States; anyone who has lost his bearings on military bases, parity rights, or the omnibus claims may regain them here. Meyer is also informative on the Philippine posture in the UN (frequent departure from Afro-Asian consensus), policy toward the two Chinas (opposed to Communist recognition and to Nationalist immigration), and Vietnam (in 1955 the lonely Recto declared Ngo's regime illegitimate).

The book focuses on the Presidents: Roxas establishing basic economic and military ties with the United States; Quirino exploring unsuccessfully the possibilities of regional association; Magsaysay briefly "hypnotizing" the United States with his "magic." Garcia appears as an unsung success, redefining commitments to the United States, thawing relations with Japan, broadening relations with neutrals.

Meyer observes the essential ambiguity in Philippine diplomacy, derived from its Western supraculture and political orientation, its Asian infraculture and geographic location. One wishes that he had explored that ambiguity further: that, having dismissed the Filipino claim to be "the bridge between East and West," he had further analyzed the thoughts of the Filipino diplomat swimming between the two.

*State University of New York, Buffalo*

THEODORE FRIEND

AUSTRALIA. By *Russel Ward*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 152. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

AUSTRALIA has been fortunate in the excellence of its short histories. Russel Ward can now join the select ranks of Scott, Hancock, Crawford, Shaw, Pike, and Clark as an outstanding practitioner of this craft. His is one of the best. His sardonic humor is delightful, and his inclusion of cultural history, particularly painting and writing, adds an important dimension. He concerns himself with the nature of the Australian character, its "self-image," and, by combining literature, history, and the social sciences, its system of values. Robin Winks, general editor of the

series, points out that Ward writes as a self-conscious and committed Australian. Therefore Ward frankly states that he pays "particular and even disproportionate attention to those aspects of it [history] which tended to make the migrants diverge from accepted British attitudes and develop others of their own." Thus we learn about its folkways and social attitudes. His opening chapter, "Australia Today," is the best condensed description available and is particularly brilliant in its comparison with the United States. Ward is perceptive in going beyond the obvious and in pointing up both the subtle differences and the subtle similarities. The main phases of Australian history—the penal foundations, the "Squatting Rush," the gold rush, the period of urbanization and rise of trade-unionism, and so on into the twentieth century—serve as a framework for a closer scrutiny of its economic, psychological, and social development. Essentially, Ward's book has explained why Australia developed as it did considering the facts that it began as England's great penal colony, faced no warlike or numerous native race, fought no civil war, had no powerful neighbors, had a remarkably homogeneous population, had no considerable foreign immigration (until World War II), and inhabited a dry and lonely land.

Ward writes with a direct and lively style, using primary sources with great skill. Such a notable book deserves some striking illustrations and maps, not just one inadequate and miserable map!

*University of California, Irvine*

SAMUEL CLYDE McCULLOCH

QUEST FOR AUTHORITY IN EASTERN AUSTRALIA, 1835-1851. By Michael Roe. ([Parkville:] Melbourne University Press in association with the Australian National University; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. 258. \$10.00.)

AFTER the manner of some social scientists, the author of this complex work has a thesis: he believes that the development of a viable society in Eastern Australia, in the period 1835-1851, was achieved in the face of the penal character of the communities, largely by virtue of the ascendancy of a "new faith" of moral enlightenment. This creed was linked to practical social ethics and to liberal Christianity as well as to radical thought from the British Isles. In evidence the author submits a detailed and interacting account of the activities of certain inhabitants of Australia and their ideas, studied with particular reference to five subjects: political power, land policy, convictism, religion, and education. Much reminded me of the writing and objectives of Raymond Williams: the sober tone and the painstaking use of obscure lives as refined instruments of social analysis. This is, in fact, intellectual cabinetmaking.

The methodology introduces the entrenched forces of conservatism, explores those factors that broke up the conservative state-centered system, and then turns to appraisals of turbulent, new forces, such as immigrant radicalism, liberal (and anti-British) elements in Roman Catholicism, Protestant reformism, and such diverse forces as transcendentalism, temperance, the lust for learning, literature, library facilities, phrenology, and mesmerism, as factors capable of maturing Australians and liberating them from the oppression of their colonial past. The author believes that Australians, especially the working class, rose to these challenges and evolved what has come to be a national idea. The interpretation is

backed by a formidable and, indeed, admirable bibliography and documentation, a study from which scholars can benefit.

It is not, however, always possible to accept the author's conclusions. Social classes existed in mid-century Australia, egalitarian as it was beginning to become. But in this work the reader will find it hard to know, at times, whether examples refer to middle or working classes, to free, emancipist, or bond, to native or new chum, or old seasoned immigrant. The rank and file of upcountry laborers and station hands were surely not much affected by transcendentalism, a philosophical view remote from their day-to-day "Bush Religion." The influence of bishops and of religion, Anglican or otherwise, is somewhat oversold. The antitransportation movement was in fact very little concerned with the welfare of convicts or old lags and aimed rather at blocking the further influx of convicts and getting rid of those already crippling Tasmania and menacing the public (and, in the later phases, the gold fields) elsewhere. Although this book seems to dismiss it, the Australian legend still holds up. Allowing for the importation of significant ideas from Britain and the world, the egalitarian creed of Australia was nevertheless strongly influenced by "stringy bark and green hide," and the experience of living a life inconceivable in Europe.

This work lacks the elegance and order we find in Manning Clark, but it is a product of imagination and industry, a departure from conventional thinking. Michael Roe has opened some new doors and offers students of mid-nineteenth-century Australia an alternative view.

*Colgate University*

CHARLES S. BLACKTON

## Americas

WARRIORS OF THE COLORADO: THE YUMAS OF THE QUECHUAN NATION AND THEIR NEIGHBORS. By *Jack D. Forbes*. [The Civilization of the American Indian Series, Number 76.] (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 378. \$5.95.)

THE Yumas of the Quechuan Nation and their neighbors have at last found a chronicler of their long and significant relationship with Spanish and Anglo-Saxon intruders into their homeland on the lower Colorado River. Mr. Forbes has produced a scholarly, a meticulously researched, and an unfortunately somewhat pedantic history of these Indians about whom the general reader has known little. Western and Hispanic American history buffs will surely want a copy of this book on their shelves. Other less dedicated students of history may find that the narrative becomes a little tedious along the way.

The Yuma, or Quechuan as they should be officially called, were an adventurous and daring people, excellent warriors who had little regard for materialistic things but with a high respect for individual liberty. Spanish forays among them stirred up nearby tribes from time to time so that the reader gets a composite picture that also includes important facets of the historical development of the Kamias, Cocopas, Halchidomas, Mohaves, Maricopas, Pimas, and Papagos. More successfully than all their neighbors the Quechuans were able to resist military and cultural conquest by the white invaders from the south and east.

After two introductory chapters describing the culture and anthropology of the Quechuan, the author begins the long history of the Yumas and the Spanish conquistadors, from Alarcón in 1540 down through the Mexican period, to the 1840's and the coming of the Anglo-Saxon gold seekers. The story of American penetration covers only about fifteen years as the author leaves the Quechuan still resolutely ensconced along their great river when his narrative ends in the 1850's.

This book fills a gap in the history of the western Indian tribes, and Forbes and the University of Oklahoma Press are to be congratulated on a fine addition to "The Civilization of the American Indian Series."

*Domestic Peace Corps*

BRIGHAM D. MADSEN

THE FUR TRADER AND THE INDIAN. By *Lewis O. Saum*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 324. \$7.50.)

A MORE meaningful title—"the traders' conception of the Indian"—could be taken from the author's introduction. Extensive historical literature has grown up about the trader and the Indian and has come within the author's purview. Geographically, this extends from ocean to ocean and from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic; chronologically, from about 1600 to about 1850, but chiefly 1800-1850. Until now this literature has lacked a considered, comprehensive report on what the trader thought, and wrote, about the Indian as an Indian. The author's report, which is his contribution to this literature, derives from his obviously careful examination of secondary studies, manuscripts in many collections, and, especially, numerous published accounts written by traders from the vantage point of personal contact with the Indian. In one chapter he examines the traders' opinions of the contemporary literary concept of "the noble savage"; his conclusion is that most of his sources took little or no stock in this concept. In another chapter he inquires into the validity of the notion that "the French had better relations with the Indians than the English" and reports that trade sources indicate that the Indian had little if any preference for a European because of his nationality, although a preference based on other elements might exist. After surveying writings about the Indian-giver concept the author asserts that "there had always to be an interested motive behind Indian generosity." Other concepts concerning the Indian that are explored by Saum include physical characteristics, lack of principles, love of liquor, capacity for education, oratory, and dignified bearing. On all of these except the last two the trader gave the Indian an undesirable rating. The author carefully points out that traders' accounts do not always reflect unanimity of thought concerning Indian society, but he believes that there is sufficient agreement to warrant the conclusions that he presents.

After examining the same sources another student might, of course, arrive at somewhat different conclusions, but I found those of the author tenable. He has handled a difficult organizational problem satisfactorily and written in a readable manner. Finally, his study points up the desirability of similar studies based on the accounts of army officers and other government agents assigned to the Indian country.

*National Archives*

W. NEIL FRANKLIN

THE RISE OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN AMERICA. Volume I, THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE; Volume II, THE REVOLUTION AND THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY ERA. By *Anton-Hermann Chroust*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 334; v, 318. \$15.00 the set.)

THE author seeks to recount the history of American lawyers from their earliest colonial beginnings through the rise of Jacksonian democracy, or roughly to the year 1840. The first volume is devoted to the colonial period, and the second, beginning with the impact of the American Revolution upon the legal profession, takes the story to the transformation of the profession as a consequence of equalitarian frontier democracy. The author warns in his foreword that his study "makes little pretense to original scholarship," and this is reflected in the book since it does not introduce new information or provide fresh insights. On the contrary, the story follows well-established and conventional lines. It is clear, nevertheless, that Professor Chroust has read widely on the subject, and his book is heavily annotated with both primary and secondary sources, though presumably the former are for the most part derived from the latter.

The basic theme of this book is that for a variety of reasons the lawyer in America got off to a very bad start. As it develops, the history of the legal profession is one of a gradual rise in competence and general acceptance, with such occasional setbacks as the American Revolution and Jacksonian democracy. That is, unfortunately, as far as the author takes us. Whether the remainder of the history is similarly one of alternating periods of advance and regression one can only guess.

Lawyers were very unpopular in colonial America for a variety of reasons. The law itself was highly imperfect, at best a bad transplant from a distant and highly developed culture to a rude and primitive environment. There was, furthermore, a great shortage of trained lawyers in the colonies. Thus Chroust makes the familiar point that it is difficult to have lawyers without law, and law without properly educated judges and advocates. Most of the early judges were laymen, and most early litigation made small demands upon the intellect. In the absence of proper standards for training and admission, all too often the law fell into the hands of "pettifoggers, sharpers and spellbinders" who richly deserved the public odium that was their lot.

Gradually, however, conditions improved, and by the time the Revolution began most colonies had developed a substantial body of native lawyers. As they increased in number, influence, and professional competence, they also became more and more important in the political life of the country. The author argues that between 1765 and 1840 lawyers enjoyed a sort of golden age, at least so far as the exercise of public leadership was concerned. This apparently occurred in spite of the setback of the Revolution, for the Revolution drove out many of the best lawyers, who had been loyalists, brought English common law into a state of disrepute, and generated a postwar depression that cast the lawyer in the highly unpopular role of oppressor of the debtor classes.

Finally, the profession suffered from the effects of frontier democracy, which the author equates with Jacksonian democracy. This is, of course, a most dubious

equation, and the author might at least have demonstrated that he had read the most recent books on this interesting subject. Standards for admission into the profession were lowered in this period, and previous steps toward the creation of professional associations of lawyers were nullified. The administration of law gradually fell into the hands of untrained and ignorant people who relied upon their wits and tongues.

This study touches upon many interesting topics, but, unfortunately, it is weighed down with seemingly endless lists of lawyers, with needlessly long quotations from statutes and other documents, and with repetition of the same basic points by recounting facts in minute detail in one locality after another. After all, a meticulous summary of the facts for each of the thirteen colonies does not yield thirteen different stories. Historical facts are not of equal importance, and more generalization supported by concrete factual material judiciously selected would have resulted in a much more digestible book.

*University of Wisconsin*

DAVID FELLMAN

ESSAYS IN SOUTHERN BIOGRAPHY. [East Carolina College Publications in History, Volume II.] (Greenville, N. C.: Department of History, the College. 1965. Pp. vii, 166. \$2.50.)

THIS cooperative enterprise by members of the East Carolina College history faculty continues the high standards of scholarship set in the first volume of this series. The eight biographical studies included in this attractive paperback concern southerners whose diverse careers collectively spanned much of the two and a half centuries after 1700. Each essay makes a contribution either by way of detail or fuller explanation to the existing historical literature on the South.

The subject of the first essay, written by Herbert R. Paschal, is Charles Griffin, an obscure schoolmaster active in North Carolina and Virginia between 1705 and 1718. Interesting as the sketchy details of Griffin's career are, the significance of Paschal's study is found primarily in its commentary on social and educational conditions on the southern frontier in the early eighteenth century. The next two essays, devoted to a South Carolina opponent (Richard Yeadon) of Calhoun's theory of nullification and to a controversial governor of Virginia (William Smith) during the Mexican War, offer some insight into the process by which the South became alienated from the Union. They are followed by an unusual collection of seven letters and poems by a semiliterate Confederate soldier who saw only horror and futility in the struggle climaxing that alienation. Certainly one of the most significant contributions in this volume is Joseph F. Steelman's perceptive treatment of Daniel Reeves Goodloe, an abolitionist and native southerner who returned to the South in 1865 to assist in establishing an "effective Republican party." Rejecting both the presidential and congressional plans of Reconstruction as inconsistent with this purpose, Goodloe was stripped of political office and forced into the ranks of those disillusioned by events in the postwar South. The last three essays, all of which grew out of doctoral dissertations, deal with important figures of the New South: Lala Steelman's study of Senator Augustus O. Bacon of Georgia as a "champion of Philippine independence" appraises the motives that prompted his anti-imperialist crusade; Howard

B. Clay's sketch of Daniel A. Tompkins probes the mind and methods of an aggressive entrepreneur of New South variety; and Henry Ferrell's analysis of Virginia politics, 1917-1923, discloses the fortuitous circumstances surrounding the rise to political power of Harry F. Byrd.

Although these essays display some of the disparities common to collections of this kind, the volume as a whole succeeds admirably in fulfilling its stated purpose of providing "fresh and original work."

*University of Georgia*

WILLARD B. GATEWOOD

THE THEATER IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Hugh F. Rankin*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 239. \$6.00.)

THE enormous current interest in the performing arts, entailing government subsidies and lavish foundation support, brings into sharp contrast the early days of the theater in this country when ragtag actors and even less elevated actresses wandered from town to town performing where they could. The acting profession was held in low repute, its traditional status. Even in Shakespeare's lifetime, actors were classed with rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars in ordinances designed to restrict the activities of these unwanted characters. In colonial America, their status was only a little better as one soon discovers in reading Hugh F. Rankin's excellent book. In New England and Pennsylvania, for religious or social reasons, actors were at first discouraged. The New England Puritans looked upon the theater as the Devil's schoolhouse, and learned parsons cited examples of theatrical iniquity from the Church fathers and Roman history. The Quakers of Philadelphia also regarded theaters as wasteful of God's precious time and conducive to worldly vanity. Only in New York and the southern colonies did the actors receive anything approaching a cordial welcome, and even there their lot was not always easy.

*The Theater in Colonial America* provides an orderly and succinct account of the beginnings of the drama in this country with the first theater at Williamsburg, Virginia, 1716; the other early American theaters and the Murray-Kean Company of Charleston, Philadelphia, New York, Williamsburg, and Annapolis, 1723-1752; the Hallam Company in Williamsburg, 1752-1753; the appearances of the Hallam Company in New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Jamaica, 1753-1754; the Douglass Company's first American tour, 1758-1761; tours to Rhode Island, New York, Virginia, and Charleston, 1761-1766; players in New York and Philadelphia, 1766-1767; the New American Company in Williamsburg and Annapolis, 1768-1769; performances in Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, Norfolk, and Annapolis, 1770-1772; and the last tour of the American Company, 1772-1774. These were the principal dramatic companies playing before colonial Americans, but, in addition, sundry miscellaneous entertainers including jugglers, ropedancers, and sleight of hand artists were frequently seen. The author also provides a fascinating chapter on "Indians, Royalty, and Fireworks."

The acting was often crude, actors were sometimes far gone in drink, and their interpolations in comic scenes occasionally were offenses against good taste. One irate woman in 1768 wrote a vigorous protest against words inserted by the clowns in a performance of *Hamlet* at Annapolis; she reminded the actors of



Shakespeare's own injunction: "I am afraid the Gentleman who amused himself with playing Hamlet forgot to tell the Clowns *to speak no more than was set down for them*; or if he did tell them, it was no more than a Whisper."

This volume provides useful information on the social customs of the day and reveals the eagerness with which people in the less puritanical areas sought entertainment. Almost any sort of "show" (pantomime, dance, puppets, and so forth) could attract an audience if the authorities would look the other way; in 1734 a German revealed "the Wonders of the World by Dexterity of Hand," and displays of other "wonders" were not infrequent.

The repertory of the professional actors provides an index to the taste of the day. Shakespeare, first recorded in the theater in America with a New York performance of *Romeo and Juliet* on March 23, 1730, was a favorite of eighteenth-century players in America. The plays of George Farquhar and John Gay's *The Beggars' Opera* were also popular.

Rankin provides many amusing and interesting side lights on theatrical history in the colonial period. We can applaud the judgment, for instance, of the children of an actress named Ann Henry Hogg, who changed their name to Biddle and for two generations did well in the theater as Biddles. Perhaps an actor named John Tremain also showed good judgment by advertising that he was leaving the Murray-Kean Company, having "declined the stage to follow his business as a Cabinet Maker."

The author of this volume has sifted through many rambling works of actor memoirs, travel narratives, and colonial records to glean the information that he presents in a useful and readable form. He has written a book both entertaining and valuable as social history.

*Folger Shakespeare Library*

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

PROFESSIONAL LIVES IN AMERICA: STRUCTURE AND ASPIRATION, 1750-1850. By *Daniel H. Calhoun*. [Publication of the Center for the Study of the History of Liberty in America, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 231. \$5.95.)

*Professional Lives in America* describes the reactions of physicians, lawyers, and clergymen to the fundamental democratization of American life. The substance of the book is a group of three ingenious studies in different locales of practitioners' complaints of social disintegration and professional decline.

What lends interest to these studies is the rich fabric of deeply personal reflections on the course of American history and the relations between men of knowledge and men of power in which they are embedded. The full dimensions of this fabric are never fully explicated so that my reconstruction inevitably risks distortion. Calhoun, it appears, is a partisan of "excellence," "quality," "subtlety and complex seriousness." He sees the professions as "largely responsible for any drive toward excellence in this country" and is "pessimistic" about the democratization that forced them to retreat to "mediocrity" and shaped a society characterized by "thinness and vulgarity." He fears that the "bureaucratic" institutions developed by professionals to solve the social dilemmas of 1850 isolated

them from the problems of community values and well-being with which they had been intimately concerned in 1750.

If this is a fair reconstruction, Calhoun hardly seems to have designed his work to demonstrate the validity of the empirical component of his ideas. His chapter on medicine, for example, explains why a New York physician, John Francis, attempted to quiet bitter personal competition among his colleagues in the 1840's. Calhoun fastens on Francis because he sees this attempt as a "respite from individualism," a move to conformity. Calhoun does not, however, try to prove that Francis or men like him achieved any success at all. Moreover, his discussion of the state of the medical arts suggests that the popular suspicion that physicians did not know what they were doing was both justified and liberating.

In a similar manner, Calhoun's treatment of the clergy fails to grapple with the major issues he himself poses. A long chapter traces the destruction of the tradition that the New England minister and his congregation were virtually wedded for life. In the wake of this destruction, Calhoun reports, some ministers urged a division of clerical discourse: some issues should only be discussed among professionals; others are appropriate for the populace. This advice, Calhoun sees with apprehension, as characteristic of the major trend of professional development. He does not demonstrate, however, that similar professional tactics had not been proposed prior to the destruction of the tradition or that the urgings had any impact after the destruction. Calhoun's description of changing ministerial careers is a model study of the loosening of social bonds in the nineteenth century. His judgments upon the impact of the loosening go beyond the point to which his research design can safely carry him.

Calhoun's moral assertions and tone are not subject to discussion in quite the same way as his empirical propositions. I do wonder, however, what it means to be "pessimistic" about the past. I wonder still more about the tendency to magnify the importance and the worth of men whose rhetoric and whose social style we happen to approve. Despite these doubts, I wish that more volumes were as deeply committed to the moral dilemmas of our time as this.

*University of Pennsylvania*

SEYMOUR J. MANDELBAUM

THE MOST EXTRAORDINARY ADVENTURES OF MAJOR ROBERT STOBO. By *Robert C. Alberts*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1965. Pp. x, 423. \$6.95.)

THE title of this book is a gift from David Hume, who hardly exaggerated in exclaiming that Major Robert Stobo "has surely had the most extraordinary adventures in the world." For most scholars, Stobo, a native of Scotland and a merchant of Petersburg, Virginia, has been no more than an attractive if shadowy figure, who, like Christopher Gist and Jacob Van Braam, briefly crossed paths with George Washington during the opening rounds of the French and Indian War. Owing to the indefatigable labors of Robert C. Alberts, a Pittsburgh advertising executive with a graceful pen and an eye for the dramatic, Stobo rightfully emerges as a man of significance.

As a result of Washington's capitulation at Fort Necessity in 1754, Stobo became a French hostage at Fort Duquesne, where he managed to draw an elab-

orate map of the enemy post and slip it into the hands of Virginia authorities. But after the Battle of the Monongahela, the French obtained the map from Braddock's abandoned papers and traced it to Stobo. If the disclosure brought Stobo to the verge of death for allegedly violating his responsibilities as a hostage, his effort had made him a hero in England as well as the colonies. In 1759, after two unsuccessful escapes from Quebec, Stobo, along with several other prisoners, earned his freedom the hard way—by traveling 350 miles through enemy country before reaching a British outpost. Stobo's adventures were not over: twice captured by French privateers, he subsequently reached England, received the praise of William Pitt, returned to Canada, and, as a captain on the regular establishment, gained the admiration of James Wolfe. In 1762, now a veteran of the Quebec and Montreal campaigns, Stobo participated in the conquest of the French sugar islands and the seizure of Havana. It is doubtful that a handful of junior officers in the British Army exceeded Stobo in ability or combat experience. But, lacking family connections and wealth, his advancement had come to a standstill. Frustrated and suffering from an old wound, the redoubtable Scot took his own life in 1770. It is worth noting that a number of other officers, finding the road to preferment closed, settled in America and contributed their military knowledge to Washington's revolutionary army.

There is little in this study that will alter the major interpretations of the final Anglo-French struggle for North America. But Alberts, a careful workman, corrects Douglas Freeman on several small points, and he has made good use of recent publications of the University of Laval Press and the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission that other writers have overlooked.

*Louisiana State University*

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN: PHILOSOPHER & MAN. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge*. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. xii, 438. \$7.95.)

PROFESSOR Aldridge has written an excellent biography for the general reader. He has omitted such scholarly paraphernalia as footnotes and bibliography, but his book is based upon careful research in Franklin's writings. He has made skillful use of contributions that have been made to our knowledge of Franklin by specialists who have written about him as a scientist, diplomat, or politician. He has, moreover, given his readers some insight into his research by including a section of "Notes" in which there is a brief discussion of the principal sources and secondary works upon which each of his chapters is based.

The author has tried to present an account of the life of a man who had many talents, many virtues, and some shortcomings. He has not tried to outdo such specialists as I. Bernard Cohen in their own specialties. Cohen has written an entire book about Franklin's electrical experiments, whereas Aldridge has allotted a single chapter to the subject. Aldridge has accomplished what he has set out to do, however: to write an entertaining and instructive life of Franklin. He has described how Franklin lived, thought, and acted from day to day. He has shown that Franklin was not completely absorbed in science, politics, or diplomacy at any time. He worried about family matters, pursued young ladies and some who were far from young, and swam or took long walks to preserve his health at the same

time that he was engaged in his scientific experiments or in the most complicated and delicate diplomatic negotiations.

Aldridge should be complimented for avoiding the pitfalls into which so many biographers have tumbled. He has avoided the temptation to place Franklin upon a hero's pedestal and to make him appear superhuman. He has avoided a muckraking approach, although he has discovered sufficient evidence that Franklin had his share of backstairs love affairs. He has quoted friends and foes of Franklin, and he has shown that there were flaws in Franklin's character as well as many and impressive virtues. Franklin was brilliant and gifted, but he was a human being and not one of the gods.

I can recommend this book strongly to general readers. It is readable and interesting, bringing Franklin alive for the twentieth-century reader. It also reveals that Franklin did not receive full credit in his own time for some of his accomplishments because he put many important letters in newspapers without acknowledging that he was their author. Specialists have known for some time about Franklin's behind-the-scenes activities as a promoter and a propagandist, but the reading public does not read the monographs of specialists. It is to be hoped that the public will read this fine biography of Franklin.

*Lehigh University*

GEORGE W. KYTE

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume VIII, APRIL 1, 1758, THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1759. Edited by *Leonard W. Labaree et al.* [Sponsored by the American Philosophical Society and Yale University.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 489. \$10.00.)

THIS volume continues the documentation of Benjamin Franklin's first mission to London. The dominating theme is, of course, the progress of Franklin's mission and his futile negotiations with the proprietors of Pennsylvania. The volume includes essential documents, propaganda pieces, and numerous pithy letters of information and comment to friends in Pennsylvania such as Isaac Norris, Israel Pemberton, and Joseph Galloway. To this should be added, as an important part of the campaign to discredit the proprietors, the sponsorship, by the Assembly and Franklin, of Indian charges that the proprietors had defrauded them of their lands and the petition for redress that Franklin presented to the crown in the name of Chief Teedyuscung.

Antiproprietorship, important as that was, was of secondary importance to the much broader and profound issue that was troubling the internal peace of the Empire: the rise of the power of the colonial assemblies, and their challenge, in the name of the responsibility of government to the body politic, to the authority of an essentially irresponsible prerogative, whether of proprietor or of crown. This was, indeed, the real issue involved in Provost William Smith's appeal to the Privy Council against the Assembly which had punished him for libel. Franklin commented on the fact that ministers and other leaders in England were disturbed by this phenomenon. A crisis in the structure of the Empire was gestating. For Franklin and his "country," Pennsylvania, the crisis took the form of a struggle against the feudal anachronism of the proprietorship that would culminate, presently, in a deliberate effort to destroy it altogether.

Such were the major concerns of Franklin in these moments of his life. But they fell far short of occupying all his time or interest. For Franklin the scientist carried on an active correspondence with his scientific colleagues and participated in the activities of the Royal Society, to which he had been elected on April 29, 1756. Franklin the genealogist studied the genealogical histories of his family and Deborah's and made charts of them. Franklin the *pater familias* wrote regularly to his "dear child," Deborah, and to his female protégées on both sides of the Atlantic. Franklin the publicist wrote some of his famous letters to the press and humorous commentaries on public opinion relative to the course of the Seven Years' War.

The editorial work in this volume is excellent. There is a running biography of Franklin in the scholarly contributions of the editors. Perhaps even more important, numerous case studies, or exercises, in the techniques of historical criticism, involving identification and attribution, commentaries upon style, accuracy, bias, and so on appear.

*University of Washington*

MAX SAVELLE

THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. Edited by *John Francis McDermott*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 247. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR John Francis McDermott, long interested in the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley, is editor of this book, which contains fourteen essays originally presented at a conference observing the two hundredth anniversary of the founding of St. Louis.

McDermott contributes the first essay concerning myths and realities about the origin of the city. Anyone who has attempted to forage through the thicket of existing records relating to the early history of St. Louis can appreciate the multiplicity of legends about what took place in this frontier community. McDermott is a master of this material and has given us a clear account of the accomplishments of the founder of the city, Pierre Laclède. Other essays deal with such pertinent subjects as the houses of the old French families, an early poet (Pierre François Régner), French mountain men, fortifications, and explorers. Finally, there is a series of papers on manuscript collections concerning the history of the French in the Mississippi Valley. The book also includes many good illustrations from contemporary records, including maps, charts, and photographs.

All of the essays are carefully documented; collectively they provide a fascinating picture of an important phase of American development. For the active investigator one of the most valuable essays is written by James M. Babcock, chief of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. Certainly the manuscript materials in this one important collection are almost indispensable for the student of French expansion in the Mississippi Valley and the history of Indians and of military affairs throughout the early nineteenth century. Father Noël Baillargeon of the *Université Laval* has, in another essay, given us one of the best accounts of documentary materials in the archives of the *Séminaire de Québec* that has been printed in English.

Such essays about manuscript sources are an excellent complement to chapters on such topics as architecture, fortifications, and literature. The editor, his fel-

low contributors, and the University of Illinois Press are to be congratulated on the publication of a work that makes a unique contribution to the history of the Mississippi Valley. Researchers in this field will be especially grateful for the excellent index.

*University of California, Santa Barbara*

WILBUR R. JACOBS

THE LIFE OF THE MIND IN AMERICA: FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR. Books One through Three. By *Perry Miller*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1965. Pp. xi, 338. \$7.50.)

THE place to begin this book is at the end, where we are shown what the pattern of the whole work was in 1963, the year of the author's death. A "Prologue" was planned, but never written, on "The Sublime in America." Of the total of nine books intended, the present volume contains all that was finished, about one-fourth of the whole: Book I, "The Evangelical Basis"; Book II, "The Legal Mentality"; and, of Book III, one chapter, "Technological America," of seven chapters planned on "Technology and Science." Books IV-IX were to have dealt with education, economic thought and "association," philosophy, theology, and "Nature" and "The Self," which probably meant the literature of the period.

The sad tension between work done and work projected throws criticism back to about 1930, when Miller was beginning his studies. One remembers the famous review of Parrington, wherein Morris Cohen objected that a comprehensive work on American thought should not omit legal thought, nor scientific thought, nor thought on education. Though many partial payments have been made since 1930, Cohen's demand has never been quite met, and Miller's plan may well have been to some degree a response. At any rate we are fortunate that this, which, however truncated, is the most comprehensive of Miller's writings, contains his full treatment of the formative era of American legal thought and a sizable essay on scientific thinking.

That final chapter and Book I are the subdivisions of the volume that tell us most about the "sublime" of the unwritten prologue, and the key idea of the book. Believing that "the great issue of the nineteenth century," in all departments of thought in America, was "the never-ending issue of Heart versus Head," where "Head" equals the disciplined use of the intellect, Miller discovered in the sublime the thrust of the "Heart" beyond the point where the "Head" gave approbation. That is, what the age called "sublime"—things romantic, perfectionist, expansionist, millennial—Miller thought of as a measurement of excess. Within the evangelical movement, missions were the very thing; missionaries sought less to convert non-Christians than to create a perfect Christian community. This often meant a perfect Christian nation. Men whose thought was governed by science spoke no less enthusiastically, their tendency toward practicality (of course toward materialism) notwithstanding. "Steam," according to Miller, "appeared to contain a special affinity for America"; by 1835 "scientific rationalism had become so strong that many were convinced that the nation had now surpassed all Europe put together."

The middle subdivision of the book, on "The Legal Mentality," as well as being the longest is also the best. Here Miller's huge gift for mastering a spe-

cialized literature pays handsomely, quite as in his Puritan studies. Naturally he draws heavily from Kent and Story, but also from twenty or more lesser doctrinal writers, and from case law as well. He develops the role of the lawyers as the naysayers of democracy. Visualizing their successful competition, as a profession, with the ministers for social predominance, he discovers resistance to the sublime built into the center of their thinking. This contrasts with the resistance at the periphery, which was all that ministers and churches offered: the attitude of Episcopalians, Princeton Seminary Presbyterians, Mercersburg Reformed, Unitarians, and not many others. Yet with his considerable admiration for the logic and learning of the lawyers, Miller has irony for them, too; he sees through their pretensions and posturings.

In the book as a whole, Miller scores a splendid triumph. Yet, in this as in the books on the Puritans, I am sometimes unpersuaded that the shifts and differentials of doctrine Miller has expertly revealed were as substantial and important as he estimates. In the present volume his account of the withering of certain old Puritan doctrines, and of the innovations of Charles G. Finney, invites that kind of skepticism. I do not find that what Miller often designated as "the American mind," or indicated in some other phrasing, was truly as singular as he said. Neither do I think that laymen, especially Episcopalian laymen, were as unimportant in evangelical thought as the weight of his attention in other directions suggests. Altogether, though I believe that this book is not as closely reasoned as some of his earlier writings, I think that it is one of the two or three most interesting, and probably the most broadly suggestive, of all his books.

*Johns Hopkins University*

CHARLES A. BARKER

THE LAMP OF EXPERIENCE: WHIG HISTORY AND THE INTELLECTUAL ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *H. Trevor Colbourn*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1965. Pp. viii, 247. \$7.50.)

RIGHTLY, in the John Adams tradition of examining the minds and hearts of the people, the intellectual side of the Revolution has been well served recently. Caroline Robbins on the "Commonwealthmen" and Bernard Bailyn's edition of pamphlets (to both of which Professor Colbourn's book will serve as an essential companion piece) come immediately to mind in the present context.

It is odd that historians, often such frantic affirmers of the contemporary value of their subject, should never have fully investigated the patriot leaders' historical learning which, with law, comprised their prime literary concern. Colbourn's learned, prudent book—he notes the uncut pages in Jefferson's books, avoids exaggerated claims—fills the gap, though he shows the history used, in contrast to his own, was riddled with error stemming from a mythical Saxon utopia and a misunderstanding of Normans, Magna Carta, and the English revolution.

Part One discusses Whig and Tory history, the extent and nature of eighteenth-century colonial exposure to historical writing, and the resulting American view of the ancient through Hanoverian periods. Apart from classical history, which came most into its own after 1776, it was English history in which the

colonists had greatest interest and which Colbourn mainly discusses (there is no mention of American history).

Part Two (much larger) considers "The Revolutionary Use of History" by certain patriots. John Adams and Jefferson each merit a chapter; Jonathan Mayhew, Isaac Skillman, James Otis, Samuel Adams, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., share one, as do John Dickinson, James Wilson, and Franklin; two Daniel Dulanys, Charles Carroll, Richard Bland, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Washington adorn a southern chapter. A short conclusion is followed by two useful appendixes: a historiographical account of the "Saxon Myth" since the Revolution, and, serving as a partial bibliography, lists of history books from selected contemporary libraries and booksellers' catalogues.

There may be some argument about the individuals selected in Part Two, there is some repetitiousness (perhaps more analysis was needed here or in the conclusion), occasionally the author rather wanders from his object of showing a man's use of history, but there is no doubt of the conclusion that the Revolution is inexplicable without an understanding of the Whig (with assists from such Tories as Bolingbroke and even Hume, who greatly irritated Jefferson) historical perspective of its leaders—a perspective, admittedly, given a peculiarly American twist. Colbourn makes little attempt to gauge how deeply this thinking reached down through society; nor is the loyalist historical view discussed. But these tasks lie beyond the scope of his book, as does his interesting call for investigation of the historical understanding of the English ruling class.

The specialist will probably find little totally new here in broad outline, but nowhere else will he find suitable coverage of this crucial material where individuals such as Tacitus, Trenchard, Rapin, Obadiah Hulme, Mrs. Macaulay, and Burgh assume the importance they deserve in American history.

*Brown University*

WALLACE BROWN

TOWARD LEXINGTON: THE ROLE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *John Shy*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 463. \$8.50.)

IN the continuing scholarly search for the specific causes of the American Revolution, this book examines the relationship between armed force and political control in British North America before the outbreak of large-scale hostilities. On the whole it is successful, although much of the contents has esoteric characteristics that will appeal more to academic than lay minds. Here in sometimes tedious detail, Professor Shy examines the shifting British military policy, the colonial response to the army from England that was stationed among mainly unappreciative Americans, and then goes into a revealing analysis of the army itself. In the last phase the author is at his best, writing more easily and furnishing intriguing details of human relationships, particularly among the officer corps. One conclusion is that colonization was a military operation. Yet unlike England, where military service was selective and class-ridden, liability to service in the colonies was nearly universal, and the interesting militia organization was a reflection of early American political and social structure. The author rightly finds that the British Army stationed in America after the French and Indian War played an



important part in the outbreak of the Revolution. Anyone who doubts that soldiers in time of peace are looked upon in the worst sense should read this volume to be corrected. When they were not active, the British troops were thought to be not needed; their presence was, in fact, reckoned a disaster by the colonists who had to feed and house them. A vivid example of this situation, often referred to in this book, is the Boston Massacre which was not a massacre except in Paul Revere's engraving of the event and in the minds of those Bostonians who were fed up with the redcoats on their common. These and other troops were sent to America and the West Indies and then were virtually forgotten in time of peace. Shy shows that part of the reason for such neglect was governmental immaturity and financial inability. British officials seem to have had defense of the colonies primarily in mind and were disgusted because their American possessions did not defend themselves or even wish to provide funds for such. And so the mother country concluded that a large force was needed to occupy and defend the non-English rim of the expanded North American empire. The author takes perhaps too dim a view of Generals Amherst and Gage, although it must be admitted that they failed more often than they succeeded in America. The British regulars regarded American soldiers as peasants or their equivalent, and this misconception was to help defeat the King's forces when they later ignored loyalist aid during the Revolution.

This informative and helpful book is well summed up in the words of the author: "Largely without conscious intent, the British government had communicated with its colonial subjects through the medium of the army; read in the visible results of military policy, the message had betrayed ignorance, weakness, procrastination and malice. Most of the American response to this message was directed, not back to the army, but toward the sender through other channels."

*New York University*

NORTH CALLAHAN

NAVAL DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume I, AMERICAN THEATRE: DEC. 1, 1774-SEPT. 2, 1775; EUROPEAN THEATRE: DEC. 6, 1774-AUG. 9, 1775. *William Bell Clark*, Editor. With a foreword by *John F. Kennedy* and an introduction by *Ernest McNeill Eller*. (Washington, D. C.: [Department of the Navy.] 1964. Pp. xliii, 1451. \$9.00.)

IN the histories of some of our important wars the naval phases are neglected; so it has been with the American Revolution to a large extent. But this is beginning to be remedied, as this impressive volume testifies.

Able edited by William Bell Clark, the bulky collection of original documents goes far to fill in some gaps heretofore existing in the knowledge of the early periods of the War of Independence. Even Washington himself, whose military efforts were based mainly on what he learned from books and trial and error, wrote Comte de Grasse in 1781 that "whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the Navy must have the casting vote in the present contest." Yet Admiral Eller points out that, for more than any other key period of United States history, the "seagoing" documents of this period have been widely scattered in both private and public collections throughout much of Europe as well as the United

States, and some of them have been lost. Thus an exhaustive search was made to seek out and secure accurate transcripts, photostats, or microfilms of surviving letters and other documents of the Revolution. The admirable results, logically set forth in this volume, tell a fascinating tale of the slow but successful development of our navy out of the coercive acts of a British king, his Prime Minister, and Parliament. This harassment was felt by the Americans long before the land skirmishes at Lexington and Concord. As the documents vividly show, the war at sea developed through necessity for the defense of the provinces and their ocean-borne trade. Arms, ammunition, and ships to use them had to be sought among neutral nations or anywhere they could be found, legally or otherwise, and this had to be done even before our Continental Congress met to lay down certain amateurish rules for defense and general welfare.

This volume begins on December 1, 1774, and presents in chronological order the occurrences through September 2, 1775, at home and through August 9, 1775, abroad. By this time Washington was taking steps to form a real navy. When the subject matter of this book relates entirely to maritime affairs, letters and documents appear in full. Extracts are used when a letter deals with other topics. Contemporary and letter book copies have been used and so indicated. British and colonial newspapers have also been tapped for commentary and information on the birth pangs of our navy.

All in all, this book adds immensely to our knowledge of the American Revolution.

*New York University*

NORTH CALLAHAN

WRITINGS OF FERMÍN FRANCISCO DE LASUÉN. In two volumes.

Translated and edited by *Finbar Kenneally*, *O.F.M.* (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1965. Pp. xlix, 413; xiii, 464. \$25.00 the set.)

THE Academy of American Franciscan History presents the second collection of writings of the presidents of California's mission chain. Unlike the preceding four-volume work on Junípero Serra, in these two volumes the reader is not permitted to have on facing pages the Spanish and English of the documents. This doubtless will cut down on second-guessing and protect the present translator-editor from this type of criticism. It may also reflect the feeling that Father Lasuén was not as important as the great prototype Serra.

Over a period of several decades the AAFH has collected the writings of the significant leaders of missionary enterprise in California from 1769 to 1835. Its success is attested by the great number of documents found, in this case 480 letters by Lasuén, president from 1785 to 1802 and founder of nine California missions. The story of Spanish California is some day to be told with greater precision as contributions of this nature appear in the form of edited letters. Additionally there are special statistical and progress reports, tabulations, and a rather sketchy index. A brief, somewhat laudatory introduction seems appropriate as in subsequent pages the heroic proportions of the affable Basque priest unfold. Footnotes are clear and used with discretion, and a series of excellent photographs lends visual clarity.

From these volumes scholars will confirm the already established opinion that the path of the missionary on a remote frontier was beset with manifold difficulties. The conflict of the priests with the governor and soldiery is well known; to this are added problems of logistics, of personnel within the college supplying missionaries for California, and of internal difficulties of mission operation. Many letters are confidential, not meant for eyes other than those of the college *guardián* in Mexico City. As a result, minor problems, largely unknown to contemporaries, are thoroughly aired, revealing more fully the personality of the writer. Throughout all is the story of devotion and zeal of Lasuén, his dedication to his college and to the Indians whom he served, and his consistent but seldom unreasonable opposition to outside interference or criticism, whether secular or clerical.

This monumental work by Father Kenneally is an essential source collection for the history of Spanish California. It would be difficult to visualize a regional library or satisfactory book collection that failed to include it.

*University of New Mexico*

DONALD C. CUTTER

**HOW THEY BECAME PRESIDENT: THIRTY-FIVE WAYS TO THE WHITE HOUSE.** By *Rexford G. Tugwell*. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1964. Pp. 587. \$8.95.)

WITH the growing success of data retrieval projects and the increasing sophistication of quantification and other analytical techniques on one hand, and the mounting list of high-level modern monographs on the other, a relatively impressionistic book drawing upon none of the former and distressingly few of the latter seems a disappointing anachronism. Mr. Tugwell has set out to chronicle well over forty presidential election campaigns, seriatim, and then reach a series of general conclusions about their meaning. Both exercises, while readable and informative to the layman, offer the professional historian little he does not know or cannot put together for himself more constructively and with greater insight. Tugwell's sketches of the campaigns turn out all too often to be brief biographies of the individual candidates, their personal characteristics, and their rise to positions of political availability. When he seeks to deal with impersonal factors such as campaign issues, voting blocs, and sectional alignments, rigid patterns emerge which modern scholarship has adequately demonstrated did not exist. Nor is one moved by the profundity of an insight such as the conclusion that Grant's career proves that "almost anyone, it seems, can become President if the times are troubled," or that the early Presidents down to J. Q. Adams would have been unfamiliar with the trials of airplane and television campaigning.

Further, Tugwell, while at times entertaining as a practical cogitator, hardly offers professionally precise conclusions when it comes to summarizing his findings. With regard to a successful candidate, for example, we learn that the aspirant must be tractable, possess no fixed ideas of his own, and be wed to no significant cause that may later prove to be unpopular and thus upset the schemes of years. Too, there must be a "cause" involving an enemy of vast proportions and sinister aims that the voters can understand and join to fight with vigor and enthusiasm. Similarly the idea that the office seeks the man is not true, even though

the man must ever strike the pose of reluctance while remaining available and acquiescing in his manager's vigorous campaigning. Such remarks, while having a certain validity, are hardly original and seem too often trite and gratuitous.

Thus if the work has merit for the historian, it is in the personal insights and values that a senior statesman lends to a popular subject. Tugwell clearly has his favorites among the Presidents, as well as his disappointments, and his values and the reasons for them show through clearly. In this regard, his measuring of recent chief executives, under whom he served or whom he knew, with a yardstick of early New Deal values provides particularly interesting insights into both those values and their continuing relevance a quarter century later.

*University of Minnesota*

PAUL L. MURPHY

THE OLD REPUBLICANS: SOUTHERN CONSERVATISM IN THE AGE OF JEFFERSON. By *Norman K. Risjord*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1965. Pp. 340. \$7.95.)

THE author begins by picturing the old Republicans in traditional shades as a group who appeared in reaction to the surge of nationalism following the War of 1812, men who took to heart the compact theory of government and adhered to the "principles of 1798." Although this theme is later restated, it is so modified at other places as to raise the question of how well the author has thought through his interpretations. While stating as fact that the old Republicans appeared as a reaction to postwar nationalism, the author later writes that this "is generally assumed" but "only partially true." Examining the votes in Congress on the bank, the tariff, and internal improvements, he concludes that "there was almost no objection to any of the three in principle," that the vote on each issue was "determined almost completely by local interests." Yet, though finding little connection between old Republicanism and the issues of postwar nationalism, Risjord uses these issues as a test for old Republicanism, describing congressmen who "deviated from the Old Republican pattern only on the bank issue" or who "followed the Old Republican pattern on every issue but the tariff." Throughout the work shifting emphasis and conflicting interpretations leave no clear picture of the old Republicans or of southern conservatism.

In tracing the antecedents of the old Republicans, a central problem is John Randolph's revolt against Jefferson in 1806. Was it a product of conservative discontent or of Randolph's personal frustrations? In one place we are told that "Randolph's schism, to be sure, was largely a personal vendetta," that "Randolph hoped for open support from the conservative wing and was bitterly disappointed when he failed to get it." Elsewhere it is stated that "the Randolph schism was a rebellion on the part of a small group of conservatives against the gradual compromising of party doctrines," and it is observed that "the revolt of the Southern conservatives, when it came at last in 1805 and 1806, was only one of a number of fissures that destroyed the unity of the Republican party." At the same time, Risjord agrees with Henry Adams that Randolph's schism "all but destroyed the conservative wing of the party" and adds that following the unsuccessful attempt to promote Monroe for the presidency in 1808, not only was the Randolph group shattered but "even the larger body of conservatives remained a relatively small

group of men." Unexplained is an earlier statement that "the Republican conservatives" were "a majority of the party till 1811." In connection with Randolph's schism, Risjord also ignores contemporary evidence and uses the term "Quid" as synonymous with "Randolphite."

Most attention is focused on the proceedings of Congress, and the author rarely goes far beyond them even on key points. One principal conclusion is that "the major Southern reaction to the postwar nationalism appeared, not in Congress, but at home." Yet this major reaction is treated in six pages on Virginia and four pages on the remaining southern states.

In attempting a study of the old Republicans, southern conservatism in the Age of Jefferson, and the conservative wing of the Jeffersonian party, Risjord has proposed too much for a single volume and never successfully comes to terms with any of the three subjects. This is unfortunate since he has recognized the need for investigation on important problems.

*University of Missouri*

NOBLE E. CUNNINGHAM, JR.

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Harry L. Coles*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 298. \$5.95.)

"Have we gained nothing by the war?" asked Henry Clay in an oratorical post-mortem on the causes and consequences of America's decision to fight England in 1812. Surely the war experience had given Americans a stronger sense of common identity and raised their national pride. Surely, too, it had proved that this republican nation of freemen was capable of fighting in defense of rights and honor. "If we have not obtained in the opinion of some the full measure of retribution, our character and Constitution are placed on a solid basis, never to be shaken," concluded the Kentucky Republican leader.

Still, American forces had not penetrated into Canada much beyond the border and had won no decisive victories except on home ground. Nor had Britain been any more effective in bringing the adversary to terms, sustaining its most disastrous defeats at the very period when Wellington's Peninsular veterans had arrived to fight in the American theater. At sea the naval war had been spectacular but strategically inconclusive, and both sides had suffered losses from privateers and blockades. If the outcome was stalemate, it was a result that the inadequate administrative and supply systems of the two contenders probably made inevitable. America may have vindicated its rights but only in the sense of showing it would and could fight for them. Such is the central theme of Professor Coles's compact survey of the well-known conflict.

Coles's book comes at a time of renewed interest in the political, diplomatic, and ideological causes and consequences of the war. Based primarily on secondary accounts, this new volume in "The Chicago History of American Civilization" series is chiefly a synthesis of what others have written about the war. Discussing origins, Coles thinks that both maritime and western causes "combined to induce a majority of Republicans to vote for war," yet he also feels that more "than anything else" Republicans had become convinced that every alternative short of war had been tried and failed. Since national honor, character, and republicanism were invoked as "symbols that had wide appeal," apparently they were not crucial

to the final decision. Most of the book, however, deals with military and naval matters. It is primarily history that describes campaigns, battles, and naval engagements, not history that analyzes strategy, tactics, logistics, and the political and diplomatic circumstances of the conflict. Reflecting the work of previous military historians of the war, the book does not advance beyond existing literature to present new information or develop fresh points of view. The editor states that the War of 1812 has "peculiar significance for the twentieth-century student of American foreign policy and military strategy," but this approach is not found here.

Coles's study will serve those who want an introduction to current writing on the origins of the war and a convenient narrative of its principal military and naval operations. A useful critical essay on authorities concludes the volume.

*American University*

ROGER H. BROWN

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM HARRIS CRAWFORD. By *Philip Jackson Green*. ([Charlotte: University of North Carolina at Charlotte.] n.d. Pp. ix, 258. \$5.00.)

THE accidental burning of Crawford's papers in 1867 left the interpretation of his career largely to his political enemies—Calhoun, Clay, Jackson, and John Quincy Adams—and their able biographers. It is not surprising, then, that he has been remembered more for his presidential ambitions and political intrigues than for his service as state legislator, United States senator, minister to France, and Secretary of War and Treasury. This book undertakes the difficult job of correcting the imbalance, which J. E. D. Shipp's *Giant Days* (1909) and isolated articles have failed to do.

The author depicts Crawford as a devoted, talented, and effective, though not great, public servant. His politicking was no worse than that of his denigrators and better than most. In no instance did it detract from an honest performance of public responsibilities, including the administration of the Treasury. Finally, though Crawford worked against Calhoun's vice-presidency in 1828, he did not initiate the Calhoun-Jackson feud and participated in it only so far as his honor required.

For several reasons this case for Crawford is less conclusive and of less historical value than it might have been. First, the author fails to make adequate use of available sources. The scope, balance, and persuasiveness of his case would have been improved by the use of the Gallatin and J. W. Taylor MSS at the New-York Historical Society, the Adams Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the definitive edition of the Clay Papers, to name only some. Second, a lack of analysis, generalization, and summary makes the chapters fragmented and involuted; thus the full interpretive potential of the materials used in them goes unrealized. In this respect and in light of the paucity of Crawford papers, it is especially unfortunate that no use was made of abundant recent scholarship on the period. Needed background and interpretation could have been supplied by reference to Horsman and Perkins on the War of 1812 and prewar diplomacy, Hammond on the Second Bank of the United States, and White on the administrative history of the period. In fact, no title later than 1931 is used.

Nor is Crawford's political career put in the context of the major political de-

velopments of his age, and our understanding of him and the period suffers thereby. Almost no attention is given his relationship to state or sectional politics. His surprising nationalist position on banking and internal improvements was not used, as it could have been, to illuminate the transformation of the Jeffersonian Republicans. Nor was an analysis of Crawford's political power and technique attempted, though it might have enlarged our understanding of the changing nature of political practice in this critical transition period. Cunningham, Chambers, and Dangerfield would surely have called attention to these and other historiographical issues had they been consulted. Finally, the refutation of biased assessments of Crawford would have been more convincing had the author referred specifically to the guilty historians and made use of their considerable scholarship. The biographies of Bassett, Wiltse, and Bemis are conspicuously absent.

In short, this volume calls attention to the need for a more accurate appreciation of Crawford, begins the job, but does not conclude it.

*Storrs, Connecticut*

R. KENT NEWMYER

GENERAL HENRY ATKINSON: A WESTERN MILITARY CAREER.

By *Roger L. Nichols*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 243. \$5.95.)

GENERAL Henry Atkinson (1782-1842) has several solid, though unspectacular, achievements to his credit. During most of the period between the close of the War of 1812 and the onset of the Mexican War, he was in charge of the military activities beyond the Mississippi River. This duty included the command of two expeditions up the Missouri River, one in 1819, the other in 1825. It also included the selection of the site of Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and the erection of the buildings for this infantry training school. On the other hand, Atkinson had no military experience in directing a campaign until the Black Hawk War, and he was responsible for some of the bungling connected with that tragedy of errors. His western expeditions, too, fell somewhat short of their objectives. All these matters, and many others, are fairly and critically evaluated by Professor Nichols in an effort to rescue Atkinson from obscurity.

Despite the thorough research into his career and the clear presentation of it, Atkinson remains a rather colorless figure. This is because of the lack of materials other than official army records; the author is to be commended for resisting the temptation to supply more than the meager historical record clearly warrants. Nevertheless, in my opinion, he has stuck too close to straight biography in two respects. He has failed to provide biographical notes on many historical figures who were associated in some way with Atkinson's activities. Such notes would have been entirely legitimate and helpful to students as well. For example, it might have been stated that Major William Whistler was not the father of the artist and that Eugene Leitensdorfer (here spelled Leitenschorfer) was later engaged in the Sante Fe trade. Opportunity might also have been taken to present some detail concerning life in the army. Although Nichols' decision not to do so may be successfully defended on the ground that it would lie beyond the scope and purpose of his work, such material would have provided a background against

which the figure of Atkinson would have stood out with greater clarity. It is, nonetheless, a useful work.

*Colorado College*

HARVEY L. CARTER

WILLIAM WOLFSKILL, 1798-1866: FRONTIER TRAPPER TO CALIFORNIA RANCHERO. By *Iris Higbie Wilson*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 12.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1965. Pp. 268. \$9.00 postpaid.)

Few western historians are familiar with the name William Wolfskill. Indeed, this "Kentucky trapper" is so overshadowed by individuals such as Joe Meek, Jim Bridger, Kit Carson, and Jedediah Smith that he has rarely been mentioned outside of California history books. Yet Wolfskill's contribution to the development of the Far West is more evident today than that of a dozen Jim Bridgers. One of the early mountain men to reach the Pacific Coast, he remained in the Mexican province as a permanent resident and pioneered a variety of economic activities.

Though the basis for California's citrus, wine, and cattle industries already had been established when Wolfskill arrived in 1831, he soon became a recognized leader in all three. He eventually settled in the southern part of the future state, raised a large family, built a Spanish style mansion that affectionately became known as "Old Adobe," and sponsored the first public school in Los Angeles. His various cattle ranches, orange groves, and vineyards covered lands valued at more than \$150,000 at the time of his death in 1866. Today they could not be purchased for several hundred times that amount.

Wolfskill was too busy and his interests and enterprises too varied to take part in the gold rush. But for thirty-five years he played an important role in California's transformation from a sleepy Mexican outpost to a region destined to become the most populated state in the Union.

Iris Higbie Wilson's first book represents a scholarly and readable narrative about one of the most remarkable Kentuckians who ever migrated beyond the Mississippi. In addition, it presents excellent summaries of two of California's most important industries, citrus and wine. Although this is by no means a definitive biography, the author nevertheless is to be commended for what she has done with the limited research materials available.

*University of Oklahoma*

W. EUGENE HOLLON

THE PAPERS OF JOHN WILLIS ELLIS. Volume I, 1841-1859; Volume II, 1860-1861. Edited by *Noble J. Tolbert*. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1964. Pp. civ, 341; 342-918. \$10.00 each.)

JOHN Ellis, born in 1820, was a North Carolinian who served two terms in his state's legislature (1844-1848) and for the next ten years as one of its superior court judges (1848-1858). Yet the only office of real consequence that he held in his comparatively short life was the governorship of North Carolina. He was elected easily to that office in 1858 and, by a much-reduced margin, was re-elected in 1860. In July 1861 he died, in the midst of heavy labors to enlist and equip



troops for Confederate service. He was an urbane and judicious man, capable of levity and wit, and he was always a loyal Democrat. Yet even as a young man he seemed not to be deeply infected by strong Jacksonian notions; in middle age his conservatism grew.

Except for some inconsequential letters, all of Ellis' surviving papers are now published in these two volumes. The editor's searches have been commendably thorough. Yet the results are largely disappointing: the letters and speeches are mostly routine and do not reveal much that is interesting about Ellis or significant about his times. Ironically, the one public project that gets extended space, repairing the dams and locks of the Cape Fear and Deep River Navigation works in 1859-1860, was thoroughly insignificant. About five-sixths of the material published here was correspondence received by Ellis, and almost half of the eight hundred pages of text provides details of the effort to prepare and equip North Carolina for war. Ellis himself favored secession as soon as Lincoln was elected President, and he chafed because public opinion in North Carolina lagged behind that in the lower South. North Carolinians, like other southerners, had done little or nothing before 1861 to prepare for war, and these pages disclose at great length how much work North Carolina had to do in 1861 to repair its long neglect of its militia and its military equipment.

The editor's work is undistinguished; it would have been more useful if it had recognized a stronger duty to give an occasional explanation and a smaller compulsion to identify every single name. The first volume contains a sixty-three-page biographical sketch of Ellis that is regrettably inane.

*Emory University*

JAMES Z. RABUN

#### BURLINGTON ROUTE: A HISTORY OF THE BURLINGTON LINES.

By *Richard C. Overton*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 623, xl. \$10.00.)

FEW volumes of railroad history have been as carefully planned and written as this centennial story of a railroad that has long served the Midwest. Professor Overton has managed to touch on most of the varied aspects of the Burlington as it grew from a little 12-mile branch line near Chicago in 1849 to a system of more than 8,500 miles today. But the author admits that he is most concerned with the men who have built and managed the railroad. Of the many leaders in this entrepreneurial group Overton seems to favor three: John Murray Forbes, the Bostonian who guided the financial development of the road in its first half century; Charles E. Perkins, the president who tripled the line's mileage in the 1880's and 1890's; and Ralph Budd, who was a vital force in the modernization of the entire rail industry in the mid-twentieth century. This is an entertaining story of how several unusual men created a great railroad.

Throughout its long corporate history the Burlington has been known for its financial responsibility. Sober management has paid off; the road has never been close to receivership, and it has paid dividends every year since the Civil War. Since its acquisition by James J. Hill's Great Northern and Northern Pacific in 1901 the Burlington has on several occasions been of real financial value to its northern owners. In the last generation it will be remembered for such innovations

as the streamlined Zephyr, the popular vista dome passenger car, and the economical slumber coach.

This book has clearly been a labor of love. Overton has long been interested in the Burlington and has been collecting source material for many years. For this volume the company gave Overton unrestricted access to its records. The result is a remarkably full and factual account written in an objective and impartial manner. Some of the best writing covers the efforts of the railroad to meet the challenges of depression and war in the mid-twentieth century. There are few errors, and they are inconsequential. The index, while extensive, is not easy to use because too many items are hidden under the heading, "Chicago Burlington & Quincy Railroad." The bibliography is excellent. Overton has given us the definitive business history.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S PHILOSOPHY OF COMMON SENSE: AN ANALYTICAL BIOGRAPHY OF A GREAT MIND. In three volumes. By Edward J. Kempf. [Special Publications of the New York Academy of Sciences, Volume VI.] (New York: the Academy. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 412; v, 413-870; v, 871-1443. \$30.00 the set.)

THIS ambitious work by an eighty-year-old psychiatrist can be described only as a curiosity. At least half of the more than fourteen hundred pages are given over to extensive quotations taken largely from Lincoln's *Collected Works*. Chapter XLVI, for example, turns out to be the first inaugural address with a one-page introduction and a two-page conclusion quoting the editorial comments of six newspapers.

The author's stated purpose is to present an "analytical" biography of Lincoln, in contrast with all the "popular" and "historical" biographies that have preceded it. What this means is a scientific study of Lincoln's mental development, or, as Dr. Kempf puts it: "Analytical biography correlates the natural sequences of particular stages and levels of concomitant development of personality with body, under particular experience-conditioning environmental excitations and inhibitions of particular forms of acquisitive and avoidance behavior." The central thesis of the work is that a kick from a horse when Lincoln was nine years old caused permanent cerebral damage, which strongly affected his personality and public career. Someone else will have to pass judgment on the medical competence of Kempf's investigation; for historians, there are some interesting suggestions, but few reliable conclusions. The author has been thorough but uncritical in his reading of source materials. He is also given to erecting complex structures of psychological explanation upon pinheads of historical evidence. For instance, it is one thing to maintain that the slaughtering of his pet pig contributed to Lincoln's alienation from his father; it is something else to insist that this incident gave the boy an "unforgettable presentiment" of the tragedies lying ahead of him, or that as a consequence "his heart became set upon fighting against dominating injustice wherever he met it." Finally, the writing is too often a bad marriage of professional jargon and stream-of-thought garrulity. Here is an illustration chosen at random: "His discrimination of equilateral versus unilateral morality and justice,

we have seen, was self-socially equilibrating, conscientiously obsessive, including even his sense of humor which regaled in stories of frustrations of egocentric meaning." At thirty dollars a set, avoidance behavior is regretfully recommended.

*Stanford University*

DON E. FEHRENBACHER

NEGLECTED HISTORY: ESSAYS IN NEGRO HISTORY BY A COLLEGE PRESIDENT. By *Charles H. Wesley*. (Wilberforce, Ohio: Central State College Press. 1965. Pp. 200. \$2.00.)

"The worst crime the white man has committed," Malcolm X once avowed, "has been to teach us to hate ourselves." The white historian, it might be added, played no small part in achieving this end. It was not enough that the Negro should be deprived of his legal rights; he was also stripped of any meaningful past and assigned the historical role of a docile slave and a shiftless freeman, or ignored altogether. Much as the Negro has fought to exercise his legal rights, so he has also endeavored to combat the bias and neglect of the historian and create for his "race" a more significant place in the annals of the American people. Among the prominent pioneers in this effort has been Charles H. Wesley, the president of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, an organization founded in 1915 by Carter G. Woodson for "the collection of sociological and historical documents and the promotion of studies bearing on the Negro."

This small volume of essays, most of which have been previously published (though the dates of their original appearance are omitted), contains some well-documented and revealing studies of the Negro's role in the abolitionist societies and antislavery political parties, the quest for equal suffrage in the ante bellum period, the struggle for equal rights in Boston, the Negro's contributions to "Our Wars for Freedom," and his efforts to force white Americans to implement their war aims at home. Much of this material has never found its way into standard histories; indeed, Wesley deplores the ways in which "bias, neglect, and omission" have all too often characterized the historian's treatment of the American Negro, and he urges his professional colleagues to correct this injustice, both in their writing and teaching.

In any such reassessment, prompted as it is by the social upheaval of the past decade, there is the possibility that overt racial chauvinism will distort the facts, and Wesley does not help matters when, for example, he advances Crispus Attucks as one of the "first martyrs to freedom" in America. But despite some occasional and perhaps pardonable bursts of race pride, Wesley's essays may be judged for the most part on their scholarly merits. The student of Negro history will find here, and to an even greater extent in Wesley's *Negro Labor in the United States*, some valuable documentation and innumerable suggestions for further and more intensive study. And it would appear, on the basis of recent scholarship in slavery, abolitionism, and Reconstruction, that Wesley's call for a reassessment of the Negro's historical role is finally being heeded. If continued at its present pace, it should help to make the centennial of Radical Reconstruction a most significant one.

*University of California, Berkeley*

LEON F. LITWACK

INDIANA IN THE CIVIL WAR ERA, 1850-1880. By *Emma Lou Thornbrough*. [The History of Indiana, Volume III.] (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society. 1965. Pp. xii, 758. Cloth \$7.50, paper \$4.50.)

To celebrate the sesquicentennial of their state's admission to the Union, the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana Historical Bureau have, with the aid of a grant from the Lilly Endowment, embarked upon a program to retell the Hoosier State's story. Dealing with Indiana from 1850 to 1880, this book is Volume III in the projected five-volume series. Stemming from research in a wide variety of sources, its early chapters cover in detail such themes as Indiana's transition in the 1850's from a Democratic to a Republican stronghold, the state's role in the Civil War, and politics during the post-Civil War decade. The concluding chapters are devoted to such topics as education, agriculture, religion, and intellectual and social life.

The names of Indiana's leaders are familiar to students of the period. On the Republican side there were George W. Julian, the abolitionist; Schuyler Colfax, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives and Ulysses S. Grant's Vice-President; Benjamin Harrison, later President of the United States; and Walter Q. Gresham, a member of Grover Cleveland's cabinet. Representing the Democrats were such figures as Senator Thomas Hendricks, the party's vice-presidential nominee in 1876; Daniel W. Voorhees, long a power in the US Senate; and Governor James D. ("Blue Jeans") Williams, "one of the most colorful candidates in the entire history of Indiana politics."

Describing the interparty clash, Miss Thornbrough leaves little doubt about her sympathies. Her prince of players is Governor Oliver P. Morton, who "revealed himself as an organizational genius, a veritable dynamo, and full of determination" during the Civil War. A Democratic criticism of Morton, the author dismisses as "tasteless." Significantly, Morton is the only individual whose picture appears among the thirty-seven illustrations—one is of a brewery in Tell City and another of a distillery in Aurora—gracing the book. In sharp contrast to Morton, Hendricks' Senate service is dismissed as "largely negative."

But all in all this is a fine book. Handsome in appearance, skillfully organized, carefully researched, and clearly written, it is full of important information for both the national and regional historian. The sesquicentennial history of Indiana is off to an auspicious start.

*Queens College*

STANLEY P. HIRSHSON

WHEN THE GUNS ROARED: WORLD ASPECTS OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Philip Van Doren Stern*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xxii, 385. \$6.50.)

*When the Guns Roared* is focused broadly and loosely upon the broad and loose topic indicated in its subtitle. The book's major concerns are the attempts of the Union and of the Confederate governments to get sympathy, support, and assistance from abroad, with the concurrent reactions of foreigners to those attempts and to various other aspects of the Civil War. Thus, the book is primarily

a narrative of "foreign relations," broadly defined, during the Civil War, including the attitudes toward foreign relations of unionists, Confederates, and foreigners. Mr. Stern describes his purpose as the creation of a synthesis: "I have tried to tie together diplomacy, propaganda, espionage, naval affairs, and the many behind-the-scenes actions which affected the outcome of the war. Some of these have been treated separately before [Stern mentions writings by E. D. Adams, Callahan, Owsley, and James D. Bulloch], but they have never been put into one book."

One way to describe and evaluate a synthesis is to ask whether it presents enough original material, or enough original or profound analysis-interpretation, to make the synthesis indispensable or decidedly useful for specialists, nonspecialists, or both. So far as specialists are concerned, the book does include some previously unused or seldom used source material that will be of interest and value. Much or most of this "original" material comes from the papers of Thomas Haines Dudley, United States consul at Liverpool during the Civil War. The Dudley papers provide what is probably the book's most important contribution to scholarship: the description of the activities of Samuel Price Edwards, British Collector of the Port at Liverpool and the British official most directly responsible for handling issues arising from the construction of vessels for the Confederate government in the Laird shipyards. On the basis of evidence from the Dudley papers, Stern suggests that Edwards' actions with respect to those vessels were due to his being both a sympathizer with the Confederacy and a speculator in cotton. But original evidence of this sort comprises only a small part of the volume; the remaining portion parallels standard published sources and standard historical writings. Moreover, as synthesis the book does not possess the originality, rigor, depth, or subtlety of interpretation that would make it of outstanding value to the specialist. I conclude, therefore, that, while there are things the specialist might learn from the volume, it will not win a similar place with the writings by Bulloch, Adams, W. R. West, Owsley, Jordan and Pratt, and Sideman and Friedman.

For nonspecialists the book offers, in addition to the original scholarship described above, a generally reliable account of many aspects of the Civil War. Indeed, the focus is so broad that at least something is included about almost every facet of the war. How readable and appealing the book will seem to nonspecialists will presumably depend upon their taste. Those who like their popular history tightly written, precisely focused, and rigorously constructed will probably have reservations about the book. Those whose taste runs to popular history that bears a highly personalized or individualized stamp, reflecting not only the author's scholarly findings, but also his interests and whims, will probably like the book.

*University of Washington*

THOMAS J. PRESSLY

THE CRISIS OF THE UNION: 1860-1861. Edited by *George Harmon Knoles*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 115. \$3.50.)

THIS book is the result of a conference to discuss the secession crisis held by the Institute of American History, March 1-2, 1963. The four papers then delivered and the comments that followed are the substance of the volume. Thus Glyndon

G. Van Deusen, with Don E. Fehrenbacher commenting, discusses "Why the Republican Party Came to Power"; Roy F. Nichols, with Robert W. Johannsen commenting, handles "Why the Democratic Party Divided"; Avery Craven, with Charles G. Sellers, Jr., commenting, deals with "Why the Southern States Seceded"; and David M. Potter, with Kenneth M. Stampp commenting, treats "Why the Republicans Rejected Both Compromise and Secession."

The result is a succinct restatement by Nichols and Potter of positions they have long held. Johannsen agrees with Nichols that a failure of leadership, particularly southern, accounts for the disruption of the democracy, but he also emphasizes "the yawning gorge that separated North and South." Stampp takes issue with Potter's conclusion that Republicans assumed the southern threat to secede was "a form of political blackmail." Instead, Stampp contends that most Republicans concluded the South meant what it said and were, therefore, prepared to use whatever force was necessary to uphold federal law.

Both Van Deusen and Fehrenbacher conclude that the Republican rise to power was the result of a complex of causes with a particular emphasis on "the moral and idealistic side." Craven's essay has already appeared in his *An Historian and the Civil War*. It marks, as Sellers notes, a considerable shift from the position Craven took in *The Coming of the Civil War*. The blundering generation has given way to "a blundering Southern leadership." Sellers' criticisms are the most telling of those of any of the commentators, as the significant revisions Craven subsequently made in his original essay indicate.

In all of the essays and comments two points emerge: the inability of the North to reconcile its moral commitment with slavery and the determination of the South to protect its peculiar institution led to war. Thus Van Deusen cites the pre-eminence of the "moral motive" for Republicans, and Fehrenbacher describes them as "essentially an anti-slavery party." Craven concludes that the South resorted "to secession for the protection of slavery," an act that Sellers contends was a southern acknowledgment of its frightening isolation in a world that viewed it as "degraded and unworthy because of the institution of servitude." As Stampp concludes, Lincoln's second inaugural address explained the Republican acceptance of the war the South made. In that same address, the wartime President stated slavery "was, somehow, the cause of the war." These essays demonstrate the precision of that judgment.

Columbia University

JAMES P. SHENTON

#### LINCOLN'S ATTORNEY GENERAL: EDWARD BATES OF MISSOURI.

By Marvin R. Cain. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. x, 361. \$7.00.)

For more than three decades historians have made fruitful use of *The Diary of Edward Bates, 1859-1866*, edited for the American Historical Association by Howard K. Beale. Now Marvin Cain has given us a biography of Bates, based upon extensive manuscript research, including the earlier portion of the diary, 1846-1852, that Beale was unable to obtain for publication from the Missouri Historical Society. Cain's well-documented study makes no major alterations in

the familiar story of Lincoln and his associates, but affords significant information on the politics of the times and on Bates's role in Lincoln's cabinet.

The author portrays Bates as a representative and transitional political figure; a conservative opponent of change who clung to the Whig party in Missouri while it went to pieces in the 1850's; a vacillating state leader who hardly realized the degree of national prominence he had slowly attained until, at the age of sixty-five, he was "almost overwhelmed" by the possibility of becoming a compromise Republican candidate for the presidency. Bates the politician seldom appears to be a man of principle. His unfortunate enlistment in the Know-Nothing party in 1854 Cain terms "sheer political expediency." Even his moderate anti-slavery position seems to have been forced upon him by the times, developing slowly and painfully out of his concern not for the slave but for the voter.

Bates's performance as Lincoln's Attorney General is difficult to assess. Despite his age, he was remarkably active. Cain shows him reorganizing and enlarging his office; putting aside his private misgivings and devising legal opinions in support of Lincoln's emergency policies, such as the blockade and the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; guiding his district attorneys with directives that usually struck a cautionary note; protesting vehemently against military infringement of the civil law; resisting ideas of emancipation and of social and political equality for the Negro; and tactlessly pressing his military and political views upon the President at every opportunity. In Cain's opinion, "Bates played a more effective role in Lincoln's cabinet than has heretofore been thought." This is a cautious judgment and perhaps the best reading of the evidence. Yet one reflects that in the end Bates failed. Serving at Lincoln's elbow, he persistently misjudged him as a weak President, became estranged from him, and resigned from the cabinet feeling discouraged and helpless.

This biography occasionally lapses into stylistic awkwardness, and it makes so little use of the salty phrases and intimate human detail to be found in the *Diary* that it seldom evokes the living man. The lack of artistry is counterbalanced by the admirable research, presented with good organization and thoughtful analysis. Cain's work should find a permanent place among scholarly studies in Civil War history.

*University of California, Riverside*

HAL BRIDGES

GENERAL WILLIAM J. HARDEE: OLD RELIABLE. By *Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr.* [Southern Biography Series.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 329. \$8.50.)

A PRODIGIOUS amount of work has gone into this book which ought to be considered a military biography rather than William Hardee's "life." If the nature of the sources makes it impossible (and it does) to write a biography in the sense of personality development without pressing the scanty evidence far into inference and conjecture, the alternative is to write the story of Hardee during the Civil War; then at least the public record and consequently his public life became fairly complete. This Nathaniel Cheairs Hughes, Jr., has done with industry, discrimination, and clarity. In essence, he has written a tactical history of the Army of Tennessee of which Hardee was a corps commander for most of the

war. Indeed when Hughes comes to summarize Hardee it is as a corps commander, not as a person.

He makes a good case that Hardee was the best drillmaster in the Confederate Army, and until the use of prepared field fortifications rendered his methods obsolescent, his tactical handling of divisional and corps level units ranked him with the best the Confederacy possessed, as befits the author of the standard *Tactics*, the guidebook for both armies. Hughes also makes it quite clear that the corps was Hardee's instrument; army operations were beyond his ability, and, as Hardee himself claimed, desire, though his quarrels with John Hood would belie it. In his handling of the Hood-Hardee squabble, Hughes's method is emphasized: thorough investigation within the bounds of the written record coupled with a fair appraisal of the evidence. When Hardee is right, Hughes is pleased to say so; when Hardee errs, Hughes does not evade it.

There are only the lineaments of Hardee's life—the Georgia boyhood, the campaign to get into West Point, the first marriage and schooling in France, the Mexican War and garrison service, the *Tactics*—until he goes to West Point as commandant. As he completed this tour of duty the country was on the verge of war and the creation of the Army of Tennessee was only months away. From that time until the army was surrendered, its fate and Hardee's were inextricably linked. After the surrender there are only the lineaments again: the return to his second wife's plantation in Alabama, the business ventures, the old cronies and whist in the evening, and finally death. Through it all, Hardee's ideal was the competent professional soldier. Thoroughly and without special pleading, Hughes shows that Hardee usually realized the ideal, and while Hughes does this he has provided significant insights into the campaigns of the Army of Tennessee.

University of North Carolina

PETER F. WALKER

THE C.S.S. FLORIDA: HER BUILDING AND OPERATIONS. By *Frank Lawrence Owsley, Jr.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1965. Pp. 208. \$6.00.)

NEXT to the *Alabama*, the *Florida* enjoyed the most spectacular career among Confederate commerce raiders, and its history must figure with some prominence in any account of the Confederate Navy. This book may therefore serve as one more steppingstone to the modern scholarly history of that navy, which we still await. It supersedes Edward Boykin's book on the *Florida*, if only because Owsley found the hitherto missing volumes of the *Florida's* log in the unprocessed Record Group 76 of the National Archives (concerning the *Alabama* claims) and used this material along with previously little-exploited material in Record Group 45.

Mostly the book is a straightforward recital of everything of consequence the *Florida* did and everything that happened to it, from James Bulloch's arrangements for its construction in Liverpool to its sinking while it was in Union hands after the U. S. S. *Wachusett* captured it in the neutral harbor of Bahia, Brazil. Owsley also follows its offspring, *Clarence* and *Tacony*, prizes outfitted in turn for commerce raiding, and the brief Confederate career of *Tacony's* prize, the



*Cushing*. He states in his preface that "A detailed study of the *Florida* illustrates, perhaps better than a study of any other cruiser, the full scale use by the United States of diplomatic warfare," but although there is much in the book about northern ministers' and consuls' efforts to harass the *Florida* and their hopes to end its voyages by invoking diplomatic pressure and international law, this statement seems to promise more about the diplomatic history of the Civil War than the book delivers. Owsley allows himself a bias in favor of the ship and its cause that is surprising at this distance from the war. On occasions when the *Florida* played rather fast and loose with international law, he refrains from comment, but he is highly indignant at *Wachusett's* violation of Brazilian neutrality to capture the *Florida*. He also strains a point to try to give his story contemporary interest by treating commerce raiding as the guerrilla warfare of the sea. Such matters are incidental, however, to the naval story that Owsley tells well, including judicious estimates of the talents of the *Florida's* two commanders, John Newland Maffitt and John Manigault Morris.

Temple University

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

JOHN WESLEY NORTH AND THE REFORM FRONTIER. By *Merlin Stonehouse*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 272. \$6.00.)

THE author of this book opens with some tantalizing and thought-provoking observations. "We can never understand the reconstruction of the South," he writes, "until we examine it as part of a general expansion of the country, as a westward movement temporarily diverted southward." That carpetbaggers were "evil opportunists" is a fallacy. The "common inspiration" of carpetbaggers was "evangelical humanism." The "common experience" of carpetbaggers was "the westward movement." "The common source of carpetbaggers' ideas was the radical Republicanism which began in fact if not in name in the North and West before the war." Having teased the reader with these statements (all found in the introduction), the author proceeds to lead him down other paths. This is not a study of southern Reconstruction, carpetbaggers, or evangelical humanism; it is not even a study of the "reform frontier" (at least I found little in the book that clarified these words in the title).

This is a study, and a painstakingly detailed one at that, of John Wesley North and his successive, but not always successful, attempts at promotion and investment in various parts of the West and South. North was one of that restless breed of frontiersmen who, ever on the move, carried into the wilderness organizational skill, initiative, and a willingness to risk greatly and who left behind flourishing cities, railroads, industries, and lush, fertile fields. Like so many others of his kind, North combined economic activity with political aspirations, leaving his mark not only on the countryside but also on the less tangible institutions of government. For all of the historians' preoccupation with the frontier and with frontier types, these political-economic entrepreneurs—the author calls them carpetbaggers, but never offers a satisfactory explanation for so doing—have been curiously neglected. It is too bad, for their story, as this book demonstrates, could be as exciting as anything that has emanated from the

pens of frontier historians during the past half century or so. But, although this book is a gesture toward ending this neglect, the author misses his opportunity. He distracts the reader with such statements as those quoted above and repeated occasionally throughout the book, and, similarly aggravating, he allows the details of North's daily life to obscure his subject's larger significance.

North's record was fantastic. In Minnesota, during the decade before statehood, he practiced law, founded the University of Minnesota, promoted immigration, helped to organize the Republican party, developed two townsites, and pushed railroad development. Appointed surveyor general of Nevada Territory by Lincoln, he practiced law, developed a townsite, built a sawmill and a stamping mill, and held a judgeship on that turbulent mining frontier. In both Minnesota and Nevada he helped to ease the transition from territory to state as a member of their respective constitutional conventions. With the end of the Civil War, he moved to Knoxville, where he sought to bring industrial development and northern investment to eastern Tennessee, and, four years later, he led a colony to California. On California deserts, he developed townsites and irrigation works, laying the foundation for a lasting and prosperous economy in the process. If the author has faltered somewhat in the pursuit of his subject, he has at least presented us with the outlines of an important story of frontier development.

*University of Illinois*

ROBERT W. JOHANSEN

ATTICUS GREENE HAYGOOD: METHODIST BISHOP, EDITOR, AND EDUCATOR. By *Harold W. Mann*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 254. \$6.00.)

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Southern Methodism lost something of its rural character, and its leadership passed to the big city churches of the comfortable middle class. If Professor Mann's biography of Atticus Greene Haygood may be said to have a central theme, it is Haygood's ambivalent response to this trend. Unfortunately, his preoccupation with his intellectual uncertainties obscures the personality of this important southern church leader. To call him a "cultural schizophrenic" who went "through the motions required of him within the confined and confining crib of Southern Methodism" is an injustice to Haygood and to good English usage as well.

It is irrelevant and confusing for the biographer to attempt vainly to pinpoint the moment of Haygood's "psychic crisis" (which, we are told, did not occur when it presumably should have). In spite of this shortcoming, Mann is convincing when he unravels the threads of progressivism and conservatism in Haygood's intellectual make-up. He retained a healthy nostalgia for the rural Methodism he knew as a child in the north Georgia Piedmont before the war. He was, therefore, skeptical of the Holiness movement, prohibitionism, pew-holding, and the other innovations that affected Southern Methodism of the later period. A factor in his conservatism was his relationship with the autocratic Bishop George Pierce, who arranged his appointment to the flourishing Methodist publishing center in Nashville and later his selection as president of Emory University. As a college president, Haygood was popular and progres-

sive but rather ineffective in handling money problems. The most entertaining and acute chapters are about this period of his life, although here as elsewhere there is a disjointedness about the organization. The culmination of Haygood's career, however, was his acceptance of the general agency of the Slater Fund in 1881. Haygood had won northern attention and his new job with his book *Our Brothers in Black*, which criticized southern racial attitudes with a remarkable frankness considering the source and circumstances, but once again he proved a poor administrator. While all agreed with his buoyant optimism about promoting industrial education to speed Negro advance, most of the trustees disapproved his dispersal of funds over so wide a range of colleges. Haygood, however, was simply following the traditional pattern of evangelization, spreading money thinly as if each college, with its manual instruction departments, could act as a missionary station in the wilderness. One would have expected greater attention to Haygood's relations with southern Negro college leaders, particularly Bocker T. Washington, but the author deals adequately with Haygood's successes and failings in this work.

While commendably interested in Haygood's intellectual roots, Mann has not fully conveyed the vitality of his subject.

*University of Colorado*

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF COLONEL ALBERT JENNINGS FOUNTAIN. By *A. M. Gibson*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 301. \$5.95.)

To end once and for all the whispered rumors and hints by other writers, Gibson attempts to solve the "mystery" surrounding the disappearance of Colonel Fountain and his eight-year-old son that has long intrigued southwesterners. While serving both as deputy United States district attorney and judge, the courageous old Civil War hero incurred the hatred of powerful men by his determination to stamp out cattle rustling. With equal daring and a straightforward frontier style, his biographer reveals evidence from new sources to conclude that the "not guilty" verdict releasing Albert Bacon Fall and Oliver and Jim Gilliland to a wildly cheering courtroom in June 1896 truly dethroned justice.

But more important than tracing the murderers, Gibson records the important role Fountain played in developing southern New Mexico. Not only a lawyer, prosecutor, and judge, he was once a crusading newspaperman, commanded the militia against Apaches, and organized amazingly high-quality theatrical, literary, and musical groups. His civilizing influence included founding a library at Mesilla and helping establish an agricultural college at Las Cruces. He worked hard to bring in a railroad and settlers, led in the drive to admit New Mexico as a state, and played a major role in the Republican party in Texas as president of the state Senate and later in New Mexico.

The research is sound and the story well told, dramatic reading for the general public as well as scholars. Unfortunately, Gibson admires Fountain so much that he seems to regard those opposing him as dishonest or foolish, even all Texans attempting to rid the state of its carpetbag government during Recon-

struction. But it does give Fountain his rightful place in our history and fills another missing gap in the Southwest's colorful past.

*University of Texas*

JIM B. PEARSON

CARPETBAGGER'S CRUSADE: THE LIFE OF ALBION WINEGAR TOURGÉE. By *Otto H. Olsen*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 395. \$7.95.)

ALBION W. Tourgée's life was dominated by two crusades: the carpetbagger's struggle to implement the equalitarian ideals of Reconstruction in North Carolina and the former carpetbagger's eloquent but doomed efforts to recommit an increasingly indifferent North to these same ideals. A prominent Reconstruction political leader, an able lawyer and judge, a vigorous and prolific polemicist, a popular novelist, and the most outspoken white champion of racial equality from 1880 to 1900, Tourgée has long deserved a full-scale, scholarly biography. Professor Olsen's volume fulfills the need.

Tourgée was born and raised in the Western Reserve, where his parents and his future wife were swept into the antislavery movement. Young Albion professed indifference to this crusade until his experiences as a Union Army lieutenant belatedly converted him to abolitionism. Once converted, Tourgée never retreated from his militant commitment to the cause of Negro rights. Twice wounded during the war, he was attracted by the salubrious climate and economic opportunities of the postwar South. Locating at Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1865, Tourgée practiced law, engaged unsuccessfully in several business enterprises, and was drawn into politics. As a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1868, the idealistic carpetbagger, not yet thirty years old, emerged as one of the state's leading Republicans, a spokesman for poor men of both races, the architect of a new civil code, and a successful advocate of progressive legal and political reforms. Elected as a judge of the state superior court, Tourgée clashed repeatedly with the Ku Klux Klan, incurred the enmity of white supremacists, and responded to threats against his life by fortifying his home, which he had defiantly named "Carpet-Bag Lodge." In 1875 Tourgée led a partly successful rear-guard Republican fight against Democratic revisions of the state constitution of 1868. Four years later the carpetbagger reluctantly left his adopted state, which no longer held any future for him, and embarked on a new crusade in the North. The astonishing success of his anonymous novel about Reconstruction, *A Fool's Errand*, encouraged him to take up a literary career, and in the next twenty years no less than fourteen novels, several nonfiction books, dozens of short stories, and hundreds of articles, editorials, and published letters flowed from his pen. Most of these writings dealt with the race problem. Tourgée denounced the northern abandonment of Reconstruction, called for a renewed effort to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and urged federal aid to education as the best means of curing southern illiteracy and poverty. In the 1890's he founded the National Citizens Rights Association, a short-lived but prophetic forerunner of the NAACP, and led the legal challenge to Louisiana's "separate but equal" Jim Crow law, a challenge that ended in defeat with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896.

Despite his faults, which included egotism, impetuosity, occasional pomposity, and a literary style often marred by verbose sentimentalism, Tourgée remains an attractive and important personality. And despite its faults, which include a somewhat lackluster style, an occasional imprecision in the use of words and phrases, and an inadequate discussion of Tourgée's early life, this biography remains a first-rate achievement. Olsen's chapters on Reconstruction, especially the portions dealing with the Ku Klux Klan, are a welcome addition to the revisionist interpretation of that era, and his analysis of Tourgée's writings is discerning and able. The photographs and illustrations are well chosen, the index adequate, the critical bibliography excellent, and the Johns Hopkins Press has done a handsome job of design and production. Based on thorough and careful research, this is a book worth reading.

Princeton University

JAMES M. McPHERSON

**AFTER SLAVERY: THE NEGRO IN SOUTH CAROLINA DURING RECONSTRUCTION, 1861-1877.** By Joel Williamson. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 442. \$7.50.)

A GENERATION ago, in 1932, historians of liberal persuasion reviewing Simkins' and Woody's *South Carolina during Reconstruction* praised the volume as a model revisionist work. But the book, moderate and fair as it was, failed in its treatment of the Negro to rise above the white supremacist views of its authors.

Professor Williamson now revises the revisionists. Scorning the racial attitudes of the white supremacists, he approaches the problem of the South Carolina Negro during Reconstruction from the viewpoint of the current southern liberal—that is, that the Negro is not innately inferior to whites and does not possess “naturally” any fixed cultural traits. Williamson's view of Radical Reconstruction is that of very recent revisionism. His research is thorough, covering all the old standard sources and vast new manuscript materials. His writing is in the best tradition of history as literary art. His tone is sympathetic and judicious, though it is at times justifiably disdainful of the Negroes' critics.

The result is a revolutionary reinterpretation of the Negro during Reconstruction. Williamson's central theme is that South Carolina Negroes, in passing from slavery to freedom, met and overcame a multitude of economic and social problems. Their temporary political ascendancy, he maintains, “turned doubtful economic issues” in their favor and made Reconstruction for them “a tremendous success.” “The momentum gained was no doubt slowed by the reversal of the political tide in 1876 and 1877, but, during the dark and difficult decades which followed, political repression never quite became economic regression.” It was, of course, success in the economic and political realm that afforded the Negro an opportunity for giant steps forward in education, religion, and other fields.

He offers a serious challenge to the popular view inspired by Woodward that segregation was a late nineteenth-century phenomenon, presenting a well-documented case for his view that “physical separation of the races was the most revolutionary change in relations between whites and Negroes in South Carolina during Reconstruction.” This “duo-chromatic” pattern of separation, he argues,

was "fixed in the minds of whites almost simultaneously with the emancipation of the Negro." But it was based on mental patterns that "had achieved full growth even before freedom for the Negro was born."

Wade Hampton's recent champions, who see the general's program after 1877 as a statesmanlike approach to the problem of race relations, will be challenged to meet Williamson's interpretation of the man. For it is his view that the Hampton tradition of fairness to the Negro is largely a myth. The general did not preach racism and sponsor Jim Crow laws for the simple reason that there was no need for him to do so; custom had already dictated a segregated social order by the time he became governor, and federal civil rights legislation was virtually dead. Yet "the dead letter of the law" would be held up again and again "as exhibit 'A' in South Carolina's case that she was being fair to the Negro in the Hampton tradition." Moreover, Hampton never really gave the Negroes anything but token political justice. He was in "perfect harmony" with the white supremacist society that nurtured and reared him, and it was impossible for him to betray the values of that culture.

*University of Arkansas*

WALTER L. BROWN

#### THE NEGRO IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF FLORIDA, 1865-1877.

By *Joe M. Richardson*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 46.] (Tallahassee: Florida State University. 1965. Pp. xi, 255. \$7.00.)

In this monograph Professor Richardson proposes not a thorough history of the reconstruction of Florida, but an evaluation of the role played by the freedmen in the state from 1865 to 1877 and their reaction to the varied and significant problems encountered. In effect, he accomplishes both purposes. He refutes many of the charges made against the Negro as incompetent, shiftless, and politically corrupt. And his detailed and carefully researched examination of military rule, the provisional government, the constitutional convention of 1868, and the roles of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Republican and Democratic parties in this period produces a revised picture of the reconstruction of Florida.

Yet the Negro is central in this study. Richardson treats topically the freedmen's adjustment to emancipation, to a free labor system, and to education and religious activities, as well as his less than equal treatment by the civil courts. In addition he underlines the helpful influence of the Freedmen's Bureau and stresses the importance of Negro political experience made possible by carpet-bag rule. Of particular value are the well-written vignettes of Negro political (and usually religious) leaders.

Moreover, the other side of the coin is revealed. The intransigence of conservative Democratic leaders, in spite of accommodations made for them by a Republican party split into radical and conservative wings, is clearly delineated. Thus many of the charges commonly directed against Republican rule in Florida, such as control by outsiders in conjunction with the freedmen, their supposed incompetence, extravagance, malfeasance in office, their creation of a phenomenal state debt, intolerable taxation, the squandering of state resources, and scandals in the development of the railroads, are either demolished or

greatly modified. In short, this study compares favorably with several recent studies of other southern states during Reconstruction.

The author has utilized a rich diversity of manuscript materials along with newspapers and other related sources. There are appended an index and bibliography, but one misses the inclusion of critical bibliographical commentary, especially on the primary sources. Richardson's admirable study should be well received by students of this era and section as well as those primarily interested in the Negro's past.

Connecticut College

SUZANNE C. LOWITT

THREE PATHS TO THE MODERN SOUTH: EDUCATION, AGRICULTURE, AND CONSERVATION. By *Thomas D. Clark*. [Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures, Number 8, Delivered at Mercer University on October 27 and 28, 1964.] (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 103. \$3.00.)

THE three paths to the modern South that Professor Clark charts in this volume are the movements to improve education, agriculture, and conservation (largely in its agricultural implications) during the period 1865-1940. Concern with these basic problems in the region was surpassed only by the efforts to promote industrialization, and "literally thousands of crusaders" sought to create a better South by solving them. These men and women are old acquaintances of the author, whose frequent excursions among travelers, general storekeepers, and country editors in the South have given him an unrivaled knowledge of southern society since Appomattox. To some extent, these regional reformers were the creators of the modern South, though Clark does not exaggerate their achievements. Indeed, the most valuable aspect of his book may well be his critical evaluation of their unrealistic assumptions and illusory expectations. They believed, for instance, in the desirability and the possibility of a self-sufficient and isolated regional economy, they accepted inequality in the emerging educational system, and they wanted change confined too narrowly within the framework of tradition. Yet, despite their limitations, they presaged a South moving closer to national norms.

Clark's three lectures provide a convenient summary of regional conditions and reforms in the areas he discusses. But their chief significance stems from the author's thoughtful appraisal of these movements in terms of the economic and social revolution now occurring in the South, a development he earlier analyzed in *The Emerging South* (1961). About that revolution, Clark now writes: "No really significant part of the old economic way of southern life either survives or has a chance of revival in this age. An era has ended, and the demands of the future must be met efficiently and promptly."

Vanderbilt University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR.

HARRY GARFIELD'S FIRST FORTY YEARS: MAN OF ACTION IN A TROUBLED WORLD. By *Lucretia Garfield Comer*. (New York: Vantage Press. 1965. Pp. 270. \$5.95.)

IN this pleasant little memoir, Mrs. Comer records the childhood, youth, and early manhood of her distinguished father, Harry Garfield, the long-time president of Williams College and public servant during World War I. Using family letters, diaries, scrapbooks, and relatives' reminiscences, she has pieced together Garfield's boyhood years in Ohio and in Washington, D. C., and at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. What might have been uneventful years were disturbed by his father's election as the twentieth President and the great shock of his father's assassination in 1881. Hal, as he was called, and his brother, Jim (James R. Garfield, later a member of the US Civil Service Commission and cabinet member under Theodore Roosevelt), were at Williams College when their father died. After college, Hal became a Cleveland lawyer and a professor of law at Western Reserve University. Unfortunately, the author does not extend her biography beyond her father's fortieth year, 1903. As it stands, she does not record his years at Princeton as professor of politics (1903-1908), his presidency of Williams College (1908-1934), his service as US Fuel Administrator (1917-1919), and his founding of the Institute of Politics at Williams (1921). It was during these thirty-one years that he made his mark as a "man of action in a troubled world" rather than during his first forty years.

This book will be most useful for the future author of a full-length biography of Harry Garfield. Predictably, this future biographer will want to give fuller accounts of the Garfields' heartbreaking summer of 1881 and Hal's college and law preparation days, as well as his early dabblings into politics. And, predictably, this biographer will use additional sources and will employ the accepted forms for footnoting and for citing references.

*Boston University*

EVERETT WALTERS

AGE OF EXCESS: THE UNITED STATES FROM 1877 TO 1914. By Ray Ginger. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. x, 386. \$5.95.)

It is difficult to appraise impersonally such a highly personal book. The volume is a history "across the board"—economic, political, diplomatic, social, cultural, and most other varieties—from 1877 to 1914. The *Age of Excess* is at once an ambitious effort at synthesis, a monumental display of scholarly labor, and a statement of principle. As a synthesis it offers an explanation of the totality of American life in the years 1877 to 1914 in terms of an insatiable, all-embracing, and utterly exclusive drive for financial gain by the American people. That these years produced an excess of productive capacity is but one meaning, albeit the central meaning, of his characterization of the age as one of "excess." Excess, in the sense of a loathsome, materialistic grossness, he finds, spilled over from the life of the market place to infect every corner of the land and every aspect of life therein.

Ginger pokes "The Age" with a stick, seemingly nauseated at the thought of touching it. He pokes it in a great many previously undisturbed places ranging from the annals of obscure towns in Texas and the obscure lives of individuals to little-known but highly important economic archival material. The breadth of his research is truly remarkable. Yet on two scores, its applica-



tion is not always equally happy. First, in various instances some rather sweeping generalizations will be supported by evidence culled from obscure, often local, sources, suggesting without proving that the evidence is typical or even representative of a judicious sampling. Secondly, the continuous presentation of these bits and pieces gives the narrative a disjointed and impressionistic quality that is frequently confusing. Often the theme of the narrative is not equal to bearing the strain of providing coherence. If this is deliberate experimentation, and it seems to be, in historical narrative style, it is not a noteworthy success.

Nor is the thesis startlingly new. It is a more modern and somewhat more sophisticated version of Vernon Louis Parrington's and Charles A. Beard's views of these years. It differs from the older version in that in all of its 386 pages one is hard pressed to find anyone or anything during these years in which the author finds any merit whatever, except perhaps Eugene V. Debs, some American Indians, and a few obscure individuals. The inhabitants of the United States in the years between 1877 and 1914 were undoubtedly, for Mr. Ginger, the ugliest of Americans, and his anger at what he believes to be their lack of moral worth, their intellectual and spiritual poverty, blazes on nearly every page. His ample critical bibliographical essay is very nearly as controversial as the text.

*Tulane University*

W. BURLIE BROWN

FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER'S LEGACY: UNPUBLISHED WRITINGS IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited with an introduction by *Wilbur R. Jacobs*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1965. Pp. xiii, 217. \$6.50.)

FREDERICK Jackson Turner is recognized generally as one of the most influential of American historians. His ideas concerning the importance of the frontier and of sections are well known, with his concepts of the significance of the frontier particularly widespread, even among novelists and politicians. Turner's frontier theories have been debated vigorously by historians in the past; today practically everyone working on the West agrees that Turner made vitally important contributions, but that his work also included certain omissions and misinterpretations. Consequently, much recent literature about Turner has concerned his sources of inspiration rather than the validity of his ideas.

This volume is an effort to show, through previously unpublished writings, the way that Turner's mind worked, the sources of his inspiration, and possibly a little more of his ideas, since he published little. Here are such items as classroom lectures, public speeches, and book reviews. Some of them are unfinished, and many demonstrate haste. Their contribution to a better understanding of Turner is minimal; in fact the compiler agrees that not only the reprinted writings but the entire Huntington collection from which they are taken do "not basically change our view of Turner." They will be useful only to the specialist who wants a little more insight into Turner, and even here the serious student must go to San Marino and read the total Huntington collection.

The best contribution of the book is Jacobs' fine introduction, in which he analyzes Turner's interests and methods and describes the influences that affected his thinking. This essay is the best of its kind that has yet appeared, even though

at times Jacobs seems a little overenthusiastic, as when he writes that "Turner appears to have understood his country and her history better than any other historian of his generation." A little later we find Turner saying, among other things, that William Jennings Bryan was basically a frontiersman, that the nation was near the possible limits of population, that states will lose power and sections take over control, that class and regional struggles are to a considerable degree synonymous, and that the arid West is the greatest source of socialistic labor ideas; we therefore have some misgivings as to whether the Turner crystal ball was always in good operating order.

The idea that comes continually to mind in reading this book is that we should soon have a good biography of Turner now that the necessary material is available. From time to time there have been rumors of one or more competent men who are working on the project. Let us hope that the rumors are true.

*Texas Western College*

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

**KLONDIKE SAGA: THE CHRONICLE OF A MINNESOTA GOLD MINING COMPANY.** By *Carl L. Lokke*. [Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series, Volume VII.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press for the Association. 1965. Pp. xiii, 211. \$5.50.)

THIS is an account of the origin and short-lived existence of a small, Minneapolis-based company organized to promote a prospecting and trading venture during the Yukon gold rush. The majority of the sixteen shareholders, all of whom participated in the expedition to the Klondike, were Scandinavians—hardy, venturesome young men who had migrated to America in the 1880's and 1890's. Their leader and the organizer of the company, Lars Gunderson, was a bookkeeper and onetime farmer, Wisconsin State assemblyman, and merchant. Gunderson's letters to a Minneapolis Norwegian-language newspaper during 1898-1899, and the diaries kept by three other members of the company, are the chief sources used by the late Carl L. Lokke, himself a grandson of Gunderson.

Beginning with an account of the formation of the company and the careful preparations for the expedition, the author then narrates the events of the formidable five-month journey to the gold fields, via Seattle, Skagway, and the Chilkoot Pass. The ordeals of the "Trail of '98" are a familiar story, but in this telling they are viewed through the eyes of resourceful and determined men who knew the obstacles to be faced and had planned their attack in advance. Lokke's account of the activities of the "Monitors" in the Yukon occupies the second half of the book. As prospectors they were, failures, for neither determination nor organization could overcome the circumstance that all the productive sites had been occupied before their arrival. In addition to working on their diggings they engaged in small-scale trading, cutting logs for sale in Dawson, and employment with one of the large-scale operators on Bonanza Creek. A year and a half after leaving Minneapolis, with capital exhausted, the company was dissolved, and its members drifted back to Minnesota or to the newer settlements in the Pacific Northwest. Gunderson became a government mining claims commissioner in Alaska, where he died in 1903.

Lokke's work combines the apparatus of modern historical scholarship with deliberate emphasis on character and event in the style of the Norse sagas. The setting, particularly the institutions by which the Canadian government controlled the potentially anarchic society of this ebullient mining frontier, remains shadowy and vague. The book's chief contribution to the literature of the frontier is its confirmation of the fact that cooperative effort and the application of Northern European skills and attitudes produced successful ventures into the forest wilderness of North America.

*University of Alberta*

LEWIS H. THOMAS

POPULISTS, FLUNGERS, AND PROGRESSIVES: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF STOCK AND COMMODITY SPECULATION, 1890-1936. By *Cedric B. Cowing*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 299. \$6.50.)

RECENTLY a perennial traveler with a penchant for exploratory walking sat by a cobbler's bench in a remote Welsh village, while her shoes were being given much-needed repair. Suddenly the cobbler (himself well worn) burst forth with: "Ye come from America, don't ye? *That's* where a man can get ahead." He saw no speculative vista beckoning in Wales. Not so the "ordinary" American; for he is likely to share with high and low among his compatriots the gambling proclivities fostered by the phenomenal national growth, and other factors. He is prone to take chances himself, and vehemently to denounce such speculation as works to his disadvantage.

The literature on American speculation took a tremendous impetus from public demand to know the why of the 1929 cataclysm. Surveying the explanations, Mr. Cowing decided that we needed a brief history of our controversies over speculation (from the days of the Populists to those of the New Dealers). He has special interest in three aspects: the role of sectional politics, the classification of perennial critics, and the assumptions and predilections that carried post-World War I "investors" into brokers' offices.

This range of exploration carried Cowing from conflicts between agrarians and middlemen over commodities futures contracts into controversies over speculation on the exchanges in general. He comes up with three classes of "anti-speculators": the "agrarians," who believed commodity and stock speculative mechanisms could be destroyed by statute; the "financial reformers," who thought that from antifraud laws, from publicity and education, could evolve a morally inspired, self-governing class of public-spirited financiers; the "progressives," who accepted speculation as a continuing fact of life to be controlled by selective taxation of gain and by comprehensive regulation decreed by state and federal legislators.

The "agrarians" figure most consistently in an "Anti-Speculator Tier" of states—North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Texas, and Oklahoma—which are presented, in analysis of Senate votes on eighteen measures dealing with speculation between 1893 and 1938, indicating the percentage for and against the various bills. Only one other of the six groups of states classified into sections—Massachusetts down through Maryland—is sharply labeled; it is

termed "Speculative Seaboard," for Cowing is quite conscious that speculative attitudes are highly fluid.

The assumptions and predilections, functioning in attitudes toward speculation, appear (rather repetitively) in descriptions of congressional debates, hearings, and press comments. Obviously the book is designed for the general reader rather than for special students of commodity and stock exchanges who might have welcomed more cohesion and more use of specialized sources than the text reflects. Chronological clarity proves difficult in spots. The index of a book of this type is well-nigh an insolvable problem because concepts are difficult to adapt to indexing; the indexer meticulously included every individual even briefly cited as speaking on speculation, including clergymen. As the debate protagonists cited chiefly popular sources, these perforce comprise most of the page annotations, but the important point is that the notes are properly placed on their pertinent pages. Also, many of the *Congressional Record* notes include the date of the debate, which is a far more important research aid than the inclusion of the part number. It would be pleasant to believe that the people who could be most benefited by this realistic description would be likely to buy the book: those inexperienced lambs who could learn from this reminder of other lambs' experience with bulls and bears.

*University of Pennsylvania*

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE CLIMAX OF POPULISM: THE ELECTION OF 1896. By *Robert F. Durden*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 190. \$5.00.)

WITH this book Professor Durden makes his contribution to the seemingly endless debate over the election of 1896. He asserts that in the political struggles of that year Populism reached its climax. Relying heavily on the papers of People's party chairman Marion O. Butler, the author works his way through the complexities of the campaign. And he goes far toward explaining local and sectional interests as well as the curious machinations within the People's party. Much of the central portion of the book is taken up with the running battle that developed between Butler and Tom Watson. In this account Butler emerges as the man of larger vision, while Watson appears as one who "remained impenetrable to the slightest suggestion that he might be wrong."

The emphasis here is not so much on the ideological differences within Populism as it is on party organization and on the struggle to maintain that organization. Durden must, nevertheless, venture some generalizations about what Populism represented. The great majority of People's party members, he finds, were not "doctrinaire socialists" but "angry agrarian capitalists." Apparently assuming that no radical could be a bona fide Populist, the author employs two devices to minimize the importance of ideology: he reads out of the party those Populists who advocated a radical program; he maintains that the "middle-of-the-road" faction simply wanted to preserve a distinction between the People's party and the Democratic party. Thus the Populists were no more concerned with ideological purity than were Democrats and Republicans, and, like

members of other parties, they attached great importance to securing the spoils of office.

Reducing Populism to a political party in most important respects similar to the major parties would seem to justify concentration on the activities and manipulations of People's party leaders. Such an approach, however, has serious limitations. For one thing, the fact that few of them were "doctrinaire socialists" does not preclude the possibility that Populism was a radical force. All Populists considered the platform—the essence of Populist belief—a matter of profound importance. To take the position that Populism was a party organization like any other organization is to run the risk of failing to see what caused the factional struggles of 1896 and why they seemed so vital. The substantive (not to say ideological) conflict within Populism was really the climactic one, and the postconvention Populist campaign was anticlimactic. Certainly Butler's political negotiations do not suggest climax; they suggest, rather, a futile attempt to salvage something from the wreckage of a party.

How a party struggling for survival could be at the peak of its influence remains a mystery that Durden does little to clear up with his negative comment that "Bryan's defeat was not to be attributed to any failure on the part of the People's party." From this point the author wanders off into an explanation of why Bryan actually did meet defeat, and in so doing he loses sight of the Populists. Fortunately he returns to them, but when he does, he comes round to the view that in the long run Populism was important because of the ideas it contained. In a conclusion that can be read as a failure to examine his assumptions and test his argument, Durden contends that Populism influenced progressivism and that it did so by teaching Americans the need for expanded governmental action and the necessity for redress of economic grievances.

*University of Maryland*

PAUL W. GLAD

LABOR AND THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK STATE, 1897-1916. By *Irwin Yellowitz*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press, 1965. Pp. ix, 288. \$6.50.)

IRWIN Yellowitz has written a careful, detailed study of involvement and impotence. Contrary to the prevailing view, he argues, organized labor in New York devoted considerable energy to politics during the progressive era, but contrary to their bright hopes, union leaders acquired a most meager influence. Dividing his book into two parts, he first analyzes the means to power and their uses. Here the "social Progressives," a small, dedicated group of greater prestige and security than the wage earners, occupy as much space as labor's spokesmen, for these middle-class crusaders proved more persistent and somewhat more effective advocates of industrial reform. Still, the total of the two forces was not impressive. Both lacked funds and followers, and neither mastered the art of co-operating with the other: unionists and social progressives always differed in outlook and often in particular objectives as well. Consequently, they seldom received the laws they demanded, and they struggled ceaselessly to hold what little they had gained. The second part of the book applies these weaknesses to party politics. Now concentrating upon organized labor's own agencies, Yellowitz

documents their inability either to marshal voters or to influence the major parties. And in a telling contrast, he describes how the shrewd, continuous mass appeals of William Randolph Hearst actually did change a significant number of labor votes between 1905 and 1909.

In one sense, this volume belongs with those nominalistic studies of progressivism which have recently enjoyed such popularity. Like Richard Abrams, J. Joseph Huthmacher, and Daniel Levine, Yellowitz is impressed primarily by the progressives' variety. He frames his study in these terms and emphasizes them throughout, especially when he is calculating the social distance between a comfortable middle class and the union executives. Yet compared with previous reformers, those of the early twentieth century demonstrated an exceptional capacity to cooperate. Perhaps that fact deserves as much attention as their heterogeneity and divisiveness.

In another sense, this study continues one of the oldest traditions in progressive historiography: the omnipotence of public opinion. Yellowitz repeatedly attributes the success or failure of a reform to mysterious shifts in "mood" or "spirit." In part, that merely reflects the natural restrictions of a monograph. Nevertheless, the author's analytic scheme requires just such a *deus ex machina*. By minimizing the reformers' influence within a context of hard, measurable power, he sweeps the field of practically all concrete causes for the many bills that did pass. Then—enter public opinion. Certainly Yellowitz has not exhausted the alternative routes to power. He has, however, prepared a firm base for subsequent explorations.

Northwestern University

ROBERT WIEBE

HOSTAGES OF FORTUNE: CHILD LABOR REFORM IN NEW YORK STATE. By *Jeremy P. Felt*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 276. \$6.95.)

THE use and abuse of child workers have been important factors in America's industrial development from the founding of cotton mills in the 1790's to the twentieth century. *Hostages of Fortune* is a monograph that deals with the exploitation of children in New York's factories, mercantile establishments, and farms from the late nineteenth century to the present. It is an unabated tale of sorrow, squalor, and disaster.

Youngsters made artificial flowers, packed feathers, rolled cigars, turned paper collars, delivered newspapers and messages, carried heavy crates of beans and corn, stitched clothing together in tenement apartments transformed into domestic manufacturing establishments. With the eye of an Upton Sinclair, Professor Felt has uncovered stories of children falling from tenement fire escapes, delivery boys frozen to death in the rear of wagons, messenger boys roaming around whorehouses, teen-agers scalded to death in vats of boiling oil or ripped apart by power saws or dough mixers. A dominant tone of the work is evident in the statement that "children as young as three continued to work making such things as dance programs that dangled from the wrists of debutantes . . ." If anyone was as yet unsure of the inherent evils of child labor, this book will certainly convince him.

The New York Child Labor Committee (1902-1941) was created in response to these conditions of human degradation. A relatively small reform organization with a severely limited budget, the NYCLC nonetheless seemed to have spearheaded the movement for child labor reform in the state. Its major focus was legislative, and the NYCLC helped draft and lobby for acts that eliminated child labor from certain dangerous occupations, created compulsory continuation schools, established the tradition of the use of employment certificates and health examinations for working youngsters, granted double compensation for injuries sustained on the job, and so on. Felt maintains that the agency was largely responsible for some forty laws regulating child labor in the state. Unfortunately, as his book clearly demonstrates, there was often quite a disparity between the passage of an act and its implementation. Niggardly legislatures were sometimes willing to create administrative agencies, but were often unwilling to finance them properly.

The major weakness of *Hostages of Fortune* is its failure to be analytical. Was it, for example, a sign of parental irresponsibility or a matter of economic survival that forced parents to devise tactics to side-step the laws American reformers believed so important? A closer look at working-class budgets would have easily resolved that important question. More detailed analyses of the ethnic affiliations and social values of different working-class youngsters would also have been helpful. Did Jews, Italians, and Greeks all respond in a similar manner to the problems of child labor? I suspect not. Finally, I think it obligatory for the author to have struggled with the key question of the significance of the NYCLC in the entire child labor reform movement. He claims its primacy, but, in my opinion, does not prove it.

*University of Illinois, Chicago*

GILBERT OSOFSKY

WOODROW WILSON, REFORM GOVERNOR: A DOCUMENTARY NARRATIVE. By *David W. Hirst*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 256. \$4.95.)

ORGANIZED LABOR IN NEW JERSEY. By *Leo Troy*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xvii, 237. \$5.95.)

THE PEOPLE OF NEW JERSEY. By *Rudolph J. Vecoli*. [The New Jersey Historical Series, Supplementary Volume.] (Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1965. Pp. xv, 299. \$6.95.)

THESE volumes are supplements, the concluding volumes of "The New Jersey Historical Series" (see *AHR*, LXX [Apr. 1965], 803; LXXI [Oct. 1965], 295). Though supplements, they are concerned with major developments in the evolution of the state and the nation as well. Woodrow Wilson's career as governor marked a major event in the progressive era, much of the more recent labor history of the state was a landmark in the New Deal, and for many of the three hundred years of New Jersey's history, the "foreigner" has been prominent in its social growth and an issue in its politics.

Hirst, as associate editor of *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, has lived with Wilson's own words. He has chosen to construct a history of his governorship largely from Wilson's writings. As the governor was a master of language and could put it to eloquent use, the volume is inspiring, even charismatic. Here are elegantly phrased letters, eloquent speeches, and concise and persuasive state papers worked into a narrative.

This work will carry on the Wilson legend, for it is written in his vocabulary. It is a very skillfully constructed pastiche, and its designer deserves high praise for his ingenuity. But it suggests a timely caution. The Wilsonian legend is fast reaching a point where it is hardening into a mold that will be increasingly difficult to alter. Yet it must be remembered that Wilson failed in the law, that he was not reappointed to the faculty at Bryn Mawr. His future at Princeton was uncertain in 1910. To a prominent Democratic "boss" in New Jersey he was "an ingrate and a liar." After his spectacular first year as governor of New Jersey, his success in Trenton was not notable. He suffered a most humiliating defeat in his fight for the League of Nations. It is the present custom to gloss over this ill fortune and to cast over it the cloak of the saint and martyr. But leaders are complex people, and an understanding of them is not helped by sculpting images too simple.

Troy has undertaken to handle a controversial issue that is "hot." For many years the history of labor organization in New Jersey was miscellaneous and not too significant. Despite its industrial precocity, the state was not good ground for labor organization for a long time. After the coming of the New Deal, however, it began to be the scene of a very notable series of maneuvers in the effort to perfect the AFL-CIO merger, and in the meantime the "great gain made by New Jersey unions between 1939 and 1953 made the state one of the most highly organized in the nation."

This was a difficult book to write, and certain labor interests are not satisfied with it. The early portion deals with scattered events for which there are not many records. The latter pages cover a bitter controversy, and it will be long before the returns will all be in. The author has striven courageously to be fair and has made a very commendable attempt to be scholarly. His account of the age of controversy with which he deals must of necessity be looked upon as a convenient preliminary report which his successors will find extremely useful.

The third of these supplements deals with one of New Jersey's most significant characteristics: the great ethnic variety of its population. From the beginning of its settlement the colony attracted a polyglot people, and the trend has persisted from the days of the Swedes, Dutch, and English to the latest planeload of Hungarian refugees. The cumulation of racial groups has been a principal determinant of many phases of the state's evolution, but, most spectacularly, in the realm of labor and political history. This book therefore supplements Troy's work and fills the gap left by the lack of an extended coverage of political history.

Vecoli's volume is a convenient reminder of the necessity for basic knowledge of local history if the real nature of the American character is to be known. Often these ethnic groups have formed communities within communities and have introduced an element of complexity into the state's evolution that belies some of the glib generalities of national historians. The story leaves a paradox to be pondered,



namely, that while this land of freedom and opportunity has provided so much of both, at the same time it has produced bigotry, exploitation, and persecution. The work ends with a proper warning that in the current civil rights struggle New Jersey's democratic society is "confronted with its most severe test." If the citizens of the state give thoughtful consideration to what is presented in the thirty volumes of this series, now concluded, they can learn much to enable them successfully to meet the test.

*University of Pennsylvania*

ROY F. NICHOLS

JIM CROW'S DEFENSE: ANTI-NEGRO THOUGHT IN AMERICA, 1900-1930. By *I. A. Newby*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 230. \$6.50.)

THIS meticulous study of anti-Negro thought in the United States during years when Americans were increasingly proud of the thoroughness and detachment of their scientific and scholarly research is more useful than it first appears to be. The historian more or less familiar with the pattern of race relations in the post-Civil War era is likely to assume that he knows the basic facts of the situation after the turn of the century. Depending upon the degree of his saturation in the readily available source materials, he may think of the first decades of the twentieth century as a period in which racial segregation spread from South to North without any serious attempts to find philosophical justification for the change. If that be his view, he will do well to examine Mr. Newby's findings. For Newby's pages are packed with quotations from churchmen, anthropologists, journalists, politicians with personal axes to grind, and historians ostensibly concerned only with demonstrable facts, who all solemnly, or vituperatively, spell out their conclusions about the Negroes' innate mental disabilities or bestiality. The sheer volume of the writings and speeches that Newby draws upon is staggering, and infinitely repetitive. Indeed for the student thoroughly conversant with the popular and not so popular literature on the "Negro question" of the 1900-1930 period, much of the text becomes a piling of Pelion upon Ossa.

Whether or not that be petty faultfinding, I object to a style that makes it virtually impossible to differentiate the passages in which the author is paraphrasing the comments of the writers and speakers whom he cites from the paragraphs where he indulges in his own interpretation. In spots he appears to be offering unwarranted conclusions of his own. Of the 1920's he says, for example, that "the migration of Negroes to the North . . . promoted integration in the federal government in Washington," and later he mentions southerners' angry responses to "the integration of federal employees in Washington." The segregation that had spread through government departments in Washington during the Wilson administration was so firmly entrenched in 1927 that it was practically a national policy and underwent such trivial modification during the election year of 1928 as to be imperceptible. No real change, Congressman Oscar DePriest notwithstanding, occurred until 1935. If Newby is quoting from apprehensive southerners he should make it clear that this was merely the opinion of ill-informed people at a distance.

At best the book makes painful reading for a scholar of any stripe. Newby has

produced a study that will enlighten and warn, but certainly can give no pleasure to any thoughtful person.

*Washington, D. C.*

CONSTANCE McLAUGHLIN GREEN

THE GREAT DEPARTURE: THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD WAR I, 1914-1920. By *Daniel M. Smith*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xiii, 221. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THIS volume examines a well-covered subject, but from knowledge of the unpublished materials. Scholars have looked long at the diplomacy of the First World War; surely no story is as well known as the defeat of the League of Nations by the Senate and President Wilson. Daniel Smith has gone to the manuscript sources and thereby brings novelty to this timeworn narrative. He has used Department of State records in the National Archives, the Chandler Anderson Diary, the House Diary, the Lansing Desk Diary and unpublished memorandums, and the Polk, Wilson, and other personal papers. He has close knowledge of the published materials, books and articles, and he has not ignored the work of others.

Organization is topical and chronological, so that the inquiring student can grasp the general chronology and the broad, controversial topics that sometimes ran through several years. After discussion of the beginning of the Great War the book deals with causes of American entrance: national interest, trade and the blockade, the U-boats, and mediation. There follows a clever analysis of President Wilson's moral leadership of the world, which the author rightly says was too high in sentiment. Chapters consider formation of the Covenant, the Russian problem at the Peace Conference, and defeat of the treaty in the United States. Smith goes easy on Wilson, credits Lansing with perspicacity, writes off Root as an ultraconservative, and believes House showed statesmanship.

If the book holds no great surprises, it has no special pleading or weird interpretation. Its extraordinary balance—the last overworked word is accurate here—is a credit to its author, and also to Robert A. Divine who is the editor of this clever series on “eight critical periods relating to American involvement in foreign war from the Revolution through the Cold War.”

*Indiana University*

ROBERT H. FERRELL

THE URBAN NATION, 1920-1960. By *George E. Mowry*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1965. Pp. x, 278. \$5.00.)

THIS is a smoothly constructed and interesting summary of American life since World War I. It suffers from having to cover too much in too little space, but, with discipline and economy of language, the author tells an amazingly thorough story. Being committed to deal at once with culture and economics, politics and foreign policy, Dean Mowry has been forced to hard decisions regarding coverage. Generally, culture has suffered in the cutting, and the conventional emphasis on politics and economics remains.

But, if the nature of Mowry's assignment has led him to deal quickly with some things and not at all with others, it has not driven him to superficiality, dullness, or inaccuracy. *The Urban Nation* displays consistently the care with fact

and phrase that are Mowry's good habit. And, when he must turn to impressionism, his "impressions" are firmly pinned to specific examples. The book is much more than the ordinary trite summary; it provides throughout a series of thoughtful interpretations that make the story both lively and provocative. These tend, in some cases, to be more tentative than definitive, although there is nothing particularly wild here, and Mowry clothes most of his suggestions in modest garb.

If there is a major criticism, it is, perhaps, that the author persists too much in pushing his material to the matrix of the theme his title suggests. Few, of course, will question the proposition that urbanism has been a major force since 1920. The concept of urban-rural conflict has proven extremely useful in the business of grafting logic and order upon recent American history. Yet the matter can be overdone, and at points throughout this volume one feels the strain involved when any single force or situation must be made to provide the principal energy for all phenomena.

Seasoned scholars will find little that is new here: many textbooks provide more of the introductory facts, and there are monographs and biographies, based upon independent search of the primary sources, that speak with more authority and more detail. Yet this is a very useful and admirable book. It places the era in a sure perspective born of Mowry's lifelong studies in recent history. It summarizes the scholarship on the era soundly and interestingly for the general reader and introductory student. The sallies at new interpretation make it a book to think about; the graceful, vigorous style makes it a book to enjoy. Mowry's descriptions are not easily forgotten; Henry Ford, for example, appears as a "briary sort of person." And most general readers will find it difficult to ignore propositions like these: that the "New Deal . . . killed itself with its own practical successes . . ."; that Herbert Hoover in 1932 may have driven the New Deal farther Left than it would otherwise have gone by "drawing a fixed line" between himself and FDR "where there was in reality little to mark . . ."; that the KKK was, to an important extent, the product of rural-urban conflict; that Al Smith was really a "conservative."

It is unfortunate that there are no footnotes to make clear the precise source of the interpretations Mowry provides or the extent of the historiographical arguments over some of the matters he has been forced to describe briefly. But selective bibliographies suggest the general nature of the literature.

*State University of New York, Binghamton*

ALFRED B. ROLLINS, JR.

PROTEST: SACCO-VANZETTI AND THE INTELLECTUALS. By *David Felix*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. 274. \$5.95.)

Mr. Felix' thesis is that the intellectuals were wrong about the case, but that the case was right for them: wrong, because he believes the legal proceedings were fair and the defendants guilty; right, because the case proved a rallying point that gave the intellectuals needed cohesion and valuable experience. In elaborating these conclusions the author ranges over a wide area with clarity, vividness, and apparent lack of bias. For a reader unfamiliar with the case the book is a colorful presentation and discusses all the contentions, but he should be on his guard about the author's conclusions.

In reaching these conclusions, Felix gives the prosecution the benefit of every

doubt and accepts ballistic tests never subjected to cross-examination. His method is, perhaps, best illustrated by his treatment of the Proctor episode which had aroused Felix Frankfurter's indignation. Proctor was one of two ballistic experts called by the prosecution, and he testified that the bullet was "consistent" with having been fired by Sacco's pistol. That, of course, was indisputable since the pistol was a Colt, and the markings on the bullet showed that it had been fired through a Colt. After the trial Proctor gave the defense an affidavit in which he stated that he had "repeatedly" told the district attorney and his assistant that he could find no evidence that the bullet had in fact been fired by the Sacco pistol and that it had been arranged that he would not be asked that question. The affidavits of the prosecutors did no more than deny that this subject had been discussed "repeatedly." But one of them admitted that Proctor had told him that he could not tell through which pistol the bullet had been fired. That information was, of course, not transmitted to the defense at the trial. The defense had not cross-examined, fearful that they might have elicited more harmful testimony. Before the Lowell Committee one of the lawyers testified that he had understood Proctor as having meant that the bullet had come through Sacco's pistol. And some of the contemporary press reports indicate the same confusion. Even Judge Thayer, in his charge, linked the two state's experts without any distinction. Now Felix first says that Proctor admitted having perjured himself. He then states: "the man simply lacked the ballistic knowledge to testify to more than he did." But he was produced by the prosecution as fully qualified. He then quotes the assistant prosecutor, Williams, as saying that he was not competent to testify and did not know how to make the necessary tests. And he impugns Proctor's motives. Thus Felix concludes: "the affidavit offers too little substance for serious regard"!

Felix rejects the recent theory that only Sacco was guilty because in his view Vanzetti was the more dominant character and his expressions were more violent than Sacco's.

It is more difficult to evaluate Felix' strictures on the "intellectuals." There is no doubt that people so characterized are often much swayed by emotion. But, as he recognizes at the end of the book, action based on unquestioning belief is essential in all struggles.

*New York, New York*

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

**FARM TO FACTORY: A HISTORY OF THE CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.** By *Gilbert C. Fite*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 288. \$6.00.)

IN 1929 Howard A. Cowden established the Union Oil Company, a cooperative wholesale supply company based in Kansas City. The new company's capital was but a few thousand dollars; only six cooperatives subscribed initially to its stock; the first headquarters was a renovated two-car garage. By 1964 the cooperative, now named the Consumers Cooperative Association, was affiliated with 1,791 cooperatives, representing 450,000 farm families. In that year it handled \$249,000,000 worth of merchandise. Through 1963 the CCA earned consumer savings of almost \$122,000,000 and accumulated some \$168,000,000 worth of assets. The or-

ganization or its subsidiaries owned oil wells, pipelines, refineries, fertilizer plants, and feed mills, and was also processing poultry and livestock.

Much of the success of the CCA was attributable to the leadership of Cowden who gained his early experience in the ranks of the Missouri Farmers Association. As a cooperative leader he was "colorful, dynamic, imaginative, courageous, articulate, and wholly dedicated to the principles of cooperation." But the depression years encouraged the farmer to seek savings wherever possible in his buying and forced refineries to sell even to cooperative outlets. The depression also induced Congress to establish a helpful credit system for cooperatives. The decision to do business on a cash basis in 1937, the determination of the CCA leaders to build an oil refinery, and their decisions to begin the production of feeds and fertilizers were crucial in the association's history.

In part the CCA expanded by withholding patronage dividends and by selling shares, in part by borrowing from the federal cooperative banks. Usually the cooperative was grossly undercapitalized, and the auditors were particularly distressed by the balance sheets of the early 1950's. Financing problems climaxed in the mid-1950's when Cowden and his colleagues determined to build a nitrogen fixation plant despite an acute shortage of credit. This crisis forced rigorous economies upon the CCA, but laid the foundation for additional growth after the development loans of this period were repaid. CCA leaders tried constantly to increase and to arm their patrons by vigorous educational efforts in behalf of "the middle way" of the cooperator, and they applied political pressure whenever needed to protect the special status of cooperatives against the onslaughts of private business.

Historians typically have written about the politics of agriculture. Of the farm business itself, of the suppliers and of the intermediaries between farmer and consumer, we know much too little as yet. Professor Fite's book, therefore, is especially welcome. It is also lucid, well organized, and marked by questioning thoughtfulness, a rare quality in books subsidized by the firms concerned. In writing this study, the author also chose a "middle way" by including numerous statistics of capital growth, earnings, and the like, while avoiding charts and graphs and the kind of analysis that a business economist might produce. However we may regard his decision, we can be grateful for a book that will remain a standard item in the agricultural bibliographies for many years to come.

*University of Wisconsin*

ALLAN G. BOGUE

LA GUARDIA COMES TO POWER: 1933. By *Arthur Mann*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1965. Pp. 199. \$3.95.)

In this volume Professor Mann skillfully dissects and then reweaves "the complexity and range of variables" that accounted for Fiorello La Guardia's election as mayor of New York City in 1933. Important to that narrative are the Seabury investigations' airing of Tammany corruption under Jimmy Walker's administration; the utter stupidity of the Tammany bosses who then insisted on running the dullard John P. O'Brien as the organization candidate to replace the disgraced Walker; La Guardia's battle to win support among the well-to-do, WASPish directors of the Fusion movement, many of whom were repulsed by the "crude,

brawling, loud-mouthed" former congressman, but most of whom ultimately yielded to Judge Samuel Seabury's espousal of the Little Flower's cause; Joseph V. McKee's belated entry into the campaign as a reform Democrat running under a Recovery party label, at the urging of a Franklin Roosevelt who thereafter left the hapless McKee to swim or sink as best he could; and finally the slam-bang, no-holds-barred appeal to the electorate in which *La Guardia* bested both his pitiful (O'Brien) and pitiable (McKee) opponents.

Mann writes with clarity, cogency, good humor, and a relaxed manner that charms while it convinces the reader. From the outset he refers to Bronx Democratic leader Edward J. Flynn familiarly as "Ed Flynn"; Edward J. Corsi easily becomes "Ed Corsi"; the book's main character frequently is referred to simply as "Fiorello," whose style was one of "razzmatazz," and who "returned to his desk after a lunch that was something of a munch." Whorehouses are "whorehouses," not houses of ill repute. Fortunately, Mann has editors and a publisher who allow such usages to stand; some, more traditional and stuffy, would be inclined to strike out such "inelegancies." This is not the whole of it, of course, but their liberality does help account for Mann's success in meeting his objective of writing *La Guardia's* biography "as literature."

The author's facility in analyzing and using election and census data, moreover, should pass muster with even the most demanding behaviorist. His figures help demonstrate conclusively that *La Guardia's* 1933 victory rested on "a crazy-quilt coalition" made up of: most of New York City's regular Republicans; many reform-minded Democrats and Socialists; a large proportion of those middle- and upper-income level Jews who had imbibed the Protestant ethic, American creed, middle-class morality of civic consciousness; and the overwhelming majority of the city's Italian-Americans, who were hungry for political recognition whether it came by means of a Mussolini or a *La Guardia*.

The conclusion is that the *La Guardia-Fusion* victory was propelled primarily (with the exception of the Italian vote) by the same kind of middle- and upper-class revolt against bossism and scandal that had generated most civic reform movements in New York City and elsewhere in the past. New York's lower economic classes regardless of ethnic or religious differentiation (again with the exception of the Italians) remained the most loyal to Tammany and O'Brien. The urban proletariat seemed to prefer the assurance and substance of Tammany's long-established neighborhood welfare state to a visionary one whose prophet appeared to be the darling of silk-stocking and "Goo Goo" elements.

And so the Little Flower entered city hall more the champion of those who espoused "throwing the rascals out" than of those who espoused social justice programs. We can feel confident that Mann's literary flair will provide us with a brisk and perceptive third volume that will tell us what happened thereafter.

*Georgetown University*

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

NEW DEAL MOSAIC: ROOSEVELT CONFERS WITH HIS NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL, 1933-1936. Edited by Lester G. Seligman and Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr. (Eugene: University of Oregon Books. 1965. Pp. xxix, 578. \$10.00.)

THE National Emergency Council was created by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on November 17, 1933, primarily to serve as an advisory body to the Presi-

dent and to coordinate the policies and activities of the mushrooming agencies of the executive branch of the federal government. Including among its membership the heads or representatives of some of the established administrative units as well as of the new recovery organizations, the NEC eventually assumed the functions of the Special Industrial Recovery Board, which had been established to oversee the operations of the National Recovery Administration, and absorbed the Executive Council, which had been serving since 1933 as an "enlarged cabinet." The NEC was not officially abolished until July 1, 1939, but it appears to have existed in name only for some years prior to that date.

Transcripts of the proceedings of the thirty-one meetings of the NEC held between December 19, 1933, and April 28, 1936, are available in the National Archives, and it is these transcripts that Professors Seligman and Cornwell have reproduced in this volume. They have also provided their readers with an introduction that analyzes the structure, functions, and activities of the NEC, appropriate footnotes and biographical notes, an index of subjects, and prefatory notes to the transcripts of each meeting that point up the significance of that session.

The NEC transcripts are chiefly valuable for the glimpses that they give us of Roosevelt in private conversation with his government associates. The President commented interestingly at these meetings on several of the New Deal activities, counseled those present on congressional relations and the proper manner of fielding questions at press conferences, and made evident his concern with the public reaction to New Deal programs and his desire that these programs be explained to the electorate in an understandable manner.

Although they provide some information on President Roosevelt, the transcripts tell us much less than one might have expected about the substance of the New Deal itself. The discussion ranged over a variety of New Deal activities, but rarely was a subject considered in any real depth or the ramifications of a problem thoroughly explored. Too much of the time of very busy men was all too often being devoted to problems that, in retrospect at any event, seem rather trivial.

The NEC provided a mechanism by which the President kept himself informed about what was going on in the executive branch of the federal government and by which those in attendance were made aware that the New Deal was not confined to the operation of their particular agencies. It initiated the policy of central clearance for legislative proposals originating in the executive branch, but it was not particularly successful as either a policy-making or a coordinating body. As the number of those present at the meetings increased (there were fourteen present at the first meeting, thirty-six at the last), the discussion became increasingly unwieldy. It became standard practice for the President to read portions of the executive director's summary of the agency reports prepared for the meeting and then to make comments or ask questions about what he had read. The record of this procedure leaves little doubt of the President's extensive knowledge of the affairs of government, but it frequently makes for very dull reading. The editors could have improved their book by a liberal use of the ellipsis.

THE ARDENNES: BATTLE OF THE BULGE. By *Hugh M. Cole*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1965. Pp. xxii, 720. \$7.50.)

HERE is the long-awaited volume on the Battle of the Bulge, and it was worth the waiting. Hugh Cole has the eye for detail and the sense of perspective needed to give meaning to the almost incredible complexities of the campaign in the Ardennes. The general reader may at times feel overwhelmed by the details, but if he follows closely and makes full use of the excellent maps attached, he will find himself involved in one fascinating story after another.

The conception of such a counteroffensive and the selection of the Ardennes as the area for launching it are attributed to Hitler alone. Planning for execution of the offensive was the responsibility of the chief of the *Wehrmacht* Operations Staff, Jodl. Rundstedt was in command of German forces in the west, "but Hitler alone commanded," while Model was the field commander most directly concerned with operations in the Ardennes.

Cole devotes eighty-two pages to background information on plans and preparations, units and commanders. One of the most perplexing and most discussed features of the whole campaign, of course, is the failure of Allied intelligence to anticipate it. As in the case of Pearl Harbor and other classic lapses in American intelligence, it can be shown that much critical information was known—by someone—but it was not brought together and interpreted in a way to give a true picture.

The German objective was Antwerp, and the politically oriented Sixth Panzer Army, operating on the north wing, was to make the main effort, crossing the Meuse on both sides of Liège, striking northward for the Albert Canal, and then forming a front extending from Maastricht to Antwerp. The account here is the story of how that design was frustrated in the snows of the Ardennes by heroic defenses and counterattacks on every side.

The greatest disappointment of the volume is its terminal date, January 3, 1945. The great Allied offensive for the Rhineland began with the Canadian attack on February 8 and with the attacks of the American Ninth and First Armies on February 23. The War Department recognizes January 25 as the close of the Ardennes campaign; the last village remaining in German hands west of the Our River was recaptured on January 27, and only then could it be said that the Bulge had been completely eliminated. Dramatic and significant as the opening phase of the Ardennes campaign was, the drama and the significance, and the casualties and losses of matériel on both sides, were about as great after the terminal date here chosen as before.

A large volume has been devoted to a history of the first two and one-half weeks of the Ardennes campaign; we are told that the remaining three and one-half weeks of that campaign will be covered in a later volume, together with the six-week campaign in the Rhineland, involving all the active armies, and the six-week campaign across Germany, including the encirclement of the Ruhr and the link up on the Elbe. It is a great pity indeed that we cannot look forward to a



second volume to complete the detailed account of the Ardennes campaign here so ably begun.

Purdue University

JAMES A. HUSTON

E. R. STETTINIUS, JR. By *Richard L. Walker*. JAMES F. BYRNES. By *George Curry*. [The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy, Volume XIV.] (New York: Cooper Square Publishers. 1965. Pp. x, 423. \$8.50.)

IN its straightforward narrative and careful scholarship, this volume continues the high standard of the distinguished series of which it is a part, though more careful proofreading would have eliminated an appreciable number of mechanical errors. The Secretaries with whose work it deals served between Cordell Hull and George Marshall. The four aptly illustrate the recruitment process that often places widely variant talents and minimal technical experience in the highest cabinet post. Stettinius and Byrnes came from widely divergent backgrounds of wealth and poverty, business and politics, administrative and negotiating skills, amiable idealism and tough realism. Different, too, was the former's willingly subordinate service under an experienced and supremely self-confident chief executive from the latter's aim to influence as well as implement the decisions of a President who, learning his trade as he practiced it, aspired to match his predecessor's *expertise*. They shared a restless energy and enthusiasm for work, and each exemplified during his tenure that absenteeism from his desk which would become institutionalized under John Foster Dulles. Finally, both served while the ending and partial liquidation of World War II overshadowed but did not entirely obscure the growing disharmony that bred a conflict colder but no less real.

Professor Walker's sketch, brief, as was Stettinius' seven-month incumbency, portrays the background of big business and social-mindedness that prepared him only modestly for the successive posts of Undersecretary and Secretary of State. The author shows him but partially successful in reorganizing the department, as peripherally involved in Yalta's events, and as prominently and overoptimistically active in the San Francisco Conference which framed the United Nations Charter. He emerges as a man of immense good will, less than adequately perceptive of and hardly equal to the problems of his day.

Free access to personal papers (not available in the case of Stettinius) and association as research assistant during the preparation of *All in One Lifetime* have contributed to Curry's more fully rounded picture of Byrnes as a moderately successful practitioner during the development of early cold war pressures. He receives approval for keeping the Potsdam Conference from "dissolving in rancorous confusion" and for his contribution to the Foreign Service Act of 1946, the first significant legislation in this area since the Rogers Act of 1924. His principal specific activity was in the months of tedious dialogue producing peace treaties with the minor enemy powers, in which he held Russian advantages to a minimum. Somewhat less tangible but hardly less important, his Stuttgart speech offered Europe much-needed assurance, and his awareness of the need to aid Greece and Turkey (perceived as early as September 1946) clearly adumbrated the Truman Doctrine. The account of personal relationships, favorable to Byrnes

in both the Wallace incident and the break with the President, is one of the most illuminating parts of the study, arguing persuasively the author's contention that the two parted company over domestic rather than foreign policy considerations and that the presidential memoirs fall short of complete accuracy.

Seton Hall University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

DAY OF TRINITY. By *Lansing Lamont*. (New York: Atheneum. 1965. Pp. xi, 333. \$6.95.)

LANSING Lamont, a Washington correspondent for *Time*, wrote this book "in the hope of giving general readers for the first time a full and understandable account of . . . the explosion of the first atomic bomb." His aim was "a story of men and women and what they went through to build and test the weapon," not "a scientific primer on the atomic age." General readers—and historians—can gain from his narrative an extended treatment of the July 1945 test at Trinity and of the Los Alamos laboratory in the manner of Walter Lord and Jim Bishop, more explicit reference to implosion bomb components than in previous accounts, and insight into the significance of the Fuchs and Greenglass espionage.

Despite these contributions, Lamont's hope for a full and understandable account has not materialized. Dramatic necessity justified summary treatment but not inaccuracy in describing those aspects of the bomb project not centered at Los Alamos. The Columbia-Minnesota experiments (not Minnesota alone) reported in the spring of 1940 did not show that enough U 235 "in one weapon could make an atomic bomb decisive in war." That awaited an understanding of the susceptibility of U 235 to fission by fast neutrons. This is the key, which Lamont ignores, to the long delay in appreciating the military potential of uranium. Nor is the story of the Los Alamos effort full or even understandable without reference to the discovery in July 1944 that the plutonium 240 concentration in Hanford plutonium ruled out a plutonium gun and made it necessary to perfect implosion. Lamont is so unaware that he says there was "less chance of predetonation" with plutonium; the opposite was precisely the difficulty. And how is the reader to understand when the Trinity device is a "hulking sphere" on page eight but of "teardrop dimensions" on page eleven? Or when he learns that experimental piles (square columns of graphite and uranium) "mounted like pyramids," that the first samples of experimental plutonium came from Hanford instead of Oak Ridge, and that a barrage balloon at Trinity was filled with "inflammable helium"?

Lamont does better with nontechnical subjects, but even here he uses sources uncritically and makes unnecessary errors. The creation of the Office of Scientific Research and Development in June 1941 was not due solely or even primarily to Vannevar Bush's impatience with the Advisory Committee on Uranium. When Truman told Stalin at Potsdam that the United States had a new weapon of unusual destructive force, he said nothing about the bomb's postwar role. This was a conscious decision, described fully elsewhere; Truman was not "too non-plused by the Premier's response to do so."

Lamont writes well in the last chapter, as a reporter. When he attempts history, he appeals to the taste of the general reader with a curious, careless cynicism.

Scientists watch "the fruit of their labors shatter the dawn above Trinity and usher in the nuclear age," and Oppenheimer welcomes "the steel in Groves that could forge a measure of discipline" at Los Alamos. In Lamont's souped-up prose, the youthful Oppenheimer prefers "Baudelaire to baseball, Gibbon to girls"; later he moves with the confidence of an "inbred politician." Los Alamos wives become "mothers of the mesa," Geiger counters go "berserk," and scientific equipment is invariably "weird." David Greenglass is Sergeant Jercinovic's "bunk-mate" (really?), and the main latrine at Trinity is designed "to accommodate 200 bladders" (so specialized?). Los Alamos scientists generally sire weapons and father ages, but Oppenheimer "suckled from birth" the implosion bomb. Inept and overwrought, *Day of Trinity* will weary even the general reader.

Bethesda, Maryland

OSCAR E. ANDERSON, JR.

**VIETNAM: A DIPLOMATIC TRAGEDY. THE ORIGINS OF THE UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT.** By *Victor Bator*. (Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.: Oceana Publications. 1965. Pp. xv, 271. \$7.50.)

FUTURE historians will have a hard time disentangling the tale of our gradual involvement in Vietnam. For the facts appear but dimly beneath a veil woven of untruths, half-truths, and rationalizations. What the spokesman for our mission in Saigon according to *Newsweek* of August 2, 1965, stated for himself has become a general principle of our statecraft: "My directive says that our policy is one of minimum candor." Thus the correspondents who keep a record of the truth against which official statements can be judged perform a public service of a high order.

Mr. Bator performs a public service of a similarly high order, but of a different kind. He is concerned with the diplomatic history that led to our military involvement in Vietnam. He asks: how did we get involved in Vietnam? He answers: through the Eisenhower-Dulles foreign policy. That answer emerges from the diplomatic record on which Bator's argumentation is based. I know of no more convincing demonstration of the extent to which our present policy in Vietnam is rooted in the philosophy and diplomacy of Dulles. The record, as cited by Bator, paints a frightening picture of the intellectual and moral qualities of that philosophy and diplomacy. At the time, the leaders of the Democratic party declared Dulles' Vietnam policy to be "a diplomatic disaster," and Senator Lyndon Johnson joined in the condemnation. Yet it is from that very same policy that President Lyndon Johnson now feels compelled to draw the ultimate logical conclusions.

Bator's book is an example of diplomatic history at its best. His use of the sources—official documents, newspaper accounts, memoirs, scholarly works—is impeccable. The book is brilliantly written and holds the attention of the reader almost like a novel. It is also permeated with a deep understanding of what foreign policy is all about. It is that understanding which gives weight to the evidence and makes the indictment irrefutable.

University of Chicago

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

THE MAKING OF THE PRESIDENT 1964. By *Theodore H. White*. (New York: Atheneum Publishers. 1965. Pp. xi, 431. \$6.95.)

THE 1964 campaign was intolerably dull at the time, an autumnlong bombardment of dustian of apparently little meaning, leading to a foregone conclusion. There was little of the drama that Theodore H. White caught so well in *The Making of the President* 1960. Sequels usually suffer, but White, despite his apparent handicaps, has improved upon his previous volume; it is surprising how interesting and significant the 1964 election becomes in his recapitulation and appraisal. White has again demonstrated how dispassionate an account can be written of quite recent happenings. Historians may well profit from his proof that events do not have to be long dead and no longer germane before they are susceptible to meaningful analysis. Even though White, writing only months after the fact, has arrived at what can be considered only as a trial balance, he has produced one so lucid that it may well be standard for years.

Perhaps it was the very lack of a close race or the drama of the Kennedy-Nixon television confrontation that has led to the especial excellence of this study. White has been forced to concentrate upon the broader context of the election: foreign policy, social and economic issues, and especially the Negro revolution. He has searched backward into the Kennedy administration to enumerate its substantial legislative and ideological contributions. It was there that the attention of the public was focused upon new issues and that an emphasis began upon achieving qualitative as well as quantitative advances in the American way of life. He has explored the contrast in personality between President Kennedy and Vice-President Johnson. Indeed, White publishes as an appendix a memorandum by Philip Graham of the *Washington Post* that adds fuel to the recently revived controversy over Kennedy's selection of Johnson as his running mate. More to the point is a candid section on the first painful months of the Johnson administration when the new President pushed the Kennedy measures through Congress and gradually devised a program of his own, the Great Society. All this is pretty much by way of prelude to the primaries, nominating conventions, and campaigning in 1964, and the prelude overshadows the campaign.

The disarming charm and bumbling conservatism that Senator Barry Goldwater demonstrated in the New Hampshire primary and thereafter, the very personal story of Governor Nelson Rockefeller's political debacle, the failure of a disapproving Eisenhower to lead an effective "stop-Goldwater" movement, and all of the other Republican vicissitudes of the spring of 1964 have never been better told. But they are wearing even in recapitulation. The manner in which the Goldwater militants seized and retained Republican command is told in full detail and is instructive for the future. President Johnson's lengthy, deliberate selection of a vice-presidential candidate, perhaps to pay back old scores as much as to provide a bit of excitement and more headlines for the Democrats, is also a too familiar story. Even more so, the campaign is an anticlimax.

Two vitally differing ideologies, that of the Great Society and of the Goldwater conservatives, never reached a real confrontation in the campaign. Johnson and his able political lieutenants saw to that. Their purpose was to win and win spectacularly, not to stage a great debate. The concept of the Great Society was

cogently presented to the voters; it was that of the conservatives, White feels, that did not receive an effective airing. He reminds his readers of not only the contrast between the two positions but also the serious concerns of the conservatives:

Johnson and Humphrey, Goldwater and Miller, all believed that the purpose of America was to enrich the individual life. Something, perhaps, was wrong with the condition of that life in 1964. But Goldwater and Miller saw what was wrong as the government; and Johnson and Humphrey saw the government as the chief means of dealing with the wrong. . . .

Goldwater could offer—and this was his greatest contribution to American politics—only a contagious concern which made people realize that they must begin to think about such things. And this will be his great credit in historical terms: that finally he introduced the condition and quality of American morality and life as a subject of political debate.

*Harvard University*

FRANK FREIDEL

CANADA UNDER LOUIS XIV, 1663-1701. By *W. J. Eccles*. [The Canadian Centenary Series, Number 3.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 275. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR Eccles' book is part of a seventeen-volume project, the first large-scale cooperative history of Canada to be attempted since the publication of *Canada and Its Provinces* fifty years ago. The approaching centenary of Confederation seemed to the editors of the new series a most appropriate time to launch this ambitious undertaking.

The author justifies his choice of 1701 as the terminal date of his investigation in preference to 1715, when Louis XIV's reign came to an end. In the preface he points out that 1701 marks a definite break with the colonial policy of compact, self-sustaining establishments in the St. Lawrence Valley set by Colbert at the beginning of the period under examination. Eccles further explains that, in 1701, Louis XIV, in order to cope better with the complications of European politics brought about by the placing of his grandson on the throne of Spain, directed a settlement to be founded at the mouth of the Mississippi, thereby committing the French to occupy all of the western part of North America from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and keep the English hemmed in between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic.

After a foreword by the editors of the series and a preface by the author, the book opens with a chapter entitled "France and New France, 1663." Among other topics treated are the establishment of the colony as a royal province, the institutional framework of the new province, the colonial policy of Colbert, civil administration and constitutional development, military operations against the Iroquois and the English, westward expansion, New France's economy, and relations between Church and state. The narrative proper closes with a brief assessment of the transformation that New France underwent between 1663 and 1701. Supplementary material includes bibliographical information to which footnotes in the text refer, a select list of manuscript and printed sources, an index, and a list of acknowledgments.

*Canada under Louis XIV* conforms splendidly to the objectives set by the

editors of the series. It presents a scholarly, well-balanced, readable treatment of the economic, political, and social forces that molded Canadian life during one of the most critical periods of the country's history. The author was particularly well equipped to undertake this study. Research that he had done for a previous work, *Frontenac: The Courtier Governor* (1959), constituted an excellent preparation for the present book, in which Frontenac, twice governor of New France, is the dominant figure during nineteen of the thirty-eight years covered.

*University of Virginia*

JOSEPH MÉDARD CARRIÈRE

ORGANIZED LABOR IN LATIN AMERICA. By *Robert J. Alexander*. [Studies in Contemporary Latin America.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. x, 274. \$5.95.)

ORGANIZED labor in Latin America is a neglected topic of research. Robert J. Alexander's book is an attempt to fill that gap. Unfortunately, it provides a general but, paradoxically, narrow picture.

Chiefly responsible for its limited scope is its character. The author has attempted to survey the history of the labor movement for the entire area, including Puerto Rico and the Caribbean colonies. Each Latin American nation has a chapter or a section of a chapter devoted to it, but the entire study covers only 264 pages. Thus, the author provides no more than a superficial sketch. Brazil, perhaps the most important country, where a Labor party won the presidency, has just 22 pages dedicated to it. Still, by comparison with other countries, Brazil is treated handsomely; Paraguay and Uruguay together receive less than 12 pages. In addition, Alexander employs what is basically a narrative approach. Analysis in depth is marked by its absence. The reader is compelled to read the same story again and again. The pattern for each country begins with the origins of labor organization in the late nineteenth century, usually with groups of anarcho-syndicalists; a discussion of the conflicts between rival unions since 1900, which often ends in a kind of alphabet soup, completes the picture.

The major contribution, however, lies precisely where Alexander does not follow the country-by-country approach: in his first 30 pages where he discusses hurriedly some of the economic and political aspects of Latin American labor in general.

A number of fundamental questions, moreover, are left unanswered. Employer attitudes toward organized labor are only mentioned; not once are the problems of a typical strike described; if there are public attitudes toward labor they are not discussed. What is the role of the government union, such as the organs of Mexico that are dominated by the PRI? To what extent are they, in reality, unions of workers? Or are they political organs manipulated for the benefit of the ruling oligarchy? Why do the Peronists continue to have such a powerful hold on large segments of Argentine labor?

Alexander, further, is strongly anti-Communist, an opinion he has every right to hold. But that view makes an impartial analysis of the labor picture difficult, for Communists have played leading roles. Alexander's dislike of Communists does not explain why they have exercised so much influence, a fact that would lead some to believe in the existence of responsible, idealistic, and dedicated Com-

munist labor bosses, as perhaps in Chile. In Cuba, to cite another case, Alexander believes that the *Auténticos*, who replaced Batista in 1944, served labor well by removing Lázaro Peña and his Communist cohorts from union leadership. But, evidence also indicates that the *Auténticos*, by making labor subservient to their party, weakened the unions and destroyed their autonomy which, strangely enough, existed in the precarious arrangement between the Communists and Batista.

In conclusion, therefore, though Alexander's book adds new material, it is not the study long awaited by the specialist.

Smith College

RAMÓN EDUARDO RUIZ

VISCOUNT MAUÁ AND THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL: A BIOGRAPHY OF IRINEU EVANGELISTA DE SOUSA (1813-1889). By *Anyda Marchant*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xx, 291. \$6.50.)

THIS is one of the most valuable books in English on Brazil and Brazilians. Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, later Baron and Viscount Mauá, was the key figure in the nineteenth-century effort to modernize the Brazilian economy. Though his efforts were heroic and temporarily successful, the forces resisting change were much too powerful for him to overcome.

Mauá was of humble origin, born in Rio Grande do Sul near the border of Uruguay. At the age of nine he was apprenticed to a merchant in Rio. He used his opportunities to learn French, accounting, and other skills, and he soon earned the trust of his employer. In 1829 his master went bankrupt, and Mauá entered the service of an English merchant named Richard Carruthers. This was a turning point in his life.

It was with Carruthers that Mauá completed his commercial education. "To Carruthers he soon was much more than a new clerk. He was a pupil, a prop for old age, almost a son, certainly an heir." Mauá became thoroughly committed to English ways, especially in commerce and finance. In one year he was a partner in Carruthers' firm. Mauá visited England, and was especially interested in iron-working, the industry he called the "mother of all others." He persuaded Carruthers, though retired, to found a new firm which was to be his chief financial agent in a multitude of industrial projects. In 1846 Mauá purchased a small iron-working plant in Niteroi, and his first contract was to supply pipe for Rio's water system. Later he built machinery of all kinds, and at the peak of production the plant employed one thousand men. But in 1860 Brazil abandoned the protective tariff, and Mauá lost \$500,000.

Mauá undertook many other projects, including a street-lighting system for Rio, which made him a handsome profit; railroad building and operation; a tramway line for Rio; a drainage canal for the marshes around the capital; steam navigation on the Amazon River; banking, in Argentina and Uruguay as well as in Brazil; and a submarine cable from Caravelas, Portugal, to Recife, which was completed in 1874. (President Buchanan, not Polk, received the cable message from Queen Victoria in 1858.)

For his railroad building achievements Senhor Irineu received the title of

Baron of Mauá. For his work in arranging for the laying of the cable he was raised to viscount; he made no profit from the enterprise. In both cases Dom Pedro II apparently granted the titles with reluctance.

The Paraguayan War, which Mauá had strenuously opposed, caused his financial ruin and bankruptcy. Though he had been wealthy and powerful, he was always suspect, for the imperial regime depended on the slave-owning *fazendeiro* aristocracy, and Mauá had no connection with it. He added to this distrust by his unconcealed opposition to slavery. Nineteenth-century Brazil, which was thoroughly ruled by Dom Pedro II, was not at all prepared for a man of Mauá's vision and enterprise.

*Texas Christian University*

DONALD E. WORCESTER

EMPIRES IN THE WILDERNESS: FOREIGN COLONIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN GUATEMALA, 1834-1844. By *William J. Griffith*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. x, 332. \$7.50.)

THIS excellent treatment of an exceedingly complex subject investigates the efforts of Dr. Mariano Gálvez, President of Guatemala, to populate through foreign immigration the comparatively unpopulated regions of his country, chiefly the eastern. Gálvez preferred Englishmen as immigrants for he admired the English system and the English character.

Complications arose from a variety of factors. Guatemala was not a completely free agent since it was, at the beginning of the period, a member of the Central American Confederation, and some attention must be given its government. Furthermore, the agencies through which Gálvez hoped to accomplish his end fought one another and were much more interested in financial gains than in furthering the interests of Guatemala. Also, the limits of British Honduras had never been clearly delineated, and that government had no desire to see new settlements nearby that would probably cut seriously into the profits of Englishmen who operated in the hardwood cutting and shipping industries. A final difficulty, eventually determinative, was that strong opposition developed in Guatemala to the establishment of a group of English colonies, or settlements, in the eastern coastal region. The opposition made frequent references to what had happened in Texas; a similar development was to be feared in Guatemala, and nearby Belize would have constituted an excellent base for such a movement.

While concessions for founding settlements were made to several English companies, the most important had the elephantine title "Eastern Coast of Central America Commercial and Agricultural Company." Its grant included an extensive area that lay both north and south of Lake Izabal and involved the aim of establishing a port near what is now Puerto Barrios. It would have been a serious competitor of Livingston, the port of British Honduras that at the time held a monopoly of transportation in and out of the country on the eastern coast. This company, and others, was in the main ignorant of conditions in the concession area and made little effort to select emigrants who would be able to cope with conditions there. Preparations to receive them were late and inadequate; all failed. Gálvez' dream was unrealized.

As a result of extensive and thorough research in the archives of Guatemala



and England and other available sources, the author has accomplished the difficult task of making clear to the reader a most complicated subject. This admirable book deserves a place in every library that gives any attention at all to Latin American matters.

*Albuquerque, New Mexico*

WATT STEWART

HISTÓRIA DO SUPREMO TRIBUNAL FEDERAL. Volume I, DEFESA DAS LIBERDADES CIVIS (1891-1898). By *Lêda Boechat Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XXXVIII.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editôra Civilização Brasileira. 1965. Pp. 191.)

Modeled after the US Supreme Court and determined to uphold the doctrine of "Judicial Review," the Supreme Federal Tribunal of Brazil encountered unyielding opposition to its authority during the early years of the First Republic. Faced with internal disorders and rebellion, the military government of Floriano Peixoto violated the Constitution with impunity. From 1892 to 1894, at one time or another, the "Iron Marshal" deposed state governors, dismissed professors with tenure, tried civilians in military courts, ignored the immunity of congressmen during a state of siege, and denied the writ of habeas corpus to many Brazilians. When the tribunal moved to check these abuses and to defend civil liberties, Peixoto subjected the justices to all kinds of pressures: he held judges criminally responsible for declaring laws and executive acts unconstitutional; he hampered the high court's sessions by refusing to fill vacancies, thus making it difficult to form a quorum; and he encouraged the government press to harass the judges or anyone who dared to champion judicial sovereignty. Despite the brilliant and consistent defense of principle by Rui Barbosa in the Senate, in the courts, and in the press, the STF was unable to resist the executive's pressures. The tide turned, however, during the civilian administration of Dr. Prudente de Moraes (1894-1898). Earlier decisions were reversed, and, in spite of Moraes' stubborn opposition, the tribunal gradually assumed its rightful jurisdiction in the Brazilian government.

There are striking parallels between this early republican period and the present military regime in Brazil; for this reason the author hastened the publication of this book, the first of a projected series that will treat Brazilian constitutional developments up to 1930. The motive for publication notwithstanding, this work is not polemical. On the contrary, it is a sound and objective, topically organized description of the problems and issues that confronted the STF in the first seven years of its existence. It is, moreover, a pioneer effort in a hitherto neglected field. Well versed in American constitutional history, the author has provided a satisfactory framework for subsequent interpretive studies. An appendix of biographical sketches adds to the monograph's usefulness.

*University of Arizona*

MARIO RODRÍGUEZ

COMMUNISM IN MEXICO: A STUDY IN POLITICAL FRUSTRATION.

By *Karl M. Schmitt*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 290. \$6.00.)

THE Mexican Communist party, organized in 1919 by an Indian nationalist and first represented in Moscow by a US draft dodger, began its career under inauspicious circumstances, and it has never amounted to much as a political or social force. After nearly fifty years of political frustration (to use Professor Schmitt's words) Mexican Communism can point to almost nothing as a source of power or influence, but to many failures: splinter groups, public quarreling among the leaders, strong anti-Communist labor unions, the growth of capitalism, and a discernible shift by the government away from a Marxian philosophy. Despite a network of front activities and a set of prolific publishing concerns, the Communists have attracted no significant following from any segment of society. Schmitt concludes that the failure of Mexican Communism to dent Mexican politics derives from a generally attractive government program that cuts the base from the Communist propaganda handled by grossly inadequate leaders and suffering from a narrow-minded dogmatism.

The author's findings and conclusions scarcely constitute a startling reinterpretation of recent Mexican developments. To be sure, newspapers and periodicals have occasionally carried items shrieking of Mexico's Communist threat, and all too frequently some US politicians have used the theme for their own purposes. But, in general, responsible scholars and men of public affairs have taken the view that Schmitt elucidates in this first full-scale study of Mexican Communism. For most historians a reading of the approximately forty pages in Chapters I and VI, covering the history of the various Communist parties and the failure of the Communist movement, will suffice; these are the most interpretive and by far the best written. The remaining pages make a detailed examination of the front organizations, party programs and activities, Communist attempts to penetrate the labor movement, and government policy regarding domestic and international Communism.

The unwieldy organization leads to an unfortunate repetition and many apparent contradictions which interfere with the ease of reading and add little to comprehension. Since Schmitt deals with a great variety of agencies and groups intimately intertwined, and since his book's organization demands that he treat them in varied contexts, he uses over eighty different letter abbreviations. The author was clearly aware of the problem his alphabet smorgasbord might pose for the reader and tried to compensate by frequent identifications. But even with these identifications, the reader will find himself constantly searching, by necessity, for a name with which to tag the letter groups.

In summary, by virtue of his training, his background, and his research, Schmitt writes with authority but with little *élan*.

*Michigan State University*

CHARLES C. CUMBERLAND

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM IN CHILE. By *Ernst Halperin*. [Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Studies in International Communism, Number 5.] (Cambridge, Mass.: M. I. T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xii, 267. \$7.50.)

UNTIL the Chinese tried to assert their influence in the international movement, Communism in Chile was generally quite cautious and conservative. On the other

hand, as Ernst Halperin expertly describes the situation, certain Chilean nationalists traditionally wanted an immediate and sweeping revolution aimed primarily at ending US economic hegemony and socializing the economy. Frequently extreme nationalists found their political home in Chile's Socialist party.

Despite their vast differences, Chilean Communists and Socialists entered into the Popular Action Front (*Frente de Acción Popular*) and in 1958 supported the presidential bid of Socialist Senator Salvador Allende. Advocating a program of evolution rather than revolution, the FRAP failed by only some forty thousand votes to elect its candidate.

When Castro seized power in Cuba in January 1959, the Chilean Communist party, although it had earlier berated him because Moscow doubted that he could succeed or be won to the Communist camp, began to praise the colorful Cuban, at least in public. Behind the scenes, however, Communists continued to be wary of Castro, doubting Moscow's ability to control him. In contrast, Chile's extreme nationalists, especially members of the Socialist party, hailed Castro without reservation. When the US failed in the Bay of Pigs invasion, nationalists and Socialists believed that their arguments in favor of rapid nationalization of US investments had been vindicated and that they could proceed, immune from Yankee reprisal, to socialize the economy at a revolutionary pace. Even Communists began to waver in their old assertion that the time had not yet come for revolution, and the FRAP in 1961 adopted a far more revolutionary line than it had advanced in 1958.

The 1962 missile crisis restored many of Chile's revolutionaries to a sense of reality. It revealed, states Halperin, "that Latin American revolutionary regimes during a crisis would not be able to count on Soviet protection against United States intervention." This fact, the author believes, contributed to the Christian Democratic victory in the 1964 Chilean presidential elections: it provided the electorate with an added inducement for supporting the evolutionary program of Christian Democracy rather than the revolutionary extremism with which the FRAP was associated. After the elections the Communists dominated by Moscow reverted wholeheartedly to their policy of gradualism, but the Communists oriented toward China, frequently supported by nationalists and Socialists, continued to demand the speedy initiation of total revolution.

The book is well written and cogently reasoned. Halperin makes extensive use of Russian and Chinese line Communist publications, frequently allowing the documents to speak for themselves. This book may well be the most sophisticated English-language treatment of Communism in a Latin American country.

*University of Pennsylvania*

FREDRICK B. PIKE

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\* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

The San Francisco Meeting, 1965\*

For the second time in eighty years, after a hiatus of exactly half a century, a meeting of the Association convened in San Francisco. Though many members feared that attendance would fall below normal because of the frontier site, more than 2,800 hardy delegates flocked to the Golden Gate city's Hilton Hotel. Nor were spirits dampened by the unseasonably cold and wet weather, which perversely enough gripped California throughout the meeting. The hotel, in fact, proved inadequate to accommodate all the sixty-three sessions and eight scheduled lunches of the busy meeting, but thanks to the deft planning of Gerald White and his excellent Local Arrangements Committee, supplementary facilities were utilized at the neighboring St. Francis and Sir Francis Drake Hotels. The impressive attendance and smoothness of program arrangements were, from all reports, matched by a generally high caliber of session papers and ensuing discussion. Perhaps thanks to the success of this meeting, following the precedent set by the major leagues, our Association will hereafter more fully integrate West Coast cities into its regular list of rotating hosts.

The Program Committee, under the chairmanship of Brainerd Dyer, consisted of Eugene L. Asher, Woodrow Borah, Peter Duignan, Samuel C. McCulloch, Rodman W. Paul, Marin Pundeff, Donald E. Queller, and Stanley Wolpert. At its first meeting the committee agreed that some attempt should be made to commemorate the 750th anniversary of Magna Carta by encouraging a number of panels to explore aspects of the general theme "Liberty under Law," though it soon became apparent that no single rubric could adequately serve as an over-all theme for the meeting. The program did, however, finally include two panels directly concerned with that historic landmark of constitutional history: "Magna Carta after Seven Hundred and Fifty Years," held on the first morning; and "Liberty and Law since Magna Carta," scheduled for the first afternoon. There were, moreover, six other panels somewhat more tenuously inspired by our partial "theme": "The Role of the Supreme Court in American History: Three Interpretations"; "Scandinavia and the Rule of Law"; "Liberty under Law in Contemporary East Asia: The Impact of the Past upon the Rights of the Accused" (joint session with the Conference on Asian History); "Legal Thought and the Rise of Historicism"; "Constitutional Tensions in the American Empires during the Eighteenth Century"; and "Indian Liberalism."

The remaining fifty-five sessions, while not thematically integrated, were selected for a variety of reasons, including anticipated professional excellence and

\* This is an abridged account of the Annual Meeting in San Francisco, California, December 28-30, 1965. A full report will be published in the *Annual Report, Proceedings*, Volume I, 1965, available to members on request.

inherent interest, concern for the broadest possible geographic and chronological distribution, and particular topical importance. Some of the best-attended and most provocative sessions were: "Pius XII and the Axis in World War II," chaired by René Albrecht-Carrié; "History and the Behavioral Sciences," chaired by Leo Gershoy, at which Crane Brinton commented; "The Historian's Use of Psychology" (joint session with the Conference Group for Central European History), chaired by Raymond J. Sontag; "Interracial Violence in Twentieth-Century America," chaired by Walter Johnson; "Slavery as Viewed by Abolitionists and Historians," chaired by Fawn M. Brodie; "New Deal Diplomacy," chaired by Thomas A. Bailey; and "Sir Winston Churchill as Historian," at which A. L. Rowse presented his "evaluation" of Churchill's historical writing. This brief abstract, however, cannot note all of the excellent papers presented at the meeting, but for reasons of space must confine itself merely to a chronological listing of the remaining panel topics.

Other sessions held on the morning of December 28 included: "Police Power in the Middle Ages"; "American Maritime History in the Pacific"; "The Immigrant and His Church"; "Research Accomplishments and Opportunities in Early Nineteenth-Century German History"; "The Intellectual Impact of World War I on Europe and the United States, 1914-1918"; "National Character in Latin America"; "Soviet Historians and Western Hemisphere History"; "The Influence of Disarmament upon Technology"; and "Professional Placement in History."

Three luncheon conferences met on the first day. The Pacific Coast Branch, which postponed its regular summer gathering in order to meet in full joint session with the Association, was addressed by President John S. Galbraith, who spoke to an overflow audience on "Some Reflections on the Profession of History." Dorothy O. Johansen was the chairman. The Conference on Latin American History luncheon, chaired by Robert N. Burr, heard a paper on "Two Historians in Search of a Single History," by Daniel Cosío Villegas. The Phi Alpha Theta luncheon was addressed by Gilbert C. Fite, on "Daydreams and Nightmares: The Late Nineteenth-Century Agricultural Frontier." Lynn W. Turner was the chairman.

As in the morning, eleven sessions were held simultaneously on the first afternoon, including panels as diverse and interesting as: "Erasmus and Church Unity" (joint session with the American Society for Reformation Research); "Nationalism in Modern Latin America" (joint session with the Conference on Latin American History); "Colonialism in Africa: Some Appraisals"; "The Writing of History," which John D. Hicks kindly agreed to chair on short notice; "History in the Schools" (joint session with the National Council for the Social Studies); "Appearance and Reality: An Example in Seventeenth-Century Irish History" (joint session with the American Committee for Irish Studies); "Constraint and Variety in Transplanting Civilization to Early America"; and "Russian Science in the Late Nineteenth Century" (joint session with the Conference on Slavic and East European History). At 4:30 p.m. that afternoon, the business meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch was held, under the chairmanship of President Galbraith.

The Mediaeval Academy of America held its annual dinner meeting at 7:00 p.m. on December 28, and more than one hundred members gathered to hear

Gerhart B. Ladner speak with great learning and insight on "Homo Viator: Ideas on Alienation and Order in the Middle Ages." Gray C. Boyce was the chairman.

On the second day, ten sessions were scheduled for both morning and afternoon, and five special luncheon meetings were held. The morning's program included panels on: "Recent Revisions and Amendments in Stuart History"; "Intellectual and Class Alienation—Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; a joint session with the Southern Historical Association, at which a paper on "The South and the Reconstruction of American Politics" was read and discussed; "Russian Views of American Society in the Twentieth Century" (joint session with the American Studies Association); "Frontiers of Research in American Church History" (joint session with the American Society of Church History); "The Chinese World Order"; "The Canadian Political Image of the United States" (joint session with the Canadian Historical Association); "African History: Problems and Prospects"; and "The New Look in Military History" (joint session with the American Military Institute).

At 12:30 p.m. delegates could choose from among five afterluncheon addresses. Members of the Conference on Slavic and East European History heard Donald W. Treadgold speak on "Reflections on the Reception of Western Thought in Modern Russia," under the chairmanship of Sergius Yakobson. Walter Millis spoke on "Peace Research and the Historian" to the Conference on Peace Research in History, chaired by Charles A. Barker. The Modern European History Section of the Association heard Carl E. Schorske discuss "The Quest for the Grail: Morris and Wagner," with Oron J. Hale in the chair. "New Dimensions in the Education of American Archivists" was the subject of a talk by Allen DuPont Breck presented to the Society of American Archivists, under the chairmanship of Dolores C. Renze. Joseph Levenson spoke on "History and Cosmopolitanism" at the Conference on Asian History luncheon, chaired by Delmer Brown.

Wednesday afternoon's sessions covered: "Moral Values and Social Systems—Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries"; "Early Bourbon Absolutism"; "War and Social Reform" (joint session with the Committee on the History of Social Welfare); "Historiography as Intellectual History"; "Slavery in Islam"; "Russian-American Convergence in the Pacific Area"; "Medieval Universities and Social Change"; and "From Dante to the Present: Tradition and Change in the Making of Italian Society."

The Association's Business Meeting, chaired by President Frederic C. Lane, began at 4:30 p.m. on December 29 with reports from the Executive Secretary, Paul L. Ward; the Managing Editor of the *Review*, Henry R. Winkler; and the Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser.

At the general meeting of the Association that night President Lane presented the George Louis Beer Prize for 1965 to Paul Guinn, Jr., for his recent book, *British Strategy and Politics, 1914-1918*; and the Albert J. Beveridge Award for 1965 to Daniel M. Fox for his manuscript entitled "The Discovery of Abundance," which, under the terms of the award, will now be published without cost to the author. Following these presentations, the Executive Secretary introduced President Lane to a large and receptive audience as he delivered his address, "At the



Roots of Republicanism" (see *AHR*, LXXI [Jan. 1966], for the full text of the address).

By the last morning the rain had subsided, but with eleven concurrent sessions the meeting continued in full swing. Morning panels dealt with such subjects as "Reactions to the Fall of the Roman Empire"; "The Role of the Church in a Changing Latin America" (joint session with the American Catholic Historical Association); "The Continuing Debate on the French Revolution"; "The Muck-rakers: A Revaluation"; "Cooperation in Canadian and American Agriculture" (joint session with the Agricultural History Society); "The Influence of German Thought on Early Nineteenth-Century Intellectual Life" (joint session with the History of Science Society); and "Disarmament: Historic Successes and Failures."

Despite the usual diminished attendance on the final afternoon, most of the ten scheduled sessions were well attended; they dealt with: "Manuscripts on Microfilm: Current Programs and Progress"; "The Changing Image of Russia and the West in Eastern Europe"; "Varieties of American Neutrality Thought in the 1930's" (joint session with the Organization of American Historians); "Historians and Reprint Publishing: Mutual Problems"; "Southeast Asia before the Western Impact"; "The Ancient City"; and "Tocqueville as a Source for American History."

In this abridged report I cannot, of course, adequately express my own appreciation and that of our committee to the national officers, affiliated scholarly organizations, and individual members of the Association, whose advice, assistance, initiative in suggesting panel topics and papers, and ready cooperation in serving on the program helped make this meeting such a successful and valuable scholarly experience. We are especially grateful to those who filled in at the last moment for session chairmen, commentators, and speakers, who were unable to participate as planned, for regretfully such casualties do and did occur. Finally, I would like to take this opportunity of generally thanking those who joined the program, as well as all the delegates, whose faithful attendance, questions, and comments at the sessions helped stimulate panelists to expound their subjects more clearly.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

BRAINERD DYER

## **The Year's Business, 1965**

### **REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1965**

An annual report by someone who has been on full-time duty for only three months must be more like a balance sheet than like a review of income and expenditures. These past weeks since September 1 have been for me a vivid experience of coming to know the Association. I am filled with appreciation of the staggering amount of work done shorthandedly by my predecessors, and with equal appreciation of the dedicated attention to details by staff members. In its inner workings the Association seems to me remarkably healthy and ready to respond to worth-while new demands.

These new demands are upon us, forcing consideration of the increase in dues that you will vote upon later in this Business Meeting. My novice impressions of the state of the Association may have most value if I confine myself to what may be relevant for your decision today.

As you are aware, the Association's staff has increased over the past few years, most noticeably in the appointment of a half-time Editor for the *Review* and a full-time Executive Secretary. But over the past dozen years the increase of the staff has proportionately been perceptibly less than the increase in the Association's membership. Coupled with this disproportion has been a great change in the climate in this country for educational activities. New initiatives appear on all sides. It is therefore not hard to see why the Association's office staff, which was hard working in 1953, in 1965 is finding it difficult to keep on top of even its routine responsibilities. There were six thousand members then; we have reached fifteen thousand members now.

The choice today before the Association is whether to undertake a more positive role than in the past, in order to fulfill its responsibilities in the new conditions around us more adequately. Let me speak very briefly of these responsibilities and new conditions under the three heads mentioned in our charter: "the promotion of historical studies," "the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts," and "kindred purposes in the interests of history."

First, the promotion of historical studies. Those who are impressed with the present surge of energies into improving history in the schools tend too often to underrate the influence of the quiet work done by the Association's Service Center for Teachers of History since 1956, through its pamphlets and conferences. This past summer the first NDEA institutes for school teachers of history enlisted the dedicated efforts of many college historians, and with cordial encouragement from the Association this is leading to an even greater number of similar institutes for the summer of 1966. This one federal expenditure for history next summer will approach six million dollars. Another and heartening development is the creation by Congress of the new Humanities Endowment, headed by a distinguished Association member, Barnaby Keeney, for this promises unprecedented support for scholarship in history in a variety of ways that should prove invigorating. Back in classrooms and faculty offices, the conduct of historical studies is itself going well. One of the most significant books for our profession to appear this past year is the volume *History* in the "Princeton Studies" series; in it John Higham concludes a perceptive survey of the past half century by pointing to "the renewal of history" (his words) in the past decade or two.

Second, the collection and preservation of historical materials. The Association's continuing efforts since its beginnings to make available manuscripts and provide major bibliographies have been recently matched by impressive collections of much more popular materials in handsomely illustrated magazines and in reconstructions like old Williamsburg. The federal government is now supporting, through the National Historical Publications Commission, large collections of manuscripts in the tradition of nineteenth-century historical efforts, and this past year some National Science Foundation money has joined much other help to

make possible some promising beginnings for the quantitative study of voting records and census materials through electronic equipment. Bibliography is equally challenged by innovations. The committee that convened yesterday evening, to study bibliographical practices in the field of history, faces a wealth of encouraging possibilities for more effective aids. Our opportunities for improving the availability of valuable historical evidence now extend far beyond the collection of manuscripts.

Third, kindred purposes in the interests of history. The activities of the Association's headquarters, and the initiative and devotion of its members, have served over the past years to uphold the cause of history. In these days when the interests of other fields of study are being more strongly advanced, it was timely that Julian Boyd last December laid before the Association's members a project for a center for historical scholarship in the nation's capital. The creation of a proper gathering place, which would also be an adequate clearinghouse and focus of leadership for the many activities touching historians that inevitably originate in Washington, is a major enterprise. I need not tell you that it will take much quiet effort behind the scenes, and much active concern from members of the Association at large. But when it is accomplished many activities can be better brought together for mutual stimulus and aid. I need only mention as an example the many other, more partial associations of historians that are now strikingly increasing their membership and influence around the country. Historical endeavors as a whole will then be better based to relate successfully to the advancing social sciences, to the urgent development of school education, and to other equally important initiatives of the "Great Society."

In all three areas of responsibility, the essential groundwork has been laid by Boyd Shafer, Stull Holt, and Louis Wright, as well as by members of the Council and central committees of the Association. I feel it an honor to join a hard-working team at a moment of special opportunities. I especially appreciate the talents of Henry Winkler as Editor of the *Review*, Elmer Kayser as Treasurer, and Robert Zangrando as Director of the Service Center. It is frankly a pleasure to be working for the Association at this time and with these associates.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

#### REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR FOR 1965

Last December, following through on a proposal that had been aired by my predecessor, I raised with the Council and Board of Editors the possibility of publishing annually a fifth issue of the *Review*. I agreed wholeheartedly with previous Editors that we urgently needed more space in which to review books, pointing out that under existing limitations the best that one could do, particularly for works in non-American and non-European history but also for major works in any field, was all too frequently inadequate and haphazard. Similarly, although the call for an expanded and varied offering of articles had grown with the increase in membership, there was little opportunity to respond to this demand within the constricting framework of our quarterly allotment of pages.

At the time it appeared that any further increase in the size of the individual issues would necessitate a more expensive method of binding, to say nothing of producing a periodical that would be bulky and difficult to handle. The Council accordingly authorized me to consult with the Board of Editors about a fifth issue, taking into account production costs, staff requirements, advertising problems, and the like. They instructed me to report our proposals to the Executive Committee of the Council for approval or disapproval.

Once we settled down to a systematic study of the implications of a fifth issue sandwiched in between two quarterly numbers, it became clear that we faced difficulties of some consequence. An informal sounding by our Advertising Manager, Miss Elsie J. Engel of the Macmillan Company, indicated a reluctance to place advertising material in such a fifth issue, but considerable support for a regular bimonthly format instead. The William Byrd Press, which has printed the *Review* since its establishment, then came up with a proposal that made it feasible to add some 64 pages to each quarterly issue up to a maximum figure of 496 pages. In the light of these technical difficulties and possibilities, the Board of Editors accepted my suggestion that for the time being the *Review* be permitted to grow in size while remaining a quarterly. The Executive Committee subsequently approved the recommendation and authorized me to seek an additional staff member to look after the increased volume of material in our journal. As a result, since April 1965 the *Review* has been expanded in size, and, while it is indeed bulky, all indications are that its readers can still handle it without undue exertion.

The physical profile of the larger *Review* is quickly sketched. In Volume LXX (October 1964-July 1965) there were some 900 reviews as compared with 786 in Volume LXIX. The indications are that the number will be even greater in Volume LXXI. Despite a ruthless limitation in length of reviews, despite an attempt to be equally ruthless in our selection of books for review, and despite our only modest success in eliciting books from publishers in Latin America, Europe, and Asia, the production of works of historical scholarship assures that we shall have to take notice of an increasing number of books each year. The *AHR* is, after all, the only eclectic journal of our profession, and a major service is to bring to the attention of its readers a wide range of scholarship in a wide range of fields. In much the same way, the requirements of our advertisers, whose fees help to subsidize the production of the *Review*, have grown, so that in April 1965 we published an unprecedented 100 pages of advertising copy, mainly for textbooks and scholarly monographs. Obviously, some balance must be struck between the space needs of advertisers and those of the scholars for whom the *Review* exists. I have therefore informed Miss Engel that, at least so long as our allotment of pages remains at about 500, we must limit our advertising to something like 85 pages an issue, a substantial figure but not one that is at all out of line.

Thus far I have said little about the articles which are the heart of any scholarly periodical. Because of the conditions I have indicated, it has as yet been impossible to add to their number, despite the evident desirability. This past year, the *Review* received 265 manuscripts as compared with 204 in the preceding period. Of these, 20 were published, 2 of a general nature, 6 on United States history, 8 on modern European history, 2 on Far Eastern history, and 2 on medieval history,

in addition to Julian Boyd's presidential address, "A Modest Proposal to Meet an Urgent Need." We have tried to be as catholic as possible in what we publish, offering some speculative, methodological, or broadly interpretive essays along with more detailed studies based on hard, empirical research in carefully limited areas. Our problem would be even greater if more scholars in ancient, medieval, Latin American, or non-Western history responded to our plea that they submit to us some of their work which might be of general interest to the profession as a whole.

But I will not dwell on that perplexing question. I have deliberately restricted myself to matters of space and of figures since I am increasingly coming to feel that the present expanded size of our quarterly numbers is only a temporary expedient. Eventually, we shall have to face up to whether the *Review* should be published bimonthly, perhaps five times a year in September, November, January, March, and May. Such a program would eliminate the awkwardness of a fifth issue published as a kind of appendage to the regular number of the *Review*. At the same time it would recognize the realities of the academic summer which is a part of the schedule of most members of the Association. It would make it possible to prepare the *Review* with only a modest augmentation of our present staff, and it would begin to make the *Review* available for at least some of the significant manuscripts we are now forced to return. At present, however, I have no proposal. The Board of Editors will, of course, look at the problem closely in the light of our experience with the expanded quarterly and be guided by that experience in whatever recommendations it appears wise to make.

Meanwhile, I should like simply to report my conviction that the affairs of the *AHR* go well. We have changed the format of the book review section, eliminating the distinction between long and short items and listing all reviews in the Table of Contents. The response to the change has been quite favorable. We hope that it will make the section somewhat more convenient to use. I continue to be delighted by the efficiency of the staff and the cooperation of scholars who almost invariably evaluate manuscripts quickly and with the most responsible care. Above all, I must record my gratitude to all the members of the Board of Editors, upon whom I have leaned very heavily during this past year. Not one has ever offered the complaint that my demands might well have merited. In such circumstances, an editor's lot is indeed a happy one.

HENRY R. WINKLER, *Managing Editor*

MINUTES OF THE COUNCIL MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
THE SAN FRANCISCO HILTON HOTEL  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER 27, 1965, 9:30 A.M.

Present at the meeting were: Frederic C. Lane, President; Roy F. Nichols, Vice-President; Elmer Louis Kayser, Treasurer; Paul L. Ward, Executive Secretary; Henry R. Winkler, Managing Editor of the *Review*; Robert L. Zangrando,

Assistant Executive Secretary; Councilors Robert F. Byrnes, John K. Fairbank, Walter Johnson, Charles Mullett, Carl E. Schorske, and Louis B. Wright; former Presidents Julian P. Boyd, Carl Bridenbaugh, Crane Brinton, Louis R. Gottschalk, and Allan Nevins.

The minutes of the May 1965 meeting of the Council were approved as previously distributed, with Mr. Lane's correction of the amount of money the Council authorized him to spend for a reception for American historians attending last summer's meeting in Vienna—\$250 rather than \$200.

The Executive Secretary's report was approved as previously distributed and was deferred to the Business Meeting. Mr. Ward noted one correction.

The report of the Managing Editor of the *Review* was distributed prior to the Council meeting and was deferred to the Business Meeting. On the recommendation of Mr. Winkler the Council appointed David Donald to the Board of Editors to replace Richard Current whose term is expiring. Mr. Winkler further recommended that since about half of the articles submitted to the *Review* are on American history, thereby placing a heavy burden on certain Board members, an additional member in American history should be added to the Board. The Council approved and appointed Bernard Bailyn as this new member.

In response to Mr. Nevins' request for support of a proposal for an optional confidential questionnaire to be sent out by the Marquis Society (along with the regular *Who's Who in America* questionnaire) in order to provide useful information for scholars in years to come, the Council empowered the President of the Association to appoint a committee drawn from the Chicago area to work with representatives of the American Sociological Association, the American Economic Association, and the officers of the Marquis Society in the preparation of the proposed questionnaire. It was agreed that this committee should not become involved in considering ways to obtain other forms of contemporary evidence.

In presenting the Treasurer's report and budget Mr. Kayser pointed out that the budget is based on the present membership fees, and if the new fees are approved, it will be necessary for the Council to approve a new budget which will provide for increased staff and other forms of expenditure to give wider service and efficiency to the Association. He felt it desirable that committees should meet more often and that the Executive Secretary and Assistant Executive Secretary should travel more. Mr. Kayser also noted the increased payment to Macmillan resulting from the increased size of the *Review*. In response to Mr. Schorske's questioning the need for appointing committees with a country-wide representation, it was felt that this continues to be a good policy. On the question of tax exemption on travel for the Association, Mr. Kayser pointed out that the Association had not qualified in the past and that the actual benefits would be small. When the budget item for Service Center conferences for teachers was questioned in the light of the NDEA summer institutes, it was agreed that it is too soon to consider changes and that the conferences may even increase in value and interest because of the NDEA institutes. The budget was approved.

As clarification of the provision for student membership in the proposed amendment to the constitution to increase membership fees, the Council approved the working definition that any applicant or continuing member with a full-time

position of any kind, even though still registered as a student, is to pay the full membership fee.

Mr. Wright brought the Council up to date on the proposed Center for Historical Research. As he reported at the Council's May meeting, the committee has been delayed in pursuing its work until it could ascertain what another group was proposing. Now tentative plans have been announced for a center for advanced study in Washington under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. The Association is interested in cooperating in this proposal with the understanding that historians can have an autonomous center incorporating the essential matters in Mr. Boyd's speech of December 1964. It was agreed that pending clarification of the Smithsonian proposal, the Association should continue with its plans for a center and seek a qualified person to draw up a prospectus and raise funds for the center.

Mr. Kayser then read a letter from Mrs. Helen Taft Manning transmitting a gift of stock for the proposed center. After an expression of the Council's appreciation, it was agreed that, to handle such gifts, there would be practical value in having a separate corporation for the center under the responsibility of the officers of the Association. The Council approved Mr. Wright's recommendation that the Treasurer be empowered to investigate the feasibility of setting up a corporation in the District of Columbia to receive and to hold contributions for the proposed Center for Historical Research in Washington, D. C. The list of members of the committee on the center was changed to include the President *ex officio* in place of Mr. Lane's name.

The Council approved the selection of William E. Leuchtenburg of Columbia University as Program Chairman for 1966. The Council authorized the Executive Secretary to name the Local Arrangements Chairman in agreement with the officers. [John F. Roche of Fordham University was subsequently named.] After taking note of commitments to meet in 1967 at Toronto and in 1968 at Chicago, it was agreed that the 1969 meeting should be held in Washington, D. C., and that the officers and Executive Secretary should negotiate with the hotels. The Executive Secretary was further instructed to investigate the possibility of going thereafter to New Orleans. Mr. Byrnes suggested, however, that the Association meet at a different time of the year and on a university campus. He also proposed that the Council consider whether our Annual Meetings should continue in their present form. Mr. Kayser remarked that he would like to see the meetings return to a regular cycle.

Mr. Ward went through the report of the Committee on Committees indicating the items requiring the Council's approval. [A list of committees and committee members will appear in the July 1966 *AHR*.] After some discussion of the work of the Committee on Graduate Work in History it was agreed that the committee should be terminated and in time a new committee should be appointed with a new mandate. There was agreement that there is a need for the Association to adopt a list of standards to be used as a guide in the establishment of graduate programs in history. Postponing for the moment the one matter of the committee or committees on teaching, the report of the Committee on Committees was approved.

Mr. Schutz presented a brief report from the Pacific Coast Branch, indicating the financially healthy state of the Branch and the continuing growth of its membership. When Mr. Schutz remarked that the Branch would like to have the West Coast on the Association's regular schedule, every five or six years, Mr. Schorske pointed out that among the real beneficiaries of a West Coast meeting are the secondary-school and junior college teachers who can in this way come to identify with the profession.

The Council approved a resolution proposed by the Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial, with the amendment that a member of the Organization of American Historians be a member of the proposed committee, as follows:

WHEREAS, Legislation is pending in the Congress of the United States for establishment of an American Revolution Bicentennial Commission,

Be It *Resolved* that the membership of this Commission should include at least one representative each from the American Historical Association, to be designated by the Council of the Association; from the Organization of American Historians, to be designated by the Executive Board of the Organization; from the Library of Congress, to be, or to be designated by, the Librarian of Congress; from the National Archives and Records Service, to be, or to be designated by, the Archivist of the United States; and from the Smithsonian Institution, to be, or to be designated by, its Secretary.

Be It Further *Resolved* that the program of the Commission include specific plans for promoting and encouraging scholarly publications of enduring value, especially documentary and bibliographical works pertaining to the period of the American Revolution.

In place of the resolution on the records of the House of Representatives prepared by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government, Mr. Boyd presented a substitute phrased to acknowledge the stand taken by the Clerk of the House that the House is not a continuing body. Mr. Boyd's resolution, as follows, was approved.

WHEREAS, The Council of the American Historical Association, a body incorporated by the Congress and representing the interests of teachers and writers of history in the United States, being fully cognizant of the fact that the House of Representatives shares its belief that under a free government the public records should be publicly available so far as is consistent with the public safety, but being aware also of the difficulty inherent in the principle that one Congress cannot bind another and that in consequence much inconvenience results both to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and to historians engaged in legitimate pursuit of their useful inquiries, without any gain to the national interest or security, therefore,

Be It *Resolved*, that the Council of the American Historical Association respectfully requests that the House of Representatives embody in its rules when next formulated a provision that the records of the House of Representatives in their entirety be open for research purposes, subject to such limitation requiring a lapse of an appropriate number of years as is provided with respect to the records of the Senate, the Supreme Court, and various agencies of the Executive Department.

The following resolution on *Historical Abstracts* was approved.

WHEREAS, *Historical Abstracts* this past March completed ten years of successful publication, with *America: History and Life* now in parallel publication,

The Council of the American Historical Association extends its congratulations and



thanks for the effective service thereby rendered to the historical profession, and for the pioneering this represents toward better bibliographical aids.

The Council approved the nominations of the Committee on Honorary Members of Jacques Léon Godechot and Yasaka Takagi as honorary members of the American Historical Association.

The recommendation made by the Committee on the Historian and the Federal Government as to *Writings on American History* was considered, but since the Council had not had the opportunity to read Mr. Oliver Holmes's report on the *Writings*, action was deferred, and the Executive Secretary and officers of the Association were authorized to take appropriate action later.

The Council rejected the request of the American Section of the joint American Historical Association-Canadian Historical Association committee for a contribution by the Association to the Albert B. Corey Prize, since it has not been the practice of the Association to contribute to prizes. The American Section also asked the Association to consider paying the travel expenses of AHA members involved as speakers in joint sessions at CHA meetings. The Council decided that this also would depart from the practices of the Association and would set an unfortunate precedent.

The discussion concerning the OAH proposal for a school history board, forwarded by the Committee on Teaching with a unanimous recommendation, indicated the Council's interest in the project. Mr. Ward reported the favorable reaction from several sources to the project, concurring in its potential for improving the teaching of history. There was general agreement with the concern voiced by Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Schorske that more emphasis be placed on bringing together than on separating the problems of teaching on the high school and on the college-university levels. Mr. Byrnes felt that high school teaching could not be improved unless college and university teaching and the preparation of teachers were also improved. Mr. Schorske therefore recommended having one committee on teaching in the Association. Mr. Ward in reply stressed the need for two committees because of the amount of work to be done; he was confident that the problem would be considered as a whole even though there were two committees. Mr. Lane noted that Mr. Strayer, who had been chairman of the Committee on Teaching, would be on the proposed Committee on College and University Teaching. The Council approved Mr. Bridenbaugh's motion to create this Committee on College and University Teaching and to authorize the Executive Secretary to proceed as he sees best because it is a complicated business and one in which he has been actively interested for a long time.

The Council also agreed that the Association should take part in creating the suggested school history board and that the Executive Secretary should convey to those concerned as well as to the two AHA committees the concern expressed by Mr. Byrnes that the problems of teaching on the high school and college and university levels be considered as inseparable.

Mr. Ward reported that the National Council for the Social Studies had taken favorable preliminary action on the OAH proposal and had appointed Isidore Starr as one of its representatives, and that the OAH would discuss the proposal

at its meeting the next day and would consider contributing some money. A conversation with a man from a foundation had indicated that contributions from the associations involved would strengthen the organizing committee's hand in seeking foundation support for this project. The Council accordingly voted to contribute one thousand dollars toward the project.

Mr. Lane questioned the wording of a resolution by the Council in 1964 that required the approval of the Executive Committee before the Executive Secretary could approach foundations for a grant. Mr. Wright explained that this was to protect the Executive Secretary against requests for all sorts of small grants. After discussing the statement it was agreed that the Executive Secretary should be freely in touch with the foundations but that he should not make formal requests for grants without the approval of the Executive Committee.

Philip D. Curtin was appointed to serve as a director of the Social Science Research Council for the 1967-1969 term. Mr. Boyd commented that he did not consider it proper for an officer of the Association to serve on the National Historical Publications Commission. In view of the accomplishments of the commission and the large volume of work to be done in the near future, he recommended Whitfield Bell, the new librarian of the American Philosophical Society, to be the Association's representative on the NHPC. This was approved. The recommendation by Mr. Ward and Mr. Strayer of George Barr Carson to serve on the board of *Social Education* was approved. Mr. Ward reported that the chairman of the Board of Trustees had written that Stanton Griffis and Julian Roosevelt were willing to serve another term. The Council approved their reappointment. The Council agreed with Mr. Kayser that when the Association meets in New York in 1966 something should be done to show the Association's appreciation of the work being done by the Board of Trustees.

Mr. Lane asked whether the Council should recommend anyone for the position of Archivist of the United States. The discussion that followed indicated the need for a specific resolution from the Council. The following resolution presented by Mr. Boyd was approved along with the recommendation that the incoming President should be responsible for its transmittal to President Johnson.

WHEREAS, The Council of the American Historical Association, a body incorporated by Congress and representing some fourteen thousand teachers and writers of history in the United States, being aware of the remarkable progress of the archival profession in this country and of the distinguished contribution made by Dr. Robert H. Bahmer to the profession, to the administration of the National Archives and Records Service, and to the spirit of cooperation with archivists of other nations through his office as Secretary General for the Western Hemisphere of the International Council on Archives, an organization which will hold its next session in Washington in 1966,

Be It Resolved, that the Council respectfully recommends to the President of the United States that Dr. Bahmer, having won the esteem of historians as well as archivists both in this country and abroad, be designated as Archivist of the United States.

The 1966 Executive Committee of the Council will consist of Roy F. Nichols, chairman, Elmer Louis Kayser, Robert F. Byrnes, Carl E. Schorske, Paul L. Ward, and Henry R. Winkler.

As the newest members of the Council present, Mr. Fairbank and Mr. Schorske were appointed to present the Council's resolutions to the Business Meeting.

Mr. Bridenbaugh's expression of appreciation of Mr. Wright's service as Executive Secretary pro tem met with enthusiastic support.

The meeting adjourned at 4:25 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING OF THE  
AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION  
THE SAN FRANCISCO HILTON HOTEL  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
DECEMBER 27, 1965, 4:30 P.M.

President Frederic C. Lane called the meeting to order with approximately eighty members present. The minutes of the last meeting were accepted as printed in the April 1965 *Review*.

The Executive Secretary, the Managing Editor of the *Review*, and the Treasurer presented their reports. The Editor made special mention of the help given to him by Richard Current whose term on the Board of Editors is expiring. The Association has on file in its offices the reports of the auditor, Main, LaFrentz, and Company, and the Fiduciary Trust Company for viewing by anyone interested. The Treasurer's report, summarized as follows, was accepted without dissent.

The Association headquarters and its equipment are valued at \$100,051.93. The Association on August 31, 1965, had cash on hand for general purposes amounting to \$177,425.51, an increase of \$36,239.90 over the preceding year. Funds, unrestricted as to use of income, in the custody of the Fiduciary Trust Company of New York under the direction of the Board of Trustees, amount to \$298,299.50. These three items (headquarters building and equipment, cash, and invested funds) constitute the total assets of \$575,776.94, available for the general purposes of the Association.

Securities in the portfolio of the Matteson Fund amount to \$92,690.98, and those in the other special funds of the Association, restricted in purpose, amount to \$173,356.28. Unexpended portions of grants made by foundations and others for specified purposes amount to \$231,747.15. These various restricted funds total \$497,794.41.

Funds, restricted and unrestricted, composing the total assets of the Association amount to \$1,073,571.35 if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. If *market values*, according to the August 31, 1965, appraisal, are used, the total assets of the Association amount to \$1,434,701.80. There is an increase of \$125,479.09 over the preceding year if the *book value* of permanent investments is used. An increase of \$132,459.25 over the preceding year is shown if *market values* are used, as the result of the increase in the value of securities in permanent investment.

The Executive Secretary presented for adoption the proposed constitutional amendment which appeared in the October 1965 *AHA Newsletter*:

The amended portion of Article III, Section 1 would read: "Active membership shall date from the receipt by the Treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be \$15.00 a year or a single payment of \$300.00 for life. Life membership is given members who have belonged to the Association for fifty years. Any student regularly registered in an institution of learning and approved by the Council may become a junior member of the Association upon the payment of \$7.50 and the certification of his status as a student by a faculty member of his institution and, after the first year may continue as such, with the approval of the Council, by paying annual dues of \$7.50 and presenting evidence of his status as a student."

The discussion that resulted from members' questioning the necessity for this amendment emphasized the need for expanding the work of the Association and the importance of doing so if it is to keep up with current happenings. Attention was called to increasing costs, such as the cost of the *Review*. The approval of the amendment was almost unanimous.

The Executive Secretary then reported on actions taken by the Council at its May 1965 and December 1965 meetings.

Professor Arthur Bestor spoke briefly on the copyright bill and the Association's plans for preparing a report that can be read by Congress. He would be grateful for suggestions from the membership of the Association, but pointed out the need for quick action on this matter.

Professor John Higham reported as Chairman of the Nominating Committee. His committee nominated the following officers of the Association for 1966: President, Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, Hajo Holborn, Yale University; Treasurer, Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University. These were unanimously elected. Elected by the mail ballot were Professors Thomas C. Cochran, University of Pennsylvania, and John L. Snell, Tulane University, for the Council; and Professors Wallace MacCaffrey, Haverford College, and Clarence Ver Steeg, Northwestern University, for the Nominating Committee.

Professor Boyd C. Shafer presented the following statement:

Some of us were deeply and unhappily moved this week when we learned of the recent passing of Halvdan Koht, a great Norwegian historian, a great friend of America and American historians, and a scholar of international renown. Professor Koht and our own Waldo Leland were founders of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. For his scholarship and for his international service the AHA elected Professor Koht an honorary member. As Professor Koht related in his autobiography, *The Education of an Historian*, he came to the United States often and he wrote for the *AHR*. I think I may say for all of us that American historians admired this stalwart Norwegian and that we will long respect his work and honor his name.

Professor John K. Fairbank presented the following resolutions, both of which were unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the Chairman of the Program Committee, Professor Brainerd Dyer, and his associates be warmly thanked by the Association for their achievement in creating an outstanding program.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Association be conveyed to the Chairman, Professor Gerald White, and members of the Local Arrangements Committee, and to their admirable staff of student aids for their hospitality and assistance.

Professor Walter L. Berg of Central Washington State College presented the following resolution which was rejected twenty-three to twenty-two. In casting the deciding vote Mr. Lane referred to the work already done in this area by a committee of the Association and indicated that further action would be taken in the near future, preferably in the form of establishing a set of standards to be used as a guide for departments of history.

*Resolved*, That the American Historical Association appoint a committee to investigate procedures for the establishment of accreditation of graduate schools of history and to explore the need for professional standards for both graduate and undergraduate degrees in history.

The meeting adjourned at 6:05 p.m.

PAUL L. WARD, *Executive Secretary*

#### AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The "Historical News" section of the *American Historical Review* will now contain only items pertaining to the Association, and to libraries and archives, notices of recent deaths, and communications from our readers. Other materials formerly included in this section will appear in the *AHA Newsletter*, beginning with the April 1966 issue of both publications.

#### LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received a first installment of the papers of James A. Farley, who served as Postmaster General in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's cabinet. The more than 9,000 pieces date from 1918 to 1959 and consist for the most part of correspondence, which includes letters from Presidents of the United States and other world figures. There are also scrapbooks, a file of Farley's speeches and addresses, photographs, and other supplementary material. The papers are not yet open for research.

The Library has received about 250 papers of Sylvanus Cadwallader, correspondent for the New York *Herald* during the Civil War. More than half of the material is composed of correspondence, including letters from a number of prominent persons, 1849-1899, and telegrams containing instructions and queries from the *Herald* office between July 1865 and July 1866. A number of the letters dated in the 1880's and 1890's relate to a search for the papers of General John A. Rawlins.

An important primary source for the study of the formative years of a major American poet is a group of early letters and poems of the late Theodore Roethke, from the years 1934-1941, a gift from Rolfe Humphries, the poet, translator, and critic.

Significant additions to existing groups of papers were also received by the Library. Edward Stead of Elkridge, Maryland, added a series of commissions

and other military papers documenting the various steps in Peter Force's military career, and a small amount of correspondence, to the Peter Force Papers. A group of 35 manuscripts, including several letters address to George Read, signer of the Declaration of Independence, by his sons, have been added to the papers of the Read family of Delaware. Miss Phebe Cates of Paris, France, has added an extremely rare vellum fragment identified as a late fifteenth-century Icelandic-language version of the Tristram legend to the William Dudley Foulke Papers.

Francis B. Sayre has given the Library the printer's copy of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points address to Congress on January 8, 1918. The manuscript will become part of the already existing collection of Wilson's papers.

Recent National Archives accessions include records of the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, consisting of correspondence and related papers of Secretaries of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, 1953-1957, and Robert B. Anderson, 1957-1961, and of Undersecretaries and Assistant Secretaries for various periods between 1931 and 1961; minutes, correspondence, and reports relating to the Federal Home Loan Bank Board's representation on the Central Housing Committee, 1935-1939; and records including correspondence, legal opinions, minutes of meetings, reports, and studies, 1942-1945, of the Office of War Information.

Records of the Department of State recently microfilmed include Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of British Africa (33 rolls). Also recently completed are Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Treasury to Collectors of Customs at All Ports, 1789-1847, and at Small Ports, 1847-1878 (43 rolls); Records of the 1820 Census of Manufacturers (27 rolls); and Records of the Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel ("King Survey"), 1867-1881 (3 rolls). Military records filmed include Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War (41 rolls), during Indian Wars and Disturbances, 1851-1858 (42 rolls), From the State of Michigan during the Patriot War, 1838-1839 (1 roll), and From the State of New York during the Patriot War, 1838 (1 roll); Letters and Telegrams Sent by the Engineer Bureau of the Confederate War Department, 1861-1864 (5 rolls); and Telegrams Received by the Confederate Secretary of War, 1861-1865 (19 rolls).

On January 12, 1966, the governor of Massachusetts signed an act authorizing the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to convey to the United States a tract of land that it now owns not far from Harvard Square and facing the Charles River and authorizing the state to reimburse the Authority for the land. This will be the site of the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library, which will be administered by the National Archives and Records Service of the General Services Administration. Definite architectural planning of the building can now be commenced by the architect, I. M. Pei.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include the papers of Thomas C. Blaisdell, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of Commerce, 1933-1951, and additional papers of Stephen A. Mitchell, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, 1952-1960.

Robert H. Bahmer, as Archivist of the United States, became the new chair-

man ex officio of the National Historical Publications Commission; Joe B. Frantz of the University of Texas and Whitfield Bell, librarian of the American Philosophical Society, were appointed to the commission.

At its meeting on December 11, 1965, the commission voted to recommend grants from appropriated funds to aid the South Carolina Historical Society in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of Henry Laurens; the South Carolina State Archives Department in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of John C. Calhoun; the University of Tennessee in the collecting, editing, and publishing of the papers of Andrew Johnson; the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society in collecting and microfilming the papers of Millard Fillmore; the Massachusetts Historical Society in continuing its microfilm publication of the papers of Timothy Pickering, Benjamin Lincoln, William Heath, and others; and the Nebraska State Historical Society in continuing its microfilm publication of the papers of J. Sterling Morton and others. The commission will continue to support two additional projects: the Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and First Ten Amendments, and the Papers of the First Federal Congress. Lyman Butterfield, Henry P. Graff, and Merrill Jensen will review and make recommendations at the next meeting on the First Federal Congress project.

Columbia University Libraries have received a collection of Franklin D. Roosevelt materials from the family of the late Jacob J. Podell. The items include letters from almost every significant phase of Roosevelt's life.

The papers of Claude H. Van Tyne have been added to the Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan. These papers, which include correspondence with nearly every noted American historian for the period 1885-1930, are the gift of Chester S. Lawton.

Under a grant from the National Historical Publications Commission, the University of Washington Libraries have completed microfilming the Richard A. Ballinger Papers, 1907-1911; the Oregon Improvement Company Papers, 1880-1896; the Isaac I. Stevens Papers, 1831-1862; the Manning F. Force Papers, 1835-1885; the John J. McGilvra Papers, 1861-1903; the Callbreath, Grant & Cook letterbooks, 1878-1898; the Washington Mill Company Papers, 1857-1888; the Washington Territorial Government Papers, 1853-1875; and the William H. Wallace Papers, 1851-1878. Printed guides are available from the Curator of Manuscripts, University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Washington 98105.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives has acquired the papers of Henry Kraus, former editor of the *United Auto Worker*, and of "Bud" Simons.

Mrs. Allyn K. Ford has presented the Allyn K. Ford collection of rare manuscripts to the Minnesota Historical Society. Included in the materials are letters of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and more recent figures.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin continues to build up its general manuscripts collections on aspects of life within the state and of broader importance. It has also increased its holdings in the area of mass communications history and its microfilm collections.

The Archives of the History of American Psychology has been established at the University of Akron to serve the needs of scholars by collecting, cataloguing, preserving, and in other ways maintaining the materials that provide the sources for the history of psychology.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Sister Mary David, C.S.C., of Norfolk, Virginia, died in April 1965.

Charles E. Foth of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, died July 29.

Aaron I. Abell, professor at the University of Notre Dame and a former president of the American Catholic Historical Association, died October 26, at the age of sixty-two.

Malcolm Eiselen, chairman of the department of history and political science at the University of the Pacific since 1934, died October 28, at the age of sixty-three.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History, emeritus, of Harvard University, died in Boston on October 30. Born in Xenia, Ohio, on February 27, 1888, he received his early education at local schools and at Ohio State University. He received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1917. He combined successful teaching at Ohio State University, at the State University of Iowa, at Harvard, and abroad with large contributions to American historical writing, especially his pioneer writing in the field of cultural and social history, his training of a large number of followers in this field, and his editing, with Dixon Ryan Fox, of the monumental thirteen-volume series, the *History of American Life* (1927-48). His own volume in the series, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898*, is outstanding.

His doctoral dissertation, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution*, won the Justin Winsor Prize in 1918; a later development of it was *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776* (1957). His other important writings include *New Viewpoints in American History* (1922), *Paths to the Present* (1949), *The American as Reformer* (1950), and the second volume of a two-volume textbook with Homer C. Hockett, *The Political and Social History of the United States*, which appeared in numerous editions from 1925 to 1951 with varying titles and was widely used throughout the country. He was coauthor of the *Harvard Guide to American History* (1954); editor of two posthumous volumes of Marcus Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (1941) and *The Atlantic Migration* (1940), the latter winning a Pulitzer Prize;



and author of a valuable introduction to a new edition of Frederick Law Olmsted's *Cotton Kingdom* (1953). His own sprightly autobiography, *In Retrospect: The History of a Historian*, appeared in 1963. He was President of the American Historical Association in 1942 and the holder of numerous honorary degrees. Several of his works have been translated into foreign languages.

He was active in public affairs, with decided liberal leanings, during the twenties, favoring the New Deal and its successors. He served with the Committee on Records of War Administration, 1942-1946, the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, 1943-1946, the National Historical Publications Commission, 1951-1955 and 1961-1965, and the Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1957-1965. His long connection with the Social Science Research Council, of which he was chairman from 1930 to 1933, is one of many evidences of his desire to further American scholarship. A similar long connection with the Nieman Fellowships at Harvard was evidence of his desire to broaden the appeal of scholarship and to bring the world of journalism closer to the academic community. His interest in the education of women and in their role in American history found expression in his place on the Board of Trustees of Radcliffe College, 1942-1963, and in his contribution there to the growth of the Women's Archives, recently renamed in his honor and that of his widow, the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America.

On December 11, Halvdan Koht, an honorary member of the American Historical Association, died at the age of ninety-two. Since his first visit to the United States in 1908-1909 and his attendance at the Annual Meeting of 1908, his relations with the Association and its members became increasingly continuous and significant. In 1900 he was named professor of history in the University of Oslo, a post he held until 1935, when he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the newly formed Labor government. In 1940 the German invasion of Norway caused him to come to the United States where he remained until 1945. While in this country he devoted much time to writing and lecturing. Upon returning to Norway he revised his earlier writings and turned European scholars toward the development of American studies in their universities through his *The American Spirit in Europe*.

He contributed significantly to the development of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, serving as its president from 1926 to 1933.

Koht deserves a full biography; he has made an important contribution toward that end in his autobiographical *Education of an Historian*. In addition, he had long been writing "memoirs" as a form of autobiography.

Louis Emery Bumgartner, associate professor at the University of Georgia, died December 23, at the age of forty-one. He was noted for his work in Central American history, having written *José del Valle of Central America*.

Lynn Thorndike, a life member of the American Historical Association and its President in 1955, died in New York City on December 28, at the age of

eighty-three. A graduate of Wesleyan, he received his doctorate from Columbia in 1905. After teaching at Northwestern and Western Reserve, he was called to Columbia in 1924 where he taught until his retirement in 1952. His textbook, *The History of Medieval Europe*, first published in 1917 and reappearing over the years in many successive editions, was influential in shaping the form and content of college courses in the subject. *A Short History of Civilization*, which appeared in 1926, in some ways a pioneer in the field, was a very direct product of Thorndike's humanism. As he wrote in the preface, "when the World War broke out in 1914, I determined to do what little I could to keep civilization alive. This volume is a contribution in that direction." That contribution was a "presentation of the main thread of the story of civilization between the covers of a single volume." In this *Short History*, written forty years ago, the great cultures of the Far East were not omitted, but were treated "both *per se* and in their relations to the west." Thorndike wrote that his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* had long been in preparation "ever since in 1902-1903, Professor James Harvey Robinson, when my mind was still in the making, suggested the study of magic in medieval universities as the subject of my thesis for the master's degree." To Thorndike magic and experimental science were connected in their development, and magicians were perhaps the first to experiment; and so he began his treatment with early man and carried it on, through successive volumes embodying the results of meticulous research, into the modern period. Numerous other books and monographs on various aspects of medieval science were written during a long and fruitful career of distinguished scholarship that received frequent recognition from learned societies and universities here and abroad.

Lynn Thorndike's students, like the world of learning at large, recognized and honored his massive achievements in scholarship, but they remember him with special warmth and gratitude as the unfailingly generous and kindly director of their studies and molders of their careers.

John Miller, jr., deputy chief historian for the Office of Military History, died January 7, 1966, at the age of fifty.

Marshall M. Knappen, a professor at Western Michigan University, died January 17, at the age of sixty-five. His varied career covered both the fields of religion and education. He won praise for his *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* and *And Call It Peace*. The latter work was a critical analysis of German re-education as planned by the American Military Government, and it reflected Knappen's experience as deputy chief of the education section from 1942 to 1946.

Richard G. Salomon, former professor at Kenyon College, died February 3, at the age of eighty-one. Just a few days before his death he completed the editing of Latin court documents and letters concerning a conflict between the Church and the city council of Hamburg, Germany, in the fourteenth century.

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## Civilization as a Phase of World History

ROBERT ERWIN\*

WE think we know the zoological basis for man's domination of the earth. His dermal, circulatory, respiratory, and digestive systems fit him for nearly every climate and terrain and diet the planet offers. He is agile: runs, swims, climbs, and burrows. He is dexterous, with apposable thumbs, and has stereoscopic vision. His reproductive system keeps him in rut the year round, and his period of infantile dependency is extremely prolonged, so that he acts in concert with other members of his species throughout his life. The large human brain, a magnificent learning instrument, of course gives him an advantage. It enables the individual to improve his performance as he goes and the species to pool experience.

This equipment in a purely mechanical sense is not to be slighted. Porpoises and elephants, to name two outstripped evolutionary competitors, might have reached a very high degree of intelligence could they handle objects and flourish in a wider range of natural surroundings. The big cats and the larger birds of prey, to take another example, are powerful hunters, but

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the apparatus of muscle and speed and weaponry that makes them so requires rich feeding. The more they kill, the harder and farther they must look to maintain their "standard of living." As for animals that commit themselves to special tissues to meet an evolutionary situation, they are the original models of built-in obsolescence.

On the basis of biological equipment, however, man is not all that promising as an animal, to judge by the modest position of his simian cousins in the bush. Many creatures—among them the social insects as well as numerous forms of cooperative aquatic life—reproduce at a rate that would seem to overwhelm him. Many herd, pack, and flock animals are individuated enough to equal him in the capacity of single members to enact the biological repertory of the species. The ability to mimic, play, and signal is not uniquely human. Up to a point even learning is not the most effective means to survival. If a duckling reacted to a hawk's shadow only after puzzling out the death of the rest of the brood, education might be interrupted by extinction.

If his biological apparatus does not fully account for the dominance of *Homo sapiens*, still less was the development of that apparatus a cut-and-dried affair. Just as the Punic Wars may be subsumed as a verifying datum under some socioeconomic theorem, so the emergence of man does not contradict the theory of evolution. But those who pursue history must have an account of the wars in addition to, perhaps in preference to, the theorem, and those who study life will be aware of the chanciness in specific evolution. "It would come as a shock to those who believe firmly that the scroll of the future is fixed," writes Loren Eiseley, to know that man's ratlike Paleocene ancestors came out of the swamps, experimented successfully with grassland life, but then were driven back by the true rodents. Many primates died off; those who survived struck out on a new line that brought them transformed from the rain forest fifty million years later. "It is conceivable that except for the invasion of the rodents . . . , we might be there on the grass, you and I, barking in the high-plains sunlight."<sup>1</sup> Since within nature man is a radically local phenomenon—much as on the historical board Henry VIII is not wholly reducible to a formula like growth of nationalism—"prehistoric" is an excellent tag for the evolutionary aeons before humanity: determined and unconscious, yet prefiguring history in contingency.

In becoming himself, *Homo sapiens* was wrenched out of underlying nature. Phenomenologists, who use the word "reflexion" to designate the opera-

<sup>1</sup> Loren Eiseley, *The Immense Journey* (New York, n.d.), 7, 10.

tion of consciousness, distinguish two movements. "Reflect means," on the one hand, "to concentrate oneself, to go from multiplicity towards unity by a centripetal motion. The subject thus moves from a state of dispersion or distraction; he turns to himself, he collects himself, simplifies himself, and concentrates himself at his center." Drawn toward consciousness and thereby alienated from underlying nature, early man would need to "collect himself" to act with the singleness that a lower animal cannot escape. This is the fall from innocence, unfitting man for nature. "Reflect," on the other hand, also means

to project onto a new level, and then it is the movement by which the subject, starting from a sort of original unity which cannot be grasped as such, tries to grasp itself by dissociating itself, by dividing itself or by doubling back on itself, by multiplying itself. . . . Reflexion . . . gradually reaches a state of greater expansion and proliferation around the original central point. . . .<sup>2</sup>

This is the basis for an indefinite amount of new purpose. Man, in the words of José Ortega y Gasset, "invents for himself a program of life."<sup>3</sup>

Historians are clearly entitled to set the time before the dawn of consciousness aside as prehistoric. Why they should shy away from the hundred thousand years or more between the emergence of *Homo sapiens* and the appearance of writing is less clear. Researchers from other disciplines uncovered the era; still other researchers, trained to find and interpret non-documentary evidence, explore it. Historians have a literary bias—a point to be touched on later—that leads them to approach even contemporary illiterate societies through the writings of literate observers. Yet, with consciousness, a second nature became possible, and one supposes historians would want to familiarize themselves with it as ecologists familiarize themselves with primary nature. One would expect them, especially if the high cultures are their ultimate target, to adopt a name such as "protohistoric" for the time in which culture itself was created. That gigantic task of the protohistoric era does not deserve to be put down as merely inchoate.

In adapting underlying nature to his purposes, man introduced regular transmission of experience and deliberate teaching. Instead of the child learning and imagining at random as he encounters the world, he is introduced to a ready-made plan of life based upon accumulated experience and decisions. Both in the sense of selection and in the sense of confrontation his culture provides in advance an area of concern. Since every culture that functions at all gives more control over underlying nature than animal

<sup>2</sup> This and the preceding quotation are from Pierre Thévenaz, *What Is Phenomenology?* ed. James M. Edie (Chicago, 1962), 114.

<sup>3</sup> José Ortega y Gasset, *History as a System* (New York, 1962), 215.

behavior does, the child not only meets a world already stamped by culture, but prefers it. The density of the cultural environment, its patterned, stylized formation, and its irresistible attraction are what suggest that it is tantamount to a second nature. In A. L. Kroeber's phrase, "cultural development has largely taken over the determination of what will happen on this planet both to life and culture."<sup>4</sup>

The assertion was made that much chance or fluctuation entered into the evolution of humanity. The same underlying natural laws that shaped *Homo sapiens* could, through a minor eruption on the sun, have boiled terrestrial life away. The primate nervous system could, by responding to broad hints from nature, have elaborated itself into tactile equipment instead of a huge central brain. Similarly, though culture is a "nature," an imposed system, it allows a fair amount of practical freedom. The key experience of a mouse dropped into a box fifty miles square is not restraint.

Culture in fact offers considerable latitude to the individual. In the sense that a way of life is distinguishable from the people who practice it, as a musical composition is distinct from the orchestra that plays it, a culture is not a society. "The [culture] patterns are not deterministic laws but more or less definite ways of acting, thinking, doing things, developed by people who, as they become conscious of them, may acquire great skill and mastery in evolving and controlling the patterns."<sup>5</sup> An individual earns the praise "cultured" in the Arnoldian sense precisely by adding or transmuting values in his particular culture.

Almost certainly as the breeding ground of culture the protohistoric phase is worth intensive study by more historians. For this phase the evidence may be meager: some objects and bones and buried sites, a few wall paintings, leavened by whatever analogies anyone has the confidence to draw from the life of surviving primitive people. That only makes additional finds more valuable and dictates that all available evidence be turned over in many minds. Regrettably, few historians, conditioned to the library and the archives, are interested.

The discipline of history, despite the present tabulation and concern with methodology and the historians' lack of employment outside teaching, remains a branch of literature. Historians are interested in events and interpretation. Even the duller sort of Marxist historian, aside from the politics of glorification and after insisting on the "necessary course" of development,

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *An Anthropologist Looks at History*, ed. Theodora Kroeber (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 197.

<sup>5</sup> Milton Singer, foreword to *ibid.*

will in the end imply, indeed convey, that Nikolai Lenin, for example, is interesting in his own right. Historians share with other artists a bias against letting events be submerged in postulates and are convinced at bottom that each segment of experience that historical imagination molds into a picture carried its own self-sufficient, irreducible value.<sup>6</sup> In so far as this keeps them from treating man fundamentally as an object, all is well. But as literati, though often concealed from themselves like Émile Zola, they are sentimental about high culture. After their fashion, they talk as tough as Ernest Hemingway: "Toynbee has done a great disservice to the comparative study of civilizations and tended to bring discredit on the whole enterprise by undertaking his investigations in so ill-conceived and unscientific a manner."<sup>7</sup> What they tend to do is another matter: eschew world history for metropolitan history and avoid as "prehistoric" the phase for which literally all the evidence is objective.

It is difficult to reconcile the dismissal of protohistory by historians proper with the views of primitive peoples presented by archaeologists, anthropologists, and art historians. The theological rigor and courtliness of savages have often been demonstrated. As far as complexity goes, a trained observer usually requires a long period of study to grasp the pattern of life in a few clusters of huts, while illiteracy was the rule for the masses in many historic civilizations. Cultural relativism seems to underscore the distinctiveness rather than the amorphousness of lower cultures. From the very heights of Bloomsbury we are admonished not "to suppose that civilized artists are either superior or inferior to uncivilized" or to "maintain that civilization is either favourable or unfavourable to art."<sup>8</sup> At the same time, early protohistoric man has been applauded as a sort of self-taught engineer. He is man the toolmaker, weapon thrower, fire builder. Indeed, he is presented as a go-getter along the lines of Henry Ford (even similar in having a nasty disposition), and students are asked to admire the technology he created despite his humble origins.

Can historians accept this? Surely the *technological* content of the protohistoric phase was scanty? What counts is that the pitifully crude articles are found on sites that suggest they were used by groups and generations. Man was creating culture, the prior condition for all technology, and cultural or-

<sup>6</sup> "A work is bad when it is not itself, when it does not amount to something like a unique being or entity, existing independently of any other. It is . . . irreplaceable, non-interchangeable." (Eugene Ionesco, "The Writer and His Problems," tr. John Weightman, *Encounter*, XXIII [Sept. 1964], 14.)

<sup>7</sup> Philip Bagby, *Culture and History* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963), 181.

<sup>8</sup> Clive Bell, *Civilization* (New York, 1928), 85-86.

ganization was the chief protohistoric task. We might even refer to early protohistory as man's constitutional era in the same sense that we speak of the constitutional period in American history.

Of course no culture leaders suspend coming to grips with things while they draft a scheme. Early man did not spend one year counseling and the next year drying salmon. But there are periods when the chief actors simply make do with whatever technics lie at hand. To continue the analogy with government, founding fathers often pass a crisis in deliberation, riding various waves of popular enthusiasm or confusion, without money, arms, storehouses, communications, or other technical means.

Only when the Neolithic age supplanted protohistory could technics be said to have first boomed. Again, life was not one-sided. Lewis Mumford and other writers conjecture that Neolithic societies were excellently ordered, with room for expansion, benign religions, and a standard of living that was rising but would not yet permit sustained warfare. Technics pure and simple did boom, however.<sup>9</sup> Settled agriculture (with plowing, irrigation, and domesticated plants and animals), wheeled and sail-driven transport, craft specialization, and measurement were established. Since technological advances of this caliber serve world-wide appetites and yield their advantages almost regardless of cultural variations, they are nearly irresistible. (To give a current illustration, if a peasant society is tempted to go over to cash cropping, the traditional extended family may be turned into a help rather than a drawback—as a savings and investment and labor pool in the initial absence of banks, large firms, and similar institutions.) Too much should not be made of the “transcultural” character of technics. No doubt some Neolithic societies rejected technical innovations until their immediate neighbors threatened to eradicate them. Each society may have tended to borrow first what was most congenial to its values and quickly to mold the new utensils in its style. (Even today the difference in shape and proportion between Russian and American missiles cannot be wholly accounted for on technical grounds.) Without question in Neolithic times innovations were transmitted by direct contact, so that much cultural interchange accompanied the diffusion of technics. Nevertheless, the keynote of the age was radical and rapid material gain for humanity as a whole.

Historians are forestalled in several ways from granting the Neolithic

<sup>9</sup> In *The Rise of the West* (Chicago, 1963), W. H. McNeill cites calculations by Edward S. Deevey, Jr. (“The Human Population,” *Scientific American*, CCIII [Sept. 1960], 195–204), “which suggest that human population multiplied about sixteen times between 8000 and 4000 B.C. as a consequence of the agricultural revolution.”



Revolution its proper weight. Partly out of a conviction that civilization is the culmination of human development and partly because only civilized life, through records and monumental remains, falls within their self-chosen range, they are forced to give the heaviest dramatic emphasis to the advent of civilization. And only in the later periods of civilization is it possible to work on a fine enough scale, such as biography, to use the subtler methods of dramaturgy: irony, understatement, suspense, and the like. The advent of civilization must be dramatized as the feature act. What is called good timing in the theater requires civilization to come on bigger, brighter, and louder than the prologue. This obscures the fact that the technics employed in the Mesopotamian irrigation works and the Egyptian pyramids, for example, were, *in principle*, laid down during the Neolithic phase. Nor did civilization invariably move in the direction of complexity. The merging of local gods into centralized gods perhaps erased as many versions as civilized theology later elaborated. The foreshortening of water, for example, from a multitude of words designating this or that aspect of place, temperature, dampness, light, and purpose to a wiggly line of writing was in some respects a return to the fixed-response animal world—and had to be undone by “civilized” poets.

Bringing on civilization as an engineering triumph not only hides the truly technological character of the Neolithic phase, but it also repeats the mistake made with the protohistoric phase by disguising the fact that civilization was a great leap forward in cultural and social organization. From a series of refinements no more exciting on the surface than one cited in *The Rise of the West*—“Hammurabi’s administrative machinery was sufficiently developed to permit him to scatter soldiers at various points far from his person and summon them for service when necessary”—sprang the libraries of Mesopotamia, the bathhouses of the Indus civilization, and the post roads of ancient China. When man massed his numbers in cities and utilized his collective powers through the state and its auxiliary institutions, he had got hold of the most productive “tool” of all.

Ruthlessness of manpower exploitation, as distinct from efficiency, is not solely the property of civilization. Savages in their well-known nobility are capable of using each other mercilessly. At a more rudimentary level still, the family is a thoroughgoing tyranny, with the child dependent on his immediate kin not only for sustenance and protection but also for a dispensation of affection in order to become a sane adult. Nor should the preponderance of coercive power in the hands of an elite be exaggerated. Shoddy work gets

done at knife point. Even when thousands of slaves were worked to death in the making of showy civilized edifices, a much larger majority of the population volunteered their consent in the most earnest possible way—by continuing to focus their lives through the system. Time and again barbarian conquerors of civilized centers elected to become leaders rather than exploiters.

The situation of invaders from the marches is well represented in the description W. H. McNeill gives of the Germans in Roman times: "... German tribesmen had begun to settle down to a more intensive agriculture as early as the time of Tacitus. Their numbers correspondingly increased without at first altering the warrior ethos they had inherited from an earlier, more pastoral style of life."<sup>10</sup> Typically, these are groups who have already come more than halfway to civilization and are gathering momentum. As mercenaries, captives, and tributaries, advance parties have already trickled over the line. The whole people has mastered Neolithic culture, and a dim determination to develop a more fulsome way of life, though usually not the way of the metropolitan power, prevails. So irresistible does the craving for civilization become that the people of the marches risk their existence, literally taking a gamble formerly reserved as an ideal for young males. Until nearly overrun, the defending power looks upon the struggle as a graduated affair, with territory to be lost or won, booty to be seized or relinquished, campaigns to be checked or expanded. The invaders, on the contrary, leave their homeland, give up the possibility of supporting themselves on a sustained basis, and expose their population to total war. What is often interpreted as the softening and acculturation of barbarians who conquered civilizations might also be seen as the appropriation of what they came to get.

But why, if civilization exploits manpower without necessarily giving the benefits of productivity to the individual, are the people of the marches attracted? What draws such figures as the subsistence farmer who more or less consciously chooses to become a slum dweller? The answer has to do with the cultural amplitude of metropolitan life, its diversity, pageantry, and self-generating character. Far from being totally a workshop (a state we recognize as sociopathic), a civilization is its own management and its own demanding customer.

The creator of culture as a second nature overlying physical nature thrives on roles and style. Within the high cultures he builds a third nature that might be labeled individualism. He develops the capacity to stand aside from

<sup>10</sup> McNeill, *Rise of the West*, 387.

himself and see himself as a cog in the enterprise. He is able to follow the nuances of his personal history with an acute sense of consistency, yet weigh that history as only one actualized possibility out of the many existences he might have been. For transcendent consciousness, the self becomes a medium. Whether brought by greed, force, or birth into civilization, very few men returned to one-dimensional or two-dimensional nature.

All this might sound like Hegelian slush were civilization not a brute success—a huge, vulgar, unblinkable historical fact, the broadest cultural unit yet established, absorbing most of the human species and dominating the mind until recently. Barring a handful of Han and Islamic historians who sensed the immense cultural variety of the world and noted the gap between cultural dispersion and political control, hardly anyone over the two thousand years from Herodotus to Voltaire thought of world history (as distinct from religious and philosophic attempts at universality). Even today there are fewer important studies of world history than of, say, seventeenth-century England.

The reluctance to subsume one's civilization into a class with others should not be blamed entirely on willful parochialism or lack of resources for comparative study. Effectively, none of the score or so of civilizations that operated in history were much smaller than the box into which the mouse was dropped earlier in this article. Each gave the single person wide scope within underlying nature, culture, and individualism. The widest social unit—state or empire—was often so comprehensive that the person in it never conceived of a greater cultural unit. Even when, as in Pharaonic Egypt, political and cultural boundaries nearly coincided, individuals looked no further in their reflective moments than the limits of dynasty, generation, city, occupation. As much as petty-mindedness, the amplitude and duration of civilizations made them seem unique and all-encompassing from within.

The archaeological and philological discoveries of the past 150 years, enhanced by psychological and anthropological widening of horizons, have only begun to stimulate a feeling for world history. The high degree of interchange between cultures is better known. Analogies between civilizations and organisms are under suspicion. Still today, however, we combine some eighteenth-century clichés with a contradictory preference for dealing with fragments.

The words commonly used in English to describe the termination of a civilization—and comparable words are used in other languages—imply that it succumbs from inner weakness: decline, fall, degenerate, wither, weaken, dissolve, collapse, decay, die. This idea of the inherent enfeeblement of civili-

zations gains support from the common-sense observation that things pass, from the emotions aroused by mutability, from the religious hope of renewal, and from the concept of finitude. Yet can we in truth find many historical instances of a civilization, out of fatigue, despair, corruption, or whatever supposed weakness, voluntarily and unilaterally voiding itself? Can we find any?

If they were approaching the question *de novo*, historians might not feel obliged even to look, since logic indicates that the answer is "No." The complex that the abstraction "a culture" designates is a collective style or orientation. Properly speaking, it must be lived; it cannot be merely potential. It is generated in corporeal consciousness, manifested through objects, and located in history. But it points indefinitely beyond actual groups living a version at any given time, because it pre-eminently includes ideas, values, norms. In the philosophy of Edmund Husserl, "the human belongs to the universe of objective facts, but as persons, as egos, men have goals, aims." Since striving for goals and upholding norms is a task that never ends as long as the will accepts it, "the particular *telos* of separate nations . . . lies in infinity." "There is essentially no zoology of peoples."<sup>11</sup> Should a people in possession of one culture replace it with another, they have not used up the old; rather, under duress they have left it eternally unfinished, in the process usually dispersing what was "the people." Aging is a biological concept, not a historical one. A culture, by its nature, is under no *organic* necessity to wear down.

But of course historians do not ask the questions innocently. They are heir to the literary vice of their profession, which for centuries steeped itself in the Latin writings and fostered a craving for the fiction of a strong, austere, scrupulous Roman Republic versus a rotten, degenerate Empire. The viciousness of the vice is intensified by the fact that education in Latin is perfunctory or nonexistent for most historians today; thus the notion of "decline" comes unexamined. Worse still, non-Westerners trained in historiography, primarily a Western creation, catch the attitude subliminally at third hand. And so historians must look at specific conditions to see that to be overthrown is not the same as to dwindle.

Consider from Roman history itself the following events that occurred within a period of twenty years. First a Roman politician assembled a body of cavalry four thousand strong—a far cry from the days when only a few equestrian nobles accompanied the legions. When this leader's army was

<sup>11</sup> Edmund Husserl, *Phenomenology and the Crisis of Philosophy*, tr. Quentin Lauer (New York, 1965), 183, 158.

routed, he tried to prevent the news from reaching Rome. Not long after, a *nouveau riche* general massed an unprecedentedly large army and led it to destruction. Subsequently the second largest city on the Italian peninsula betrayed the government at Rome. Amidst these tribulations the Romans began the practice of cutting off the hands of captured messengers, they starved to death the senators of a disloyal town, and they played the gruesome trick of throwing the head of his brother over the wall to an enemy. About this time, when certain young nobles were asked to join a special force for the defense of the fatherland, the parents of many tried to buy exemptions. It was not long before a faction in Rome sought perpetual rule for a successful young adventurer.

Seemingly only a few virgins ravished by apes would be needed to make this sequence playable in Hollywood, and yet it took place two hundred years before Caesar crossed the Rubicon: during the Second Punic War, when Cato himself was alive to censure the "effete Greek" ways of Scipio Africanus, the man who defeated Hannibal and declined to accept supreme power for life. Tiberius Sempronius and Terentius Varro, both elected consuls, were the bumbling generals, and Capua was the city that revolted, quite understandably since Rome at this time had not even unified the peninsula. Quite likely such events would be interpreted as signs of decadence if they had occurred later.<sup>12</sup>

By definition, senescence implies a prior period of maturity and growth. Those who believe in cultural senescence therefore believe in growth, and growth follows a fixed path. Prejudged in terms of a biological metaphor, the early failures and afflictions of a civilization never look as serious as in fact historically they were. To return to Roman examples, only the Greek naval victory at Cumae allowed the Romans to get out from under Etruscan suzerainty in the beginning. Celts raided the Po Valley and plundered the Balkans before the birth of Christ. Rome never mastered irrigation on a scale suitable for a centralized regime. It bumbled into a wrenching economic depression toward the end of the first century A.D. and was swept by plague two centuries later.

Such examples of weakness and misfortune from beginning to end are the more telling in that they pertain to states, which can "make mistakes" in the sense of overextension, inefficient institutions, and so forth. Civilizations, however, transect competing and successive states, as is especially the

<sup>12</sup> In his *Hannibal's Legacy* (2 vols., New York, 1966), Arnold J. Toynbee advances the extreme thesis that the corruption and centralization engendered by Rome's struggle with Hannibal foredoomed the Roman Empire.

case with European or Western civilization. Moreover, civilizations which lasted an extremely long time and in which cultural and political boundaries approximately coincided provide especially good examples of the converse of behavior appearing early that would be called decadent if it came later. Namely, behavior that would be called seminal if it appeared earlier frequently appears late.

Traditional China, for instance, so old that even its "times of trouble" from a distance appear to have an antique perfection, did not pass away in its sleep, a little fitfully, after a quiet old age. From 1500 to 1800 the Chinese *increased* their capacity to accommodate outside pressure, found a place for Europeans in the Middle Kingdom, and Sinicized the Manchu conquerors before they came. The educated class of China entered the twentieth century loyal to the "way." What led to the overthrow of the old system was its disadvantage, growing unmistakable, against new enemies. British gunboats and marines overran the Chinese in the 1840's. European countries and the United States obtained trade privileges on the basis of practices that violated Chinese tradition. Japan, the most Westernized country in Asia, raped China in the 1930's. Against this background, the Chinese did not so much repudiate Confucianism as snatch at a new culture to improve their position.

Assyro-Babylonian culture—sometimes called Akkadian to distinguish it from the Sumerian culture that preceded it and the Persian and Islamic cultures that supplanted it in Mesopotamia—showed if anything greater vigor at its end than at the beginning. The Chaldean dynasty, which included the Old Testament figure Nebuchadnezzar II and was one of the ablest ruling groups in two millennia, rose in the last century of Akkadian civilization. The proportion of slaves decreased toward the end of the culture, while the aqueduct and the cotton plant (for which Sennacherib claimed credit) were introduced over fifteen hundred years after the first Akkadian king, Sargon I. A thousand years after Sargon had, to the envy of the Sumerians, coined the catchy title "King of the Four Quarters of the Earth," the Assyrian kings were no less resourceful in devising a special "southern" title to gratify the national pride of their Babylonian subjects. The building, shifting, and rebuilding of capitals continued in a line that led from Uruk to Ur to Kish to Akkad to Isin to Larsa to Babylon to Assur to Calah to Nineveh. In warfare the Akkadians went on innovating with chariots, cavalry, loose formations, and archers. Almost to the time of Christ, beyond the Persian conquest, each generation of scribes mastered the Sumerian borrowings of about 2300 B.C., but also extended the Akkadian

word lists and multiplied the formulas for various kinds of tablets. In short, this was a culture where most was kept, but much was added.<sup>13</sup>

Still another factor that undercuts theories of cultural death from old age is that usages, crafts, values, and the like—the very stuff of culture—seldom disappear entirely. Anthropologists have found patterns from West African kingdoms being transmitted in twentieth-century Georgia, and historians of science have found features of caliphate medicine in use in Bourbon Europe, to give only two examples. As Nicholas Berdyaev wrote: “The fall of Rome and the ancient world, then, is not synonymous with death, but rather with a sort of historical catastrophe; an upheaval on the surface of the earth during which some new element is added to the foundations of history and the basic principle of ancient culture is left intact.”<sup>14</sup>

Yet civilizations do perish, and not because of the inexplicable incursion of a mysterious ailment into a charmed life. The causes are exactly and only those causes that are accessible to historians—particular choices, relations, conditions, personalities, and happenings. Of course no pin-point theory of history is intended, with all hanging on a single battle or a bad farming practice. Instead, the regularity that emerges from this interpretation of the perished civilizations has to do, not with inevitable growth and decline, but with the universal ambition of civilizations and protocivilized cultures to vanquish what is alien to them if they can. Whether they can, and when they can, works out historically. What holds constant is the urge to destroy.

It may be that civilizations gain more or less stamina according to how widely they diffuse operational responsibility. The Indus civilization apparently concentrated cultural as well as political power in the hands of a very few managers and hence crumbled almost instantly before the onslaught of the Aryans. By contrast, the Egyptians, who conceived of themselves as members of a single “household,” recovered from the invasion of the Hyksos, and of course the traditional Chinese, who held that their emperor was the link between heaven and all mankind, absorbed numerous conquerors. Much of the durability and portability of Jewish culture stems from its shared quality. To the extent that civilizations that assigned large numbers of people only so much of a place as was needed to draw upon their brute labor were the most perishable, oppression is not the key to cultural endurance. Yet diffusion of responsibility does not often entail egalitarianism. Many times the chief actors in a high culture—tutor, queen,

<sup>13</sup> See Robert Erwin, “Cities without Vistas,” *Virginia Quarterly Review*, XLII (Winter 1966), 43–57.

<sup>14</sup> Nicholas Berdyaev, *The Meaning of History*, tr. George Reavey (Cleveland, 1962), 109–10.

commander, prophet, founder of dynasty—have been in effect slaves. More to the point, inclusiveness is no absolute guarantor against aggression.

In this respect and others, the archetypal civilizations are those of the New World. In Mexico, at least as represented by the Aztecs, civilized man devoted his highest energies to bribing gods with the blood of his neighbors and then was himself put to fire and sword by Westerners. Mayan civilization was long thought to demonstrate the opposite case, of internal decay: the Mayas exhausted their land, tore themselves apart in civil wars, stifled creativity through theocracy, and so on, ran the speculations. But recent research points toward overthrow ahead of decline and before the ravages of the Europeans. "A final occupation at Altar de Sacrificios dates from the Post-Classic period or from the time of the 'collapse.' The ceramics and figurines of this late phase of culture differ from those of the characteristic Classic Maya traditions and suggest instead an invasion of alien, perhaps Mexican, peoples from the north and west."<sup>15</sup> And Peruvian culture illustrates nearly all the arguments laid down here.

In line with the "manpower" thesis, the first great advance made in Peru following the Neolithic Revolution appears to have depended on the organization of considerable bodies of men for sustained tasks. This is manifest in the impressive ruins at Chavín de Huantar, where there is no evidence that new "equipment" was available in the erection, around 700 B.C., of immense stone buildings with ventilating shafts. Ribald—some would say pornographic—paintings, which in a "Roman" perspective should show up in a degenerate phase, present themselves in Salinar pottery nearly two thousand years before the Incas, and mass production of ceramics—romanticism about handicrafts notwithstanding—may be detected in Moche remains from five hundred years before the expansionist period. Contrary to notions of synthetic cosmopolitanism, the Chimu people, the most urbanized Peruvians prior to the Incas and partly contemporary with them, apparently had no state religion and hardly any communal worship at all. As for the Incas, their "decadence" may be gauged from the fact that in less than a century before the Spanish conquest they had integrated an empire covering 350,000 square miles. Some of their laws would have satisfied Cato himself: citizens were not allowed to travel for pleasure; adultery with a noblewoman was a capital offense. Numerous Inca administrative practices deserve comparison for soundness to those of modern Israel, for example, surplus crops being sent to regions where they were not grown in order to

<sup>15</sup> Gordon R. Willey, "Maya Archaeological Research at Harvard University," *Harvard Foundation for Advanced Study and Research Newsletter* (Mar. 1964), 5.



vary the diet of the people.<sup>16</sup> Finally, the conquest represented in melodramatic form the "natural" end of civilizations. In full flower, Peruvian culture was simply hacked to pieces by the Europeans at first sight.

How, on balance, should civilization be judged as a scale on which to live? Its amplitude has been mentioned, offering to date the most control over physical nature and the richest facilities for creating styles of life. Looking backward (and from a civilization that especially values diversity), the Westerner may feel that the form is grand indeed. Yet from the very diversity—systems as distinguishable from one another as a greyhound is distinguishable from a bulldog—it is obvious that no one high culture came close to accommodating the full range of human versatility. Already partial and restrictive, each civilization operated at its best only for relatively short periods among small groups in particular localities. Civilized efflorescence was at most a phenomenon of an age in an empire, most often a school of thought, a group of practitioners, a class of leaders for two or three generations: a matter of subunits. Not only were multitudes excluded from the "average" culture of the civilization to which they belonged, but the average culture itself was remote from the bursts of peak creativity.

If this restrictive side of civilization is held in view along with its amplitude, then the way in which the historic civilizations perished, always at the hands of aliens as argued here, allows historians more freedom in the interpretation of events, but is even less comforting than conventional theories of "decline." Though probably no historic civilization stylized itself to such a degree that it excluded life in the main, neither could any of them brook others. Consequently the form civilization seems to require that new styles of life develop at the expense of other styles that have not wholly realized themselves.

When this conclusion is reflected upon in the context of the twentieth century, interesting questions arise. The diverse civilizations and surviving Neolithic cultures that existed in Galileo's time have passed, and no new ones replace them. The entire world seems to be in the process of adopting Western industrialism, often most eagerly where the West has lost political control. It is hard to see how Western civilization will be overturned by another, and thus confirm the conclusion, when no other is flourishing.

Is the Communist bloc perhaps the beginning of a new civilization? Even if this were so, the conclusion would not necessarily hold, for indus-

<sup>16</sup> For a judicious account of Inca government, see J. Alden Mason, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru* (London, 1957).

trial technology makes global domination feasible, and the Communist bloc explicitly aims at such domination. The overthrow of the West would simply carry forward the question of a monocivilized world. But of course the question need not be carried forward. The Communist bloc is a wing of European culture. As Michael Polanyi writes,

In 1789 France broke away and led the world toward a revolutionary consummation of the contradiction inherent in a post-Christian rationalism. The ideology of total revolution is a variant of the derivation of absolutism from absolute individualism. . . . This logic is, alas, familiar to us, and we can readily identify its more or less complete fulfilment from Robespierre and St. Just to Lenin, Bela Kun, Hitler, and Mao Tse-tung.<sup>17</sup>

Instead of witnessing either a "totalitarianizing" of civilization or an exception to the rule that civilizations are destroyed only by each other, twentieth-century man is possibly struggling through the prelude to a form of culture more comprehensive than civilization. Though industrialism originated in one of the historic civilizations, which Oswald Spengler aptly called Faustian, and though the world has been exposed to it through the classic civilized mediums of force and intolerant proselytizing, the peoples who are giving up their traditional cultures in the rush to "modernize" are perhaps not really subscribing to Western civilization. As yet they do not know how to separate technics from the historical wrapping, but the Industrial Revolution is like the Neolithic Revolution, an expansion of man's field of action. It leads to a sudden, gigantic increase of population, resources, coordination, and power for happiness and misery such as permitted civilization to begin in the great river valleys five thousand years ago.

Civilization, to repeat, originated in more efficient exploitation of manpower; the founders of the historic civilizations were conquerors and revolutionaries. On the basis of this record, there is no reason to believe that a higher phase of cultural development would be launched except through the will to power.

The will to power is strong and incessant, but its course, like that of a river with soft banks, is hard to predict. The nuclear weapons that have come out of the modern surge of technics make civilization look obsolete in a positive as well as a negative sense. In terms of utilizing human resources, a postindustrial culture matrix might compare to civilization as the yield from a few ounces of uranium in a reactor compares to the yield from a ton of coal in a boiler. Civilization may not, however, appear so primitive to those who exercise power in its centers. The "take" in comfort, status, and

<sup>17</sup> Michael Polanyi, "Beyond Nihilism," *Encounter*, XIV (Mar. 1960), 39.

gratification for functionaries even in an old-fashioned agrarian despotism is considerable. The interplay among the power elite between preserving the cultural *status quo* and being tempted by ambition to try a change of culture form will, as a matter of fact, probably revolve around nuclear weapons. Their possession is the means to ultimate sovereignty of the civilized type. Their use obliterates what one has sovereignty over (and oneself). That these conditions are irreconcilable affords no grounds for believing a "sensible" course is going to be taken through the will to power. Most men have always wanted to live and to use their resources, and the outcome has been slaughter.

Should partisans for a new culture form nevertheless appear, they could do worse than to adopt a strategy of mingling. Nuclear weapons bear some resemblance to the very large dinosaurs that could not catch the very small dinosaurs that ate their eggs. Rival power centers close enough to each other geographically would constitute one and the same indivisible target area. The question is how to induce rival powers to mingle their functionaries and populations. This is a special case of the general problem of breaching the cultural wall around civilizations and the state frontiers inside civilizations.

The most promising legacy that can be drawn from civilization for this purpose is the institution. In general, the furthest effective social unit within civilizations has been the state, precariously segregating itself from others of its kind. The furthest effective cultural unit has been the single civilization, achieving a style by exclusion. At times the only bridging devices have been rudimentary Neolithic practices such as interdynastic marriage and the exchange of hostages. At other times, however, institutions have straddled frontiers and trained their members to set aside local loyalties. Economic institutions come first to mind in this respect: transport agents, trading houses, banks. Religious institutions have succeeded in recruiting functionaries to spend a lifetime in the service of an enterprise whose political domain they never enter. Through scientific symbology much communication is feasible within and among institutions whose members do not know each other's supposedly value-determinant native languages.

Perhaps omens of an institutional phase of culture are already in the air. A recent article titled "Companies Outgrow Countries" describes how the balance of payments of developed economies as large as Britain and Italy can be affected by the purely business decisions of multinational firms, some of which "go so far as to maintain expert full-time [internal] foreign

exchange departments.”<sup>18</sup> NATO officers in the “trade union of soldiers” have been known to help each other lobby with their national governments. Today’s numerous international organizations, conferences, and exchanges seem to be a combination of conspicuous consumption and subterfuge on the part of the power centers. Still, they offer scope for Hammurabic ambition, and they intertwine bureaucracies.

The object would be to lead as many self-perpetuating institutions as possible, each unintentionally compromising the sovereignty of its society, to crisscross their lines throughout the world. If this resulted in uniformity, the diversity of civilization would be preferable (short of nuclear suicide). But it should lead to a greatly enlarged and more open form of the interdependent variety which civilization created in the city.

Whatever new phase, if any, develops beyond industrialism, we are at least able at this juncture to begin using the word “civilized” without either cynicism or naïveté. A ghetto is civilized, and so is a *corps de ballet*. Contrasted with one another, they seem to have opposite value and no common function. But compared with the menstrual huts and village dances of Neolithic humanity, they stand forth as coexamples of civilization—a more ample apparatus for realizing similar intentions. Man is implanted in the world as it is given. Intentions multiply, however. To the extent that consciousness transcends underlying nature, culture patterns, and, in the clinical sense, the individual’s life style, man defines himself. The ultimate purpose of according the same weight to “civilization” as to “triangle” is not to exchange moral presumption for deterministic resignation. It is to clear the way for an inquiry into what this facility built by man is really worth.

<sup>18</sup> *Economist*, Oct. 17, 1964, 272.

# The Military Origins of Medieval Representation

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AMONG the circumstances that attended the formation of parliamentary institutions in the Middle Ages, one seldom hears of militarism or military organization. The prevailing understanding comprises such factors as the persistence of feudal traditions of counsel and law, the emergence of an urban class, the revival of Roman legal principles of public responsibility and representation, and the ever more urgent financial needs of expanding governments. It is not my purpose to reject this pattern of explanation. On the contrary, I should like for the present to assume that it is generally satisfactory. But it seems to me that militarism has been unduly neglected in accounting for the rise of consultative government and that it should be investigated as a fundamental condition to which the well-known factors or "causes" may be related. Fortunately there have been some prospectors in this domain; the problem, while neglected, has not passed unnoticed. It will appear that my discussion owes much to suggestions and contributions made by William Stubbs, J. H. Round, J. E. A. Jolliffe, Michael Powicke, and other authorities.

The underestimation of military aspects of parliamentary origins may perhaps be attributed to the tendency to view developments of the High Middle Ages anachronistically. In recent times representative institutions have come to be regarded as incompatible with militarist rule. Ordinary affairs of state are usually distinguished sharply from what we like to think of as the extraordinary affairs of war. Yet it is hardly open to doubt that European representation arose in a society of a different sort: a society that, notwithstanding considerable advances in social objectives and political-administrative techniques, remained organized primarily for war. Even in England, with its exceptionally progressive institutional life, those who ruled were still in the thirteenth century mainly those who fought. Those who *were* ruled, moreover, were still thought of in fundamentally military terms. Landholding, the obligations of society, and privileges long con-

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tinued to be defined militarily—and no one questions the significance of tenure and status in parliamentary beginnings. The “people” or “nation,” considered in relation to the ruler as well as to other peoples, was in the first instance an army, or at any rate the pool from which an army could be mustered. The latter circumstance may be taken as a convenient point of departure for this discussion.

That the earliest secular assemblies of the Middle Ages were armies is too well known to require much elaboration. Christian Pfister speaks of the Frankish Mayfield as an “assembly” that was “at once an army, a council and a legal tribunal.”<sup>1</sup> The chronicles swarm with allusions to army-assemblies, the doings of which offered the best available key to understanding public affairs.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, without apparently straining their terminology, chroniclers invariably speak of armies as being “assembled,” using such words as *convocare*, *congregare*, *aggregare*, *adunare*, and *convenire*.<sup>3</sup> What is perhaps less well known is that armies continued to have a political identity, and assemblies to approximate armies in composition, throughout the Middle Ages. Armies gave counsel on political as well as military affairs, elected monarchs, approved legislation, and (as Fulcher of Chartres says of the army of the First Crusade) were “ruled” by their leaders.<sup>4</sup> On the other

<sup>1</sup> *The Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. H. M. Gwatkin et al. (8 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1911–36), II, 135; cf. Jacques Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France* (4 vols., Paris, 1886–1917), III, 438–39, on early Capetian practice; see also Heinrich Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte* (2d ed., 2 vols., Leipzig, 1906–28), II, 172–81; Felix Liebermann, *The National Assembly in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Halle, 1913), 36, 43. The early Lombard army-assembly ratified legislation, *Edictus Ceteraque Langobardorum Leges cum Constitutionibus et Pactis Principum Beneventanorum*, ed. F. Bluhme (Hanover, 1869), 72. The archetypal passage is Tacitus, *Germania*, Chaps. xi–xiii.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Fredegar, *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle*, ed. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (London, 1960), Chap. xc; *Continuator of Fredegar*, *ibid.*, Chaps. xxxvii, xlii; *Vita Hludovici Imperatoris* (“Astronomer”), ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1829), Chap. xxx, 623; Nithard, *Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1926), iii, Chap. i, 80, Chap. v, 102, iv, Chap. iv, 130; Abbo[n], *Le siège de Paris par les Normands*, *Poème du ix<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1942), ii, vv. 467 ff.; Richer, *Histoire de France (888–995)*, ed. Robert Latouche (2 vols., Paris, 1930–37), II, iv, Chap. xviii, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Fredegar, *Chronicle*, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, iv, Chap. xxxviii; Richer, *Histoire*, ed. Latouche, I, i, Chap. vii, 20; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Auguste Le Prévost (5 vols., Paris, 1838–55), I, i, Chap. xxiv, 168, IV, x, Chap. vii, 44, xi, Chap. iii, 170–71; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI le Gros*, ed. Henri Waquet (Paris, 1964), Chap. xxviii, 220, 222. Achille Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises* (Paris, 1892), 496, remarks on the use of just these terms in references to early Capetian assemblies.

<sup>4</sup> *Continuator of Fredegar*, ed. Wallace-Hadrill, Chap. xlii; Richer, *Histoire de France*, ed. Latouche, II, iv, Chap. xix, 174–76; “Edictus Rothari,” in *Edictus*, ed. Bluhme, 72; Wipo, *Gesta Chucnradī II*, ed. Harry Bresslau (Hanover, 1878), Chap. xxx, 37; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (2 vols., London, 1887–89), I, ii, Pt. 180, 217; Galbert of Bruges, *Histoire du meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. Henri Pirenne (Paris, 1891), Chap. lxxv; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), i, Chap. iv, i, Chap. xxx, 1; *Gesta Francorum*, text by R. A. B. Mynors (London, 1962), x, 92–93; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Edmond Faral (2d ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1961), II, Chap. ccxxxiv; cf. *ibid.*, Chap. cdxli.

hand, the great Roncaglian diets of Frederick Barbarossa were afforded imperial armies; while in Christian Spain an organization of nobles appointed to defend the country was called the association (*compaña*) of knights.<sup>5</sup> The famed peasant democracy of Switzerland was based on common military duties, and in some of the cantons it has remained obligatory to bear weapons to the *Landsgemeinde* down to our own days.<sup>6</sup>

In most parts of Europe, however, the "nation in arms" was always impractical, so that from earliest times armies assumed the character of representations of the people. Military aristocracies, deriving privileges from prowess, were composed of "natural representatives."<sup>7</sup> More significant, because rationally contrived, was the Carolingian device for "selective service" in the host, based on manses.<sup>8</sup> The military representation of hides in Anglo-Saxon England was quite comparable.<sup>9</sup> It is true that this system broke down on the Continent too early to have any effect on administrative practice, while in England the concurrent representation of vills in hundred and shire was better situated than military representation to influence political institutions; but it is nonetheless important for the history of the representative principle that European armies continued to be composed of token or reduced contingents of nobles against feudal quotas and of urban and rural deputations.<sup>10</sup>

Yet it would be a mistake to argue that armies as such were, or became,

<sup>5</sup> Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ed. G. H. Pertz (3d ed., Hanover, 1912), ii, Chaps. xi-xvi, 111-19, iv, Chaps. 1-xii, 233-47; cf. "A Twelfth-Century 'Ars Dictaminis' in the Barberini Collection of the Vatican Library," ed. Helene Wieruszowski, *Traditio*, XVIII (1962), 384, 390-91. *Las siete partidas*, Bk. II, Chap. xxi, Sec. 1 (ed. Gregorio Lopez [5 vols., Paris, 1861], II, 218).

<sup>6</sup> Adolf Gasser, "Die landständische Staatsidee und der schweizerische Bundesgedanke," in *L'organisation corporative du Moyen Âge à la fin de l'ancien régime* (Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'États), III (Louvain, 1939), 124-25; W.-A. Liebeskind, "Les assemblées d'état de l'ancienne suisse," *ibid.*, 204-205.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. V. Clarke, *Medieval Representation and Consent* . . . (London, 1936), 278-83; and Liebermann's idea of the witan as national representatives in his *National Assembly*, 41.

<sup>8</sup> *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius and V. Krause (2 vols., Hanover, 1883-97), I, No. 48, 134-35; cf. *ibid.*, No. 49, 136, on reduced service for Saxons in distant war theaters.

<sup>9</sup> C. W. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions on the Eve of the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 23, 28, 38 ff.

<sup>10</sup> (Matthew Paris), *Chronica Majora*, ed. H. R. Luard (7 vols., London, 1872-83), II, 214; I. J. Sanders, *Feudal Military Service in England* (Oxford, Eng., 1956), 29 ff.; J. E. Morris, *The Welsh Wars of Edward I: A Contribution to Mediaeval Military History* (Oxford, Eng., 1901), 46-48; Michael Powicke, *Military Obligation in Medieval England: A Study in Liberty and Duty* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 29-30, 36, 84, 86, 92-93, 130, 139 ff.; Édouard Audouin, *Essai sur l'armée royale au temps de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1913), 7-37, and *pièces justificatives*, No. 1; *Layettes du trésor des chartes*, ed. Alexandre Teulet et al. (5 vols., Paris, 1863-1909), I, No. 74; *Spicilegium Brivatense*, ed. Augustin Chassaing (Paris, 1886), No. 26, Art. 13; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* [hereafter cited as HF] (24 vols., Paris, 1738-1904), XXIV, 352; T. N. Bisson, *Assemblies and Representation in Languedoc in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), 86, 114-15, 268. The representation of manses recurs in certain peace armies; see, e.g., *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña* (26 vols., Madrid, 1896-1922), I, 66.

"representative institutions" in the proper sense of the term. Despite the continuously ambiguous nature of their convocations, the men of the post-Carolingian epochs knew how to distinguish between military and non-military assemblies, and even better between aid and counsel. What matters, then, is not so much the likeness between armies and assemblies (though that likeness has a further significance to which it will be necessary to return) as the military aspects and interests of convocations that were certainly assemblies in the usual sense.

The assemblies convoked for military purposes were very numerous in the feudal ages from the tenth to the thirteenth century. They constitute, indeed, a large proportion of the royal consultative meetings mentioned by French and English chroniclers. Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier have suggested that the only normal occasion for massive convocations of vassals by the early Capetian monarchs was when military campaigns were to be decided upon or undertaken.<sup>11</sup> The famous defensive muster of Louis VI against the threatened German invasion of 1124 is a case in point. The abbot Suger speaks of a preliminary convocation of nobles in which the "cause" was explained. Then came the rendezvous at Reims, where further discussions, about tactics, took place.<sup>12</sup> Defense and tactics were likewise basic issues in the consultative assemblies of the Norman and Angevin kings of England.<sup>13</sup> Foreign expeditions were also projected in assemblies, in England soon after the Conquest, in France not until the time of Philip Augustus.<sup>14</sup> It may be noted, however, that in England the "military councils," like the English armies, were much more nearly national bodies than their lagging French counterparts. The military rally of 1124, drawing lords from the far reaches of the French realm, was in this sense quite exceptional. Had there been more such events, some basis might have been established in France for a central deliberative institution such as developed across the Channel.

There is no need to multiply examples of military assemblies. They occurred everywhere during and after the eleventh century, and like almost all

<sup>11</sup> Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au Moyen Âge* (3 vols. to date, Paris, 1957-62), II, 548. Presumably they would allow for the customary festival courts as well.

<sup>12</sup> Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxviii, 218-30; for interpretation of this incident, see J. R. Strayer, "Defense of the Realm and Royal Power in France," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (4 vols., Milan, 1949-50), I, 289-91.

<sup>13</sup> M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 225-26.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 226; see also G. I. Langmuir, "Concilia and Capetian Assemblies, 1179-1230," in *Album Helen Maud Cam* (2 vols., Louvain, 1960-61), II (International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, XXIV), 35-42.



consultations of their time they were quite devoid of institutional characteristics. They were occasions rather than the meetings of definite or recognized bodies, occasions for being briefed, for advising, for approving. Of these functions, counsel was the most important, and there is more to be learned that was of lasting significance in the development of parliamentary institutions by studying the prevailing idea of counsel in these assemblies than by attempting to generalize about summonses, composition, and procedure.

*Consilium*, deeply rooted in theology, psychology, and law,<sup>15</sup> had come to be understood almost instinctively as the way to wisdom for fallible men. I need not dwell here on the diversities of this complicated term: its meaning as a moral imperative, or as a legal obligation or right, or its meaningful early confusion with the word *concilium*. What is important to notice is that, in the lay practice of the Middle Ages, counsel is mentioned with exceptional frequency in military situations. This was only natural in a warlike society, to be sure, and it satisfactorily explains why counsel very early took its place with aid (*auxilium*)—meaning, primarily, military aid—as one of the two basic services required by feudal lords from their vassals.

It should be stressed that *consilium* and *auxilium* were quite distinct things. Historians have done good work in demonstrating the different institutional developments that originated in these obligations. But it has not, to my knowledge, been sufficiently remarked that counsel and aid, even though distinct, were nevertheless closely related to each other. The two terms were habitually linked in common usage. An archbishop of Reims, in doing fealty to the first Capetian kings late in the tenth century, promised “to give them counsel and aid according to my knowledge and ability in all affairs, and not knowingly to help their enemies, either with counsel or with aid.”<sup>16</sup> A generation later Bishop Fulbert of Chartres expressed the vassal’s positive duties in similar terms, but even more succinctly: that “he faithfully perform counsel and aid for his lord”;<sup>17</sup> and the success of Fulbert’s

<sup>15</sup> See, e.g., the scriptural (Douay) “do thou nothing without counsel, and thou shalt not repent when thou hast done,” Ecclus. 32:24, quoted by St. Basil, *Long Rule*, question 48, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (166 vols., Paris, 1857–66), XXXI, 1037–38, and later by St. Benedict, *Regula*, Chap. III. The possible wider significance of Benedict’s Chapter III (on decision making with counsel by the abbot) is brought out in a stimulating paper, unfortunately unprinted, by P. L. Ward, “On the King’s Taking Counsel” (1960). See also, for feudal France, the good discussion by G. I. Langmuir, “Counsel and Capetian Assemblies,” in *Études présentées à la Commission Internationale pour l’Histoire des Assemblées d’États*, XVIII (Louvain, 1958), 25–32; and for England, in a different perspective, J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (2d ed., London, 1963), Chap. VIII.

<sup>16</sup> Act quoted by Richer, *Histoire*, ed. Latouche, II, iv, Chap. LX, 246. Langmuir, “Counsel and Capetian Assemblies,” 26, cites Abbo of Fleury for early evidence of counsel as an imperative, but it should be noted that Abbo speaks of “aid and counsel.” The early history of these associated terms in feudal practice is treated by Heinrich Mitteis, *Lehnrecht und Staatsgewalt* (Weimar, 1933), 59–65, 312–14.

<sup>17</sup> *HF*, X, 463.

classic analysis of the feudal relation probably helped to make "counsel and aid" the idiomatic commonplace it had become by the twelfth century.<sup>18</sup> Apart from their feudal specificity, the associated ideas readily lent themselves to general metaphorical applications.<sup>19</sup> The popularity of the concept they expressed is the more easily understood when we recall the prevailing medieval disposition to glorify personal wisdom and prowess in combination.<sup>20</sup>

Counsel and aid, then, were related. Let us now remark that these related but distinct concepts tended with time to be confused with each other. For this result *auxilium* was chiefly responsible. Semantically the broader term, it was easily taken to mean service (*servitium*) of any kind, including counsel; whereas *consilium*, even though it implied judicial as well as advisory service, could hardly be construed to mean aid in any wider sense.<sup>21</sup>

The assimilation of *consilium* by *auxilium*, so to speak, while widely ap-

<sup>18</sup> Fulbert's words were sometimes reproduced in medieval texts, e.g., *Decretum*, c. 22, q. 5, c. 18; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., II, No. 1438. For a few random references to *consilium-auxilium* in the twelfth century, see Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, IV, xii, Chap. xix, 364; Galbert of Bruges, *Meurtre de Charles le Bon*, ed. Pirenne, Chap. cvii; *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró (41 vols., Barcelona, 1847-1910), IV, 141, 263, 280.

<sup>19</sup> Probably one should speak of the feudal usage as derived from an association of terms that was already traditional, but I have not fully investigated the background. See, however, Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Charles Plummer (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1896), I, i, Chap. xvii, 33-34; British leaders, confronted with Pelagian heresy, "inueniunt salubre consilium, ut a Gallicanis antistibus auxilium belli spiritalis inquirant." The passage is reproduced in *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, I, 185; see also Flodoard, *Annales*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1905), 126, 138. For use of the terms in other nonmilitary contexts, see *Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario Real*, ed. F. Miquel Rosell (2 vols., Barcelona, 1945-47), I, No. 5; Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, IV, xi, Chap. xxxiii, 277; Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxxii, 264; Eadmer, *Life of St. Anselm*, ed. R. W. Southern (London, 1962), 167; *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, II, 230.

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Dudo of St. Quentin, *De Moribus et Actis Primorum Normanniae Ducum*, ed. J. Lair, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 3d Ser., III (No. 2, 1865), 237: "Quis Constantinensibus et Bajocensibus vidit fortiores in bello, prudentiores in consilio?" Suger, *Vie de Louis VI*, ed. Waquet, Chap. xxi, 160; Guigemar, in *Les lais de Marie de France*, ed. Jeanne Lods (Paris, 1959), lines 27-44 (3-4); "Chronique latine des rois de Castille jusqu'en 1236," ed. G. Cirot, *Bulletin Hispanique*, XV (1913), 37; *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, I, 17.

<sup>21</sup> Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (7 vols., Paris, 1840-50), discusses *auxilium* chiefly in the various senses of its specific meaning as a payment. J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1954- ), illustrating *auxilium* in the broad sense, cites passages mentioning *auxilium* with *consilium*. These seem to me, however, to demonstrate "aid" in its meanings other than those denoted by "counsel." On the other hand, his quotation (about 1097): "Comes Hanoniensis domino suo episcopo Leodiensi servitium et auxilium ad omnia et contra universos homines . . . debet" may well illustrate *auxilium* not in the specific military sense for which it is cited, but in a wider sense as inclusive of counsel. The significant notion of "counsel (or court) and aid against all persons" was especially common in southern France and Spain; see Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 23, and *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, Nos. 110, 166. *Consilium* had become bellicose by keeping too close company with *auxilium*! Du Cange cites *auxilium consilii* and *auxilium curiae*, but the former term as such appears to be his own and the latter has a technical meaning irrelevant here. The *Summa de Legibus Normannie*, ed. E.-J. Tardif, in *Coutumiers de Normandie* (2 vols., Rouen, 1881-96), II, Chap. xii, 38, speaks of "consilii et auxilii iuvamentum."

parent in charters, in those, for example, of Burgundy and Navarre,<sup>22</sup> can best be seen in the investigations of feudal rights made by kings and lords in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. I suspect that these investigations have more interest for early parliamentary institutions than historians have realized. The fact is that lists of feudal recognitions usually specify military obligations but not conciliar ones. The *Cartae Baronum* of 1166 were concerned with knight service in England; six years later Henry II obtained analogous information on knights' fees in Normandy.<sup>23</sup> In France the royal inquiries begun under Philip Augustus, though rather diverse in purposes, are especially rich in detail about military duties, some being exclusively military, but they have little to say about conciliar or judicial obligations.<sup>24</sup> The same imbalance manifests itself in southern France and Aragon in the thirteenth century. For instance, in 1259, when 159 nobles of Agenais made recognitions of their fiefs and obligations, only one of them volunteered that he owed "court" as well as homage and knight service to the king.<sup>25</sup>

What is the meaning of the fact thus illustrated? Surely it cannot be simply that feudal counsel was declining in value after about 1150. The same thing, after all, might be said of knight service with almost equal truth. The reasons for this continued emphasis on military obligations, it may be suggested, are somewhat as follows: that military necessities remained paramount in this period; that the obligations denoted by *auxilium* were broad in nature, and easily convertible (into payments of money, for example; this is, indeed, the usual meaning of *auxilium* in the recognition rolls<sup>26</sup>); and that as a matter of practical experience lords who could convoke their men armed for battle could fairly well count on being able to convoke them for other purposes, too. Anyway, what *were* the other reasons for gathering knights in assembly? Those summoned to fight would necessarily convene at the outset, listen to explanations, and give counsel. For nonmilitary policy

<sup>22</sup> See Jean Richard, in *Mémoires de la Société pour l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions des Anciens Pays Bourguignons, Comtois et Romands*, XIII (1950-51), 283; *Documents des Archives de la Chambre des Comptes de Navarre (1196-1384)*, ed. J.-A. Brutails (Paris, 1890), xxx, 1, 5.

<sup>23</sup> *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall (3 vols., London, 1896), I, 186-445, II, 624-45; HF, XXIII, 703; C. H. Haskins, *Norman Institutions* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 8-10; see also *Liber Feodorum: The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill*, ed. C. G. Crump and H. C. Maxwell Lyte (3 vols., London, 1920-31), I, esp. 52 ff.

<sup>24</sup> HF, XXIII, 608-723; see also *Documents relatifs au Comté de Champagne et de Brie, 1172-1361*, ed. Auguste Longnon (3 vols., Paris, 1901-14), I, records of fiefs. Military obligations were usually recorded in the form of castle-guard in Champagne. Cf. Paul Guilhaume, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1902), 298-301.

<sup>25</sup> Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 81-82; for Aragon, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, VIII, fols. 1-6v.

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., HF, XXIII, 610, 613, 634.

and ordinary administration the greater lords had little use for vassals en masse; there can be no mistaking the trend toward specialized counsel at the expense of feudal. It is true that there was still need of vassals for judging, the nobles being especially tenacious of their presumed characteristic judiciousness. The theoretical obligation of attendance apparently had its longest life in this sense. Significantly, when this obligation is mentioned in feudal investigations, it is usually "court" (*curia*) or "plea" (*placitum*), not *consilium*, that is specified.<sup>27</sup>

*Auxilium*, therefore, came to mean, or imply, *consilium* in addition to military service; but there is probably another reason why princely officials in the later Middle Ages tended to ignore "counsel" *eo nomine* when recording their dues. It is precisely in the period when such records began to be kept that *consilium* began to be recognized as a right as well as an obligation by the people summoned to give it.<sup>28</sup> This, of course, was a landmark in medieval constitutionalism. When subjects became as interested as rulers in counsel, there was less reason for rulers to make a point of it. Thenceforth it is the custom books, charters, and privileges that can be expected to furnish the best evidence on the principles of consultation. And when we come to consider the military interests of later medieval assemblies, we must be prepared to think of the tradition of counsel both as right and as obligation.

Now I should like to suggest that the notion of counsel that was perpetuated in the councils, parliaments, and representative assemblies after 1215 continued to some appreciable extent to be that of a "military counsel" such as just described. The "peace of the thirteenth century" was often threatened and sometimes broken, and among the more notable convocations to discuss military projects may be mentioned the great courts of Jaime I before the Aragonese conquests of Mallorca and Valencia in 1228 and 1236, and the great council of 1242 in which Henry III of England requested "counsel and aid" for his Gascon campaign.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the traditional militancy of

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 614, 647; cf. *Documents relatifs au Comté de Champagne*, ed. Longnon, I, Nos. 1147, 1162; see also Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 81-82. Catalan charters often specify *curtes* (or *cortes*) and *placitos* among obligations, e.g., *Liber Feudorum Maior*, ed. Miquel Rosell, I, Nos. 175, 263, 341, 416. Cf. Marc Bloch, *La société féodale* (2 vols., Paris, 1939-40), I, 340-42, tr. L. A. Manyon (Chicago, 1960), 221-22.

<sup>28</sup> By this rough generalization I do not mean to imply that the right to give counsel was identical with the obligation to take it. (Cf. Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 26-27.)

<sup>29</sup> *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Bofarull y Mascaró, VI, 95-98; *Cortes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 17, 112-22; *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Louis Barrau-Dihigo and Jaime Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), xi, 19 (also xxvii, 4, 58), xi, 19-20 (also xxvii, 5, 58); E. S. Procter, "The Development of the Catalan *Corts* in the Thirteenth Century," *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch: Miscel·lània d'Estudis Literaris Històrics i Lingüístics* (3 vols., Barcelona, 1936), III, 532; *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*,

counsel is sometimes discernible in contemporary references to assemblies whose functions were not obviously military. Of Philip the Fair's celebrated national assembly in 1302 a compiler wrote that "Philip convoked all the nobles and communities of his kingdom to Paris, seeking [their] counsel and aid against all men and . . . especially [their petition was] against the pope."<sup>30</sup> Now while a statement of this sort carries no authority for the official character of the assembly in question, it is of interest as a witness to popular attitudes. And in fact the phrase about counsel and aid was not yet even officially obsolete since it appears in the summonses for the royal assembly of Tours in 1308 (accompanied by the King's declaration that his opposition to the Templars was in the great Capetian tradition of militant defense of the faith).<sup>31</sup> Nor was the chronicler's terminology inappropriate. The assembly of 1302, whatever else it may have been, was palpably a council of war. The Pope was represented as an enemy of the faith and of France, and it was reported that the assembled nobles and town deputies responded to the charges with a pledge to expose their property and lives in defense of the King's rights.<sup>32</sup> However novel in composition and however new the arguments urged in it, the assembly of 1302 was old-fashioned in its belligerency, militant if not military in function.

We are now in a position to appreciate the bearing of military concerns on the development of representation (in the strict sense) and consent. It will be recognized that the "aid" desired in 1242, as on so many other occasions in the later Middle Ages, was primarily financial aid—*auxilium* in its pecuniary meaning. The relevance of this to the present argument is, of course, that the financial aids and scutages, which in England ought to be levied with the "common counsel of the realm,"<sup>33</sup> continued to be taxes for chiefly military purposes. This is not the place to retell the familiar story of how elements more representative than the magnates who origi-

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ed. William Stubbs, rev. H. W. C. Davis (9th ed., Oxford, Eng., 1913), 360-62. See also *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Barrau-Dihigo and Massó Torrents, xxviii, 48, 90; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 228; *Reports from the Lords Committees touching the Dignity of a Peer* . . . (5 vols., London, 1820-29), III, 26, 29-32. The usage *consilium et auxilium* occurs in a parliamentary writ as late as 1 Edward II, *The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*. . . , ed. Francis Palgrave (2 vols., London, 1827-34), II, ii, 1, but it seems to have become exceptional in subsequent parliamentary texts.

<sup>30</sup> Landulf de Columna, *Breviarium Historiarum*, HF, XXIII, 197; see note 21, above, for the concept of "counsel and aid against."

<sup>31</sup> *Documents relatifs aux États Généraux et Assemblées réunis sous Philippe le Bel*, ed. Georges Picot (Paris, 1901), Nos. 657-60.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 5 (6-10), No. 6. "Defense" and "preservation" are the motives specified in summonses for assemblies in 1303. (*Ibid.*, Nos. 10-12.) See also the pretense of defense against Boniface VIII in Guillaume de Plaisian's accusation in the assembly of Paris, June 1303, *ibid.*, No. 14 (37-42), No. 15. Cf. generally Strayer, "Defense of the Realm."

<sup>33</sup> Magna Carta of 1215 and subsequent practice.

nally spoke for the English realm came to be consulted about taxation, nor to discuss the comparable progress on the Continent.<sup>84</sup> While in a sense the military approach brings us into the consensus of modern scholarship that financial powers were among the decisive factors in the development of representation, it is clear that taxation had ordinarily but a contingent relation to military functions. The essential point lies deeper than this. When C. H. McIlwain reminds us that what kings and princes usually wanted from the townsmen they summoned was aid (and not counsel),<sup>85</sup> we should bear in mind that the fundamental aid of most medieval towns—the obligatory *auxilium* of urban custom as of knightly—was active military service.<sup>86</sup> For in the first place the aid requested in such assemblies was sometimes service itself rather than money.<sup>87</sup> Secondly, a whole class of impositions, notably the scutages and fines, were undisguised commutations of service, and hence not, strictly speaking, taxes at all. Of importance only in the earliest period of representation, this expedient bore witness to the continuity of older principles of military obligation.<sup>88</sup> Thirdly, even when, as was more commonly the case, the aid in prospect was a pecuniary levy, the military urgency or liability could be so forcibly stressed as to render its payment virtually a purchase of exemption from service. This is illustrated by

<sup>84</sup> See generally C. H. McIlwain, "Medieval Estates," in *Cambridge Medieval History*, ed. Gwatkin *et al.*, VII, 672–704; D. B. Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy: A Study of Its Antecedents and Its Rise with Special Emphasis upon Its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1937), esp. Chaps. I, II.

<sup>85</sup> McIlwain, "Medieval Estates," 684. The point is with reference to France.

<sup>86</sup> Even where the custom or charters of towns admitted pecuniary aids, these were commonly linked to military needs or obligations, for example, the English Danegeld, but more significantly the "gracious aids" of the later period. Arbitrary military demands as well as tallage were the object of enfranchisement, Carl Stephenson, *Mediaeval Institutions, Selected Essays*, ed. B. D. Lyon (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954), 1–40, 121. See also Charles Petit-Dutaillis, *Les communes françaises: Caractères et évolution des origines au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1947), Chap. III; J. M. Font Rius, *Orígenes del régimen municipal de Cataluña* (Madrid, 1946), 50 ff., 64, 95–96, 107, 212–15, 354, 364. See, too, for the military basis of urban representation, Karol Koranyi, "Zum Ursprung des Anteils der Städte an den ständischen Versammlungen und Parlamenten im Mittelalter," in *Album Helen Maud Cam*, I (International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, XXIII), 37–50.

<sup>87</sup> Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, V, 423–25, VI, 282, cited by M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 76, n. 5; also *ibid.*, 234, 240; B. C. Keeney, "Military Service and the Development of Nationalism in England, 1272–1327," *Speculum*, XXII (Oct. 1947), 547, n. 93; *Colección de documentos inéditos*, ed. Bofarull y Mascaró, VI, 95–98; *Cortes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 32, 272–77; Archives Départementales, Côte-d'Or, B.11715 (Oct. 7, 1303); Henri Hervieu, *Recherches sur les premiers États Généraux et les assemblées représentatives pendant la première moitié du quatorzième siècle* (Paris, 1879), *pièces justificatives*, 244–45; cf. HF, XX, 692.

<sup>88</sup> S. K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (New Haven, Conn., 1914), Chap. x; F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century, 1216–1307* (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1962), 31–36; cf. C. W. Hollister, *The Military Organization of Norman England* (Oxford, Eng., 1965), Chap. VII, and H. M. Chew, "Scutage under Edward I," *English Historical Review*, XXXVII (July 1922), 324–36. C.-V. Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris, 1887), 348–50; J. R. Strayer, "Consent to Taxation under Philip the Fair," in *id.* and C. H. Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation* (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), 44–45, 56–58; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, IX, fol. 28v, LI, fol. 1.

the carefully worded writs of 1254 ordering the summons of representative knights in England to grant aid for the threatened war with Castille. A lengthy preamble details the dangerous service to which magnates and twenty-pound tenants in chief were committed, thus making it appear to the other men of the counties that a good payment was but a fair and desirable contribution on their part.<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, active military service provided an important basis of exemption from the new lay subsidies of Edward I in the years when they came under parliamentary control.<sup>40</sup> In short, though the *auxilium* or *servitium* tendered by representative elements undoubtedly broadened in meaning in early consultative experience, its basis and associations were strongly military in origin.

The concept of consent likewise assumes significance in the thirteenth century. Not that consent as distinct from counsel was entirely new in the military councils of this period. It is probable that earlier practice had conformed in a general way to the principle that, whereas defensive wars and field strategy required no more than a prudent consultation or notification of the vassal-warriors, the undertaking of foreign expeditions and offensive wars necessitated obtaining their consent. Orderic Vital, in a remarkable passage that distinguishes clearly between counsel, council, and consent, vividly describes the assembly at Winchester in 1089 in which the magnates "gave their assent" to William Rufus' proposal to send an army to Normandy.<sup>41</sup> Other instances could be cited, especially in connection with taxation and extraordinary service.<sup>42</sup> It seems unlikely, nevertheless, that consent was yet an important function in military councils before the great development of taxation in the thirteenth century. Not even in 1215, in that section of their petition which became Chapter XII of Magna Carta, were the barons demonstrably interested in the juridical character of the "common counsel" they sought for the levy of aids and scutages.<sup>43</sup> But the

<sup>39</sup> See Bertie Wilkinson, *Constitutional History of Medieval England, 1216-1399* (3 vols., London, 1948-58), III, 271, 302-303; cf. M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 75-76.

<sup>40</sup> J. F. Willard, *Parliamentary Taxes on Personal Property, 1290-1334: A Study in Mediaeval English Financial Administration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 110-16; F. M. Powicke, *Thirteenth Century*, 523. For the situation in France at this time, see Lot and Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises*, II, 218-24.

<sup>41</sup> Orderic Vital, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prévost, III, viii, Chap. ix, 315-17. Cf. *ibid.*, IV, x, Chap. vii, 44; and Hollister, *Military Organization*, 104. The problem of consent in early assemblies of all types is in need of study.

<sup>42</sup> See M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 226-27; Hollister, *Military Organization*, 104-108; J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, Eng., 1965), 64-66. But consent is rarely specified explicitly.

<sup>43</sup> *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 288, 294; cf. *ibid.*, 278. The barons surely had some sense of the legal significance of consent, at least as individuals; moreover the distinction between counsel and consent was well understood in canonical circles. (See, e.g., *Decretum*, d. 63, c. 35, and *glossa ordinaria* to word *Assensu*; c. 12, q. 2, c. 52, with commentary by Huguccio, to word *tractatu*, quoted by Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 28; Gregory IX, *Decretales*,

trouble with counsel, as the next generation came ruefully to realize, was that it could be ignored even when it had to be asked. Moreover, kings proved to be less prudent about requesting money for projected wars than about committing themselves to lead armies to battle. The result was that rulers like Henry III, Edward I, and Philip IV found themselves increasingly obliged to obtain consent as well as counsel in their assemblies and negotiations. But they also found that consent was adaptable to requirements of the new age of international war, capable of growing with the realm itself to the recognition of common responsibility for national necessity.<sup>44</sup>

These traditions of military counsel, representation, and consent were confirmed in the parliamentary institutions of the fourteenth century. By the reign of Edward III military matters were understood to be foremost among the *negotia regni* in which the English Parliament had obtained an authoritative voice. The writs of military summons now regularly mention the approval of Parliament to wars and campaigns proposed by the king.<sup>45</sup> A rather similar development occurred in Spain.<sup>46</sup> In France, where the constitutional situation differed in important respects, the general Estates of Languedoc likewise had acquired by the 1350's, or rather were enjoying for the moment, extensive powers in military policy and finance. And of the functions assumed by the incipient provincial Estates in this period, none were more important than the provision of troops or of funds for supporting troops and defense.<sup>47</sup>

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i, 6, 41, and *glossa*.) Nor was the inclusion of scutage wholly an obstacle to claiming consent, for the barons could reasonably have pointed to the abusive transformation of scutage into a noncustomary tax. Nevertheless, the matter of Chapters xii and xiv is counsel, not consent. It is possible, to be sure, that the barons confused the two, meaning, or meaning to imply, consent by the word *consilium*. If so, as Professor Holt says (*Magna Carta*, 219-20), they blundered in coupling obligatory scutages with gracious aids. But it is unnecessary to charge the barons with both confusion and blunder if we assume that they meant "counsel" by *consilium*. Holt speaks of consent in reference to Chapters xii and xiv (*ibid.*, 204-205, 222, 286-87) without explanation.

<sup>44</sup> See generally Wilkinson, *Constitutional History*, III, 243-63, 271 ff., 293-321; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 227-32; Mitchell, *Studies*, esp. 348 ff.; Strayer, "Taxation under Philip the Fair"; R. S. Hoyt, "Royal Taxation and the Growth of the Realm in Mediaeval England," *Speculum*, XXV (Jan. 1950), 36-48; Gaines Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought: Public Law and the State, 1100-1322* (Princeton, N. J., 1964), Chaps. III, VI, X.

<sup>45</sup> M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 232-41. Despite setbacks in practice under Edward II, the principle of parliamentary approval of war was strikingly manifest in the Ordinances of 1311 and in the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* (which places military affairs first on the parliamentary agenda).

<sup>46</sup> The earliest representative court of León (1188) obtained the King's promise "quod non faciam guerram vel pacem vel placitum, nisi cum concilio episcoporum, nobilium et bonorum hominum, per quorum consilium debeat regi," *Córtes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla* (5 vols., Madrid, 1861-1903), I, 40; *Córtes de . . . Aragón*, I, No. 32, 273-77, No. 35, 291-317, No. 37, 332-36, No. 39, 459-67.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Cazelles, *La société politique et la crise de la royauté sous Philippe de Valois* (Paris, 1958), 175-77, 213-29; Paul Viollet, *Histoire des institutions politiques et administra-*



The foregoing points can be further illustrated from the history of the crusades and of nonfeudal and local experience. A few remarks must suffice here. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, as befitted a community "organized for perpetual warfare," was epitomized in a baronial *haute cour* which derived extensive judicial and deliberative rights from military powers.<sup>48</sup> Crusading chronicles abound with references to military counsel.<sup>49</sup> The difficulties arising from inadequately representative decision making sometimes befell crusading armies, foreshadowing an issue that was soon to contribute to a widening of parliamentary participation in England. Thus in the Fourth Crusade the exclusion of the "little men" from the councils of leadership resulted in serious misrepresentation of the army's sentiment on at least two occasions, one of these being when the crucial decision was made to divert the expedition to Zara.<sup>50</sup>

The Council of Clermont in 1095—the first of a long series of major political convocations for "taking the cross"—was also an assembly of the Peace and Truce of God.<sup>51</sup> It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the peace movements for the rise of representation in the turbulent regions between the Ebro River and the Loire. The Catalan Cortes emerged directly from the peace councils of the twelfth century, and the traditional statutes of *pax et treuga* were still being promulgated in the maturing general courts of the later thirteenth century.<sup>52</sup> In the uplands of

*tives de la France* (3 vols., Paris, 1890-1903), III, 203-18, 236-45; H. Prentout, *Les états provinciaux de Normandie* (3 vols., Caen, 1925-27), I, 90-121; Joseph Billioud, *Les états de Bourgogne aux xiv<sup>e</sup> & xv<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Dijon, 1922), 14-17, 329, 369-71. That the French Estates were as ephemeral as war itself may be inferred from P. S. Lewis, "The Failure of the French Medieval Estates," *Past and Present* (Nov. 1962), esp. 15-16. See also the "Joyeuse Entrée" of Brabant, in Ria van Bragt, "De Blijde Inkomst van de Hertogen van Brabant Johanna en Wenceslas (3 Januari 1356) . . .," in *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états* (Études publiées par la Section Belge de la Commission Internationale pour l'Histoire des Assemblées d'États), XIII (Louvain, 1956), 99, 116.

<sup>48</sup> The quoted words are from John La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100-1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 138. On the *haute cour*, see G. J. Dodu, *Histoire des institutions monarchiques dans le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1894), 154 ff.; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 87-104.

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g., *Gesta Francorum*, ix, 65-66; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ed. Hagenmeyer, iii, Chap. xxiv, 2; and esp. Villehardouin, *Conquête*, ed. Faral, in the passages cited by Langmuir, "Counsel and Capetian Assemblies," 27.

<sup>50</sup> Villehardouin, *Conquête*, ed. Faral, I, Chaps. xci-ciii, 194-99; Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Philippe Lauer (Paris, 1924), Chap. xiii, 12, Chaps. xxx-xxxiii, 30-34, Chap. Lxxx, 79-80.

<sup>51</sup> See Frederic Duncalf, "The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (2 vols. to date, Philadelphia, 1958-62), I, 236-50. Langmuir has found that over half of the major French assemblies recognized as "councils" by contemporaries, 1179-1230, were concerned with crusading issues. ("Concilia and Capetian Assemblies," 34-46, 50, 58-59.) For later French assemblies, see Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris, 1874), Chap. cxliv, 396-400; Paul Lehugeur, *Histoire de Philippe le Long, Roi de France (1316-1322)* (Paris, 1897), 194-98; Archives Nationales, J.477, No. 1. On the peace movements, see Hartmut Hoffmann, *Gottesfriede und Treuga Dei* (Stuttgart, 1964).

<sup>52</sup> See generally Cortes de . . . Aragón, I, Nos. 1-23; Procter, "Development of the Catalan Courts," 534-35.

Languedoc several regions became spheres of associative interest centering upon the maintenance of peace through discussion, taxation, and punitive military campaigns. The bishop of Mende summoned representative contingents of parishioners when the castle-based gangsters of Gévaudan caused trouble, and it seems reasonably clear that the peace armies there sometimes doubled as assemblies. The custom of Quercy called for separate negotiations whenever the peace was broken, in diocesan assemblies that included representative townsmen.<sup>53</sup> And if peace institutions did not develop vigorously in the valley of the lower Garonne, it was because their function was discharged by a secular assembly called the "general court" of Agenais, which originated in the twelfth century. Composed of nobles and the deputies of towns and villages, this curious little meeting—one of the earliest representative institutions of the Middle Ages—had as its primary business the judgment of disputes that threatened the peace of the countryside. When necessary the assembly, or its presiding official, would order out the "general army" of Agenais, a force that evidently approximated the court in composition.<sup>54</sup> These diverse forms of military consultation constituted significant precedents for the French provincial Estates.

In England the Norman kings' monopoly on power not only rendered peace institutions superfluous, but also tended to curtail the military initiative of the shires. Even so the Plantagenets used local meetings for regulating military obligations, and in France as well as in England local assemblies of array, like national ones, sometimes turned into negotiating bodies.<sup>55</sup> Among the first English experiments with concentrated urban representation, moreover, were some royal consultations concerning naval matters and defense with deputies of the Cinque Ports (1204-1235).<sup>56</sup>

Enough has now been said of the bellicose functions of assemblies, perhaps more than enough. It will be necessary, indeed, to qualify some of the points made thus far in order to assess their significance fully. Before doing this, however, it may be well simply to acknowledge the occurrence, ever more frequent, of assemblies that functioned in peaceful, nonmilitary ways. For it remains to notice that in one remarkable respect these assemblies as

<sup>53</sup> Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 102-21, 124-32.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-93.

<sup>55</sup> See *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 183-84, 363; M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 54-56, 90, 128-29, 132, cf. 240; cf. Keeney, "Military Service," 540, on local discussions for grants of service under Edward I; and, for France, Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 269-70.

<sup>56</sup> A. B. White, "Some Early Instances of Concentration of Representatives in England," *American Historical Review*, XIX (July 1914), 742-44. We should not overlook the militant leagues of towns, a most typical manifestation of early representative activity in many parts of Europe. (See E. P. Cheyney, *The Dawn of a New Era, 1250-1453* [New York, 1936], 70-73.)

well as military ones—in fact, many general assemblies, regardless of purpose—were influenced from the military quarter. To put it briefly, assemblies presented the men who convoked them with the same administrative problems as armies: how to summon them and whom to summon.<sup>57</sup> And a common response of administrators was to pattern their handling of assemblies on that of armies.

There is reason to suppose, though it can hardly be proved, that the forms and writs of military summons had priority in time and importance over those for assemblies.<sup>58</sup> Inclusiveness and precision were always more valued in armies than in assemblies, and, as we have seen, the military obligation was generally taken more seriously than the conciliar. One is tempted to think it not wholly accidental that in England the earliest extant writ of military summons (about 1072) antedates the first surviving conciliar writ by nearly a century and a half.<sup>59</sup> Even if this temptation be resisted, the possibility presents itself that Chapter xiv of Magna Carta—providing for a direct summons of greater tenants in chief, and an indirect summons of other king's tenants through the sheriffs, to gatherings of the realm—was modeled on a type of military summons that was already traditional in 1215.<sup>60</sup>

This possibility seems to have been little discussed, which is rather surprising in view of the perplexity that Chapter xiv has occasioned among historians. My own concern is not so much with the form of summons therein prescribed as with its range. The "direct-indirect" form or style was probably known in conciliar writs, as it certainly was in military ones, well before 1215.<sup>61</sup> What has seemed difficult to understand is how Chapter xiv

<sup>57</sup> The question whom to summon might, it is granted, be a political as well as an administrative question.

<sup>58</sup> What little is known of English convocation writs before 1200 is summarized by R. C. Van Caenegem, *Royal Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill: Studies in the Early History of the Common Law* (London, 1959), 183, 186–87.

<sup>59</sup> *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 97, 277. H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 64–65, are unconvinced in their doubt that the directive to the abbot of Evesham was a military writ. That the King may have had something to discuss with the "milites . . . paratos" is quite possible, and would support the thesis I am offering. The few writs of summons cited by Van Caenegem (*Royal Writs*, 183, 186n.–87) include some that are explicitly for castle-guard but none explicitly for king's court or assembly. Cf. William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in Its Origin and Development* (latest ed., 3 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1896–98), I, 607–609; Holister, *Military Organization*, 28, 88–89.

<sup>60</sup> *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 295; cf. G. B. Adams, *The Origin of the English Constitution* (2d ed., New Haven, Conn., 1920), 226–29. M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 29, says in effect that the "direct-indirect" type of military summons was in use under the Norman kings. Its existence is implied by the writ of about 1072. Van Caenegem (*Royal Writs*, 186n.–87) states that it "became familiar" in the reign of Henry III, an assertion that possibly allows too little for the accident of enrollment.

<sup>61</sup> See note 60, above; also *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 97, 277, 282; *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 1–2. The sheriff is not essential to such a form.

could realistically have described a summons for deliberative purposes, since, as the late Sidney Painter pointed out, a full convocation of chief tenants according to the scheme of that chapter would have produced an unwieldy crowd of eight hundred to twelve hundred persons. But before accepting the conclusion Professor Painter drew from this, that the assembly of Chapter xiv was "an abortive innovation,"<sup>62</sup> we may do well to recall that what that chapter prescribes is merely a process of summons for obtaining the "common counsel" of the realm; the assembly to result from this summons is nameless. Now, from the military point of view, a convocation according to Chapter xiv could hardly have been altogether novel, because it would have been approximately the feudal or royal host.<sup>63</sup> Nor was a military gathering a wholly unlikely occasion for discussing the aids and scutages of Chapters xii and xiv in 1215, for King John had recently been demanding money from his tenants *before* campaigns, and these impositions had sometimes come under debate in the host itself.<sup>64</sup> But we must not replace the imagined council of Chapter xiv with an imagined army. The point is simply that the men charged with devising a consultation over impositions associated with their military obligations seem to have had in mind a type of military summons that would bring together precisely those who were most concerned. It is true that Chapter xiv betrays presumption (if not confusion) and ambiguity; no wonder it was dropped from reissues of the Charter.<sup>65</sup> But its elements are mostly consistent with the hypothesis of a military derivation, including the provision for proceeding even in the absence of some of those duly summoned. Whatever its implications for assemblies, this was the usual procedure in armies.

The future privilege of peerage foreshadowed in Chapter xiv was rooted in the military-conciliar ambiguity. When the series of enrollments begin early in the thirteenth century, a custom of the summons has so evolved as to verge on identity in writs for deliberation and for service, re-

<sup>62</sup> Sidney Painter, *Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony* (Baltimore, 1943), 48-49. There does, however, seem to be evidence of occasional very large conciliar gatherings. Two such, cited by Stubbs (*Constitutional History*, I, 606), are remarkable for having been, in some sort, military musters. Cf. J. E. A. Jolliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England from the English Settlement to 1485* (3d ed., London, 1954), 258, who believes that the main innovation of Chapters xii and xiv is "the insistence on formal summons and the right of attendance."

<sup>63</sup> Including nonmilitary tenants, it is true, and excluding subtenants, but also including all important warriors or leaders. The military summons cannot normally have been limited to tenants by knight service. (See Hollister, *Military Organization*, 72-73; Holt, *Magna Carta*, 198; *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 7.)

<sup>64</sup> See Mitchell, *Studies*, Chaps. II-IV and 316. There are clear or possible cases of financial negotiations or impositions in armies in 1201 (*ibid.*, 35), 1204 (*ibid.*, 63-65; a council had previously discussed the expedition), 1205 (*ibid.*, 69-70), and 1211 (*ibid.*, 101).

<sup>65</sup> Cf. note 43, above; and see Adams, *Origin of the English Constitution*, 220-29, and Holt, *Magna Carta*, 218-21, 271, 286-88.

quiring an honorable address, reasonable delay, and the specification of place, time, and cause; these requirements find clear expression in Chapter xiv. The chancery rarely fails by this time to distinguish between military and conciliar service,<sup>66</sup> but it may be harking back to simpler days when it occasionally makes a single writ do double duty. Perhaps it is not always remembered that the first known summons of representative knights to the king (1213) is coupled with a summons of knights in arms.<sup>67</sup> More or less similar orders of this dual character are to be found in England throughout the thirteenth century.<sup>68</sup> Especially interesting and curious, given its relatively late date, is the summons of twenty-seven magnates "cum equis et armis" to *Parliament* in 1261.<sup>69</sup>

In France few written summonses survived, even in the thirteenth century.<sup>70</sup> But such evidence as we have suggests that there, too, the conciliar summons may have been derived from the military; certainly the two types continued to be related.<sup>71</sup> Continental formularies that I have sampled limit themselves, among secular documents, to military writs,<sup>72</sup> although one twelfth-century *ars dictaminis* gives an illustrative subsummons of urban knights and townsmen in arms to an imperial diet at Roncaglia.<sup>73</sup>

There remains the important question: to whom were the writs addressed? The administrative value of formalized writs was that they could be routinely copied and distributed to quantities of listed persons or communities. Chancery lists must have existed as early as military summonses became recurrent; for that matter almost any sort of survey of tenure and

<sup>66</sup> Cf., however, *Reports . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 31-32 (Mar. 18, 1264): "vos rogamus [King to magnates] quatinus totum posse vestrum tam amicorum quam aliorum quos perquirere poteritis dictis die & loco vobiscum adducatis super hiis consilium & auxilium efficac una cum aliis fidelibus nostris impensuri."

<sup>67</sup> *Select Charters*, ed. Stubbs, 282; the point may also be illustrated by the writ of 1254 (*ibid.*, 365-66) for executing a military summons and ordering representative knights to the king's council.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., *Report . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 19, 21, 23, 31-32, 36; R. F. Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester, 1932), 326; *Parliamentary Writs*, ed. Palgrave, I, 10, No. 1.

<sup>69</sup> *Report . . . touching the Dignity of a Peer*, III, 23. The *Lay of Havelok the Dane*, ed. W. W. Skeat, rev. Kenneth Sisam (2d ed., Oxford, Eng., 1915), seems to echo the verbiage of a military-conciliar summons, lines 2531 ff.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the remarks of C. H. Taylor, "The Composition of Baronial Assemblies in France, 1315-1320," *Speculum*, XXIX (Apr. 1954), 433, 452; see also Langmuir, "Concilia and Capetian Assemblies," 48-49. Has the earliest extant epistolary summons to a central Capetian convocation been identified as such?

<sup>71</sup> See Bisson, *Assemblies in Languedoc*, 138, 187, 196. Military convocation lists, discussed in the next paragraph of the article, antedate lists for assemblies; they imply the existence of writs.

<sup>72</sup> E.g., "Curialis," mid-thirteenth century, ed. Ludwig Wahrmund, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des römisch-kanonischen Processes im Mittelalter* (7 vols., Innsbruck, 1905-31), I, iii, 60, No. 202, illustrating a French feudal subsummons in response to the king's summons.

<sup>73</sup> "A Twelfth-Century 'Ars Dictaminis,'" ed. Wieruszowski, 390-91; cf. Guilhaume, *Origine de la noblesse*, 259, n. 10.

obligations might have served usefully in the administration of convocations. Lists for a growing variety of purposes were recorded with writs in England after 1200 and in Aragon after 1250.<sup>74</sup> As for France, though the writs are generally missing, a number of military convocation lists, whole or fragmentary, are available from 1236 on.<sup>75</sup> There are also some lists enumerating French towns with their service obligations;<sup>76</sup> these records have especial interest, partly because the towns continued to be represented in royal armies,<sup>77</sup> but also because the first assemblies of Capetian towns are very obscure. During the reign of Philip the Fair military lists become fuller and are joined in survival by writs as well as by lists for financial and unspecified uses.<sup>78</sup> C. H. Taylor has already pointed to the possible significance of some of these lists for helping to identify a "core-group of barons for general royal purposes."<sup>79</sup> Surely we may assume that, in a period of French history when assemblies continued to be more experimental and less organized than armies, lists such as these were used in constituting assemblies. This seems the more likely because even in England, where by 1300 the administration of assemblies was much more advanced, military convocation lists continued to be the basis of the parliamentary summons of magnates.

In a penetrating article on the problem of peerage, Round noted, almost incidentally, that the writs for the assembly at Shrewsbury in 1283 corresponded in address to those for the summons of an army in the second Welsh war.<sup>80</sup> Jolliffe, looking further, found virtual identity in the lists of magnates summoned in 1297 to war at Newcastle and to parliament at Salisbury. In the next year some thirty names were cut out and others added, and the host of Carlisle, convoked in this form in 1299, was to be the model

<sup>74</sup> The English chancery enrollments are too well known to require citation. For Aragon, see Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería, Registros, e.g., VIII, fols. 1-6v, 24, 30-32v, 66-68v, IX, fol. 37v, X, fol. 4. While diverse, these first Aragonese lists have a predominantly military nature.

<sup>75</sup> *HF*, XXIII, 725 ff.; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., V, No. 445.

<sup>76</sup> *Prisia Servientum*, *HF*, XXIII, 722-23, dating from the reign of Philip Augustus; cf. *ibid.*, 730-31, summons list of 1253 mentioning communes with burdens only approximately corresponding to those specified by the *Prisia*. The later list also mentions towns of Guienne (and see, too, *Rôles Gascons*, ed. F. X. Michel and Charles Bémont [4 vols., Paris, 1885-1906], I, Nos. 1587, 1594, 3631). See also *HF*, XXIII, 737, 751-52, 785, and generally Le Colonel Borrelli de Serres, *Recherches sur divers services publics du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (3 vols., Paris, 1895-1909), I, 485-527.

<sup>77</sup> See *Chroniques de St-Denis*, in *HF*, XXI, 104, report of a military convocation of communes in 1227; Borrelli de Serres, *Recherches*, I, 513; *HF*, XXIII, 734-52.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 736 ff.; see also Guilhiermoz, *Origine de la noblesse*, 282-83, nn. 79, 80. Lists for military or general uses by the Count of Flanders turn up at the same time. (Archives Départementales, Nord, B.1266, Nos. 234, 235.)

<sup>79</sup> Taylor, "Composition of Baronial Assemblies in France," 451-53. The earliest extant "general purpose" list dates from the reign of Philip Augustus. (*HF*, XXIII, 682-86.)

<sup>80</sup> J. H. Round, "The House of Lords and the Model Parliament," *English Historical Review*, XXX (July 1915), 389, cited by M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 232.

for the parliamentary summons of lay lords during the next seven years.<sup>81</sup> Thus did military and conciliar leadership continue to be thought of as identical in the fourteenth century.<sup>82</sup>

Most of the military influences, indeed, assumed renewed importance in the fourteenth century—an epoch of renewed conflict. In function as in form the assemblies of the later Middle Ages were significantly oriented to military requirements. But this was no simple reversion to the rough parliamentarism of the early feudal age. Assemblies had in the meantime acquired notable functions of nonmilitary kinds, particularly during the relatively peaceful decades of the thirteenth century, and these functions were not lost thereafter. It may be argued that the most successful assemblies from a constitutional point of view, such as the Cortes and the English Parliament, were precisely those which had proved capable of developing their powers in peace as well as in war. Yet even the nonbelligerent attributes, we should remember, were fostered by the exigencies of war. Taxation has already been mentioned in this connection, and political and judicial activities are also in point. The propagandistic uses of early assemblies, to which Taylor and J. R. Strayer have directed our attention, are most evident in time of war;<sup>83</sup> while, according to the suggestion of Gaines Post, Parliaments of Edward I were, in a legal sense, sitting in judgment on the King's "case" for military support.<sup>84</sup> Plainly it will not do to think of war in a narrowly military sense. The political aspects of war attained increasing prominence in the assemblies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as rulers, helped by the progressive ordering of their peoples within definite and defensible boundaries, gained better control of the wars they fought. Some of the assemblies mentioned in preceding pages were "military" only, or chiefly, in this political sense. As the engrossing immediacy of warfare begins to give way before governmental progress, moreover, a certain archaism or formalism becomes perceptible in some of the specifically military aspects of late medieval consultation. The use of military lists in constituting parliaments possibly indicates administrative conservatism as much as political necessity. And the militant feudal terms that per-

<sup>81</sup> Jolliffe, *Constitutional History*, 348.

<sup>82</sup> M. Powicke, *Military Obligation*, 162-63, demonstrates the persistent affiliation of military and parliamentary summons lists down to 1385, with the latter having priority in some cases.

<sup>83</sup> Strayer and Taylor, *Studies in Early French Taxation*, 82-85, 151-73; see also J. R. Strayer, "The Statute of York and the Community of the Realm," *American Historical Review*, XLVII (Oct. 1941), esp. 5-8.

<sup>84</sup> Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*, 110-17. The general court of Agenais certainly functioned in an analogous way.

sist in writs and descriptions of assemblies evoke a strain of traditional thought about consultation that was beginning to lose its relevance in the new royal politics of the fourteenth century. But it was only much later that armies and their interests drastically broke with assemblies. The modern inheritance of legislative control over standing armies and war appropriations<sup>85</sup> is a much-reduced remnant of the military accumulation in medieval representative institutions.

A military and political reality, medieval warfare was also, in the final analysis, a social phenomenon. Its institutions resembled those of consultation in being incidents of a massive organizing of society. How to classify, how to record, how to mobilize or manage: these had come to be the meaningful questions, and they had in common a relevance for military and conciliar problems. The sociolegal changes that determined these administrative questions, such as the "territorializing" (that is, standardizing) of obligations, the consolidation of nobility, and the emergence of an urban class, had a still more evident mutual significance. But this organizing and defining served a kind of social leverage that was ordained primarily to the needs of coercive power. Well might the management of assemblies rest content with its military schooling; so too, in different ways, the appearance of military orders of clergy and the anxious persistence in fortifying cities real and imagined seem symptomatic. The pervasive experience of war—condition as well as cause—forms a social perspective in which the rise of medieval representation can be better understood.

<sup>85</sup> See, e.g., *The Federalist*, Numbers 24–29, esp. Number 26, where reference is made to the English background; and William Prynne, *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (London, 1643), esp. Pts. 2, 4.



# The Decline of Cotton Factorage after the Civil War

HAROLD D. WOODMAN \*

THE return of King Cotton after the Civil War brought back also his chief retainer, the factor. In every major cotton market in the South many names, long familiar in the factorage business before the Civil War, began to reappear in advertisements and in planters' correspondence. Some had maintained "business as usual" relations throughout the war and merely continued on into the postwar period. Others were rebuilding a business interrupted by the war. Still others were relative newcomers who, sensing new opportunities, pooled their resources and began business.<sup>1</sup> In any case, the postwar factor, whether a novice or a practiced businessman, initially functioned much as he had during the prewar period.

The ante bellum cotton factor had been the planter's alter ego in the market place. He had served, first of all, as the planter's salesman. Located in the large markets, he knew the needs of the foreign and domestic buyers who congregated there. He was an expert judge of the quality of cotton, kept abreast of the size of each year's crop, and carefully analyzed the latest news on price trends from New York and Europe. The planter

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<sup>1</sup> For evidence of the rebuilding of cotton factorage in various markets after the Civil War, see the following: in Savannah, N. J. Darrell & Co., *Savannah City Directory for 1867* (Savannah, 1867), 24-25; *Haddock's Savannah, Ga., Directory, and General Advertiser*, comp. T. M. Haddock (Savannah, 1871), 357-59; Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, *passim*; correspondence from Robert Habersham's Sons & Co. in George Noble Jones Papers, Georgia Historical Society, and in the Harrold Brothers Papers, Emory University Library; in New Orleans, [Andrew Morrison,] *Industries of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1885), 63, 75, 94, 128, 135; *New Orleans and the New South*, comp. Andrew Morrison (New Orleans, 1888), 46, 104; "Edmund Richardson," in Latham, Alexander & Co., *Cotton Movement and Fluctuations, 1876 to 1883* (New York, 1883), 41-44; correspondence from New Orleans factors in John C. Burrus Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Eli J. Capell Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; Mrs. Nancy Richey Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Golsan Brothers Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University; in Charleston, Arthur Mazyck, *Guide to Charleston* (Charleston [1875]), 143-48, 161, 170-71; Robert Goodwyn Rhett, *Charleston, An Epic of Carolina* (Richmond, Va., 1940), 310; accounts and correspondence from factors in Gregorie-Elliott Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Fort Motte Plantation Records, South Carolina Historical Society.

simply sent his ginned and baled cotton to his factor and trusted him to choose the best moment for the most profitable sale.

The factor had also served as a buyer. Whether the planter desired a set of books for his library or shoes for his slaves, several bottles of imported brandy or a barrel of western pork, he had only to ask his factor and the goods would be purchased and sent to the plantation. Again the factor was expected to be sensitive to price trends and was trusted to make the purchases at the least possible cost to the planter.

Finally, the factor had been a source of credit for the planter. If plantation supplies were needed or luxuries desired before the planter had realized any funds from his year's crop, the factor was expected to provide the requested goods on credit. Similarly, if the planter needed cash for the purchase of slaves or land or for any other purpose, the factor was asked to supply it either from his personal reserve or from money borrowed at the bank; repayment in either case was deferred until the crop was sold.<sup>2</sup>

As before the war, the renascent cotton grower needed supplies, seed, food, and clothing, and he usually needed them before his cotton was ready for marketing. It should not be surprising that he turned to the familiar and traditional means of meeting these needs: the cotton factorage system.

Paradoxically, however, at the very time that the cotton factorage system was being resurrected, signs of its decline could be noted. A combination of technological changes that had begun to affect the cotton trade before the Civil War and the social and economic changes following the war gnawed at the very foundations of the system. Each of the major functions of the factor—salesman, buyer, and supplier of credit—was gradually replaced by other, more efficient agencies, and as this occurred, cotton factorage tended to disappear. Efforts by factorage firms to remain viable in the face of the changes only ensured the eventual collapse of the system.

Two of the factor's key functions, that of seller and of supplier, were undermined by technological change in the form of improved transportation and communication links between the interior South and the outside world. Even before the Civil War, transportation improvements had begun to change the direction of cotton movements and the nature of cotton factorage in some areas of the South. By the 1850's, for example, planters in

<sup>2</sup> Alfred Holt Stone, "The Cotton Factorage System of the Southern States," *American Historical Review*, XX (Apr. 1915), 557-65; Ralph W. Haskins, "Planter and Cotton Factor in the Old South: Some Areas of Friction," *Agricultural History*, XXIX (Jan. 1955), 1-14; Lewis E. Atherton, *The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 18-37; Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York, 1961), 200-204; Harold D. Woodman, "King Cotton and His Retainers," doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1964, Chap. 1.

western Georgia and northern Alabama found that the railroads offered them a number of new markets for their crops. The Atlanta and West Point, the Georgia, the Western and Atlantic, and the Memphis and Charleston (and connecting lines), along with the traditional river routes, connected the area with markets on the Atlantic (Charleston, Savannah, and Norfolk), on the Gulf (Mobile, New Orleans, and Pensacola), or in such widely scattered interior points as Augusta, Macon, Montgomery, or Memphis. As a result, comparative prices in the various markets, rather than the availability of transportation, began to determine the direction of cotton movements. The competitive dangers involved in this easing of transportation restrictions in turn dictated accommodative efforts by the factors. To secure or maintain their business, factors began to buy cotton in the interior. They financed local merchants, many of them itinerant, who were instructed to buy up as much of the local crop as they could and then to ship it to them.<sup>3</sup>

Such practices adumbrated the eventual disintegration of factorage. Not only were factors departing from their traditional role as sellers by becoming buyers as well, but local merchants were beginning to control a portion of the crop. Later, when local buyers no longer needed the financial assistance of the factors and were able to resell their cotton directly to the consumers or to exporters, factorage would become superfluous.

The possibility of direct shipments from the interior to a consuming or foreign market would aid in this development. The beginnings could be seen in the establishment of the so-called "overland route" to the North on the eve of the Civil War. A portent of the future was reported in a Memphis newspaper in the spring of 1860:

The first direct shipment of cotton from Memphis to Liverpool, by the Northern or overland route, was made on Saturday last. The shipment consisted of three hundred bales. It will be taken to Pittsburg by water, thence to Liverpool by the usual means of transportation, there to be sold on account of the Memphis shipper.<sup>4</sup>

A year later a Buffalo paper reported cotton shipments from Memphis to Boston by a direct, west to east route. The cotton had traveled by river to Cincinnati and then by rail to Boston. "This is cheaper than it can be shipped down the Mississippi to New-Orleans, and thence by vessel, and the difference in time is about thirty days in favor of the Northern route."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> These developments are treated in detail in Harold D. Woodman, "Itinerant Cotton Merchants of the Ante Bellum South," *Agricultural History*, XL (Apr. 1966), 79-90.

<sup>4</sup> *Memphis Bulletin*, as reprinted in *New Orleans Price Current*, Apr. 25, 1860.

<sup>5</sup> *Buffalo Commercial*, as reprinted in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, XLIV (June 1861), 782-83.

Initially, only a relatively small amount of cotton was involved in the overland route. Of the last crop marketed before the Civil War, only 143,424 bales were sent in a northerly direction, crossing the Ohio River at various points and making connections with the east-west trunk lines in the North. The amount, when compared to the total crop, was slight, but it had risen steadily over the previous years.<sup>6</sup>

When the cotton trade was fully reopened in 1865, the impact of earlier developments in transportation began to be felt more profoundly. In 1865-1866 more than 210,000 bales moved to northern markets via the overland route. By 1869-1870 the number exceeded 350,000 bales, and in the crop year 1879-1880 well over 1,000,000 bales out of a total crop of about 5,700,000 bales used this route. Overland traffic had increased from 2.3 per cent of the total crop in 1859-1860 to over 19 per cent in 1880. Of the total amount of cotton going to northern cities in 1880 via overland and coastwise transportation some 44 per cent went via the overland route; of that portion of the total crop used by northern manufacturers about 72 per cent went overland. In the early *post-bellum* years some of the cotton moving in this northeastern direction traveled part of the way on the Ohio River, but gradually all-rail routes came to predominate. Thus, receipts by river at Cincinnati in 1870 exceeded 146,000 bales, almost 42 per cent of that taking the overland route, but a decade later river receipts at Cincinnati had dropped to about 76,000 bales, less than 7 per cent of the overland total.<sup>7</sup>

East-west railroads south of the Ohio River were also drawing increasing amounts of the crop to the Atlantic ports. In 1859-1860, 24.3 per cent of the cotton crop left the South via the Atlantic ports; in 1878-1879, the proportion going to the Atlantic had risen to 38 per cent.<sup>8</sup> In part this increase was the result of more cotton going to the older, traditional cotton markets of Charleston and Savannah. But these ports had to share the postwar business with other growing Atlantic ports. Norfolk, for example, which before the war had received only a few thousand bales, most of which had been produced in the immediate neighborhood, became, in the postwar years, a major cotton market. The Norfolk and Western and the Seaboard

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1881* (House Executive Document, 46 Cong., 3 sess., No. 7, Pt. 2), 187. The increase given is as follows:

1857-58—	9,624
1858-59—	85,321
1859-60—	108,676
1860-61—	143,424

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 188; Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1879* (House Executive Document, 45 Cong., 3 sess., No. 32, Pt. 3), 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

and Roanoke Railroads, completed on the eve of the Civil War, through their connections with other lines, opened the western cotton lands to the Virginia port. By 1875 Norfolk received almost 400,000 bales, and a decade later receipts were approaching the 500,000 mark.<sup>9</sup>

Railroads were obviously changing the pattern of cotton movements, diverting cotton from the Gulf ports that had been pre-eminent when river transportation was the most important means to market. But the railroads did more than change trade patterns; they altered the entire nature of the southern trade. The railroads not only gave sellers the option of several of the older markets, but also opened hundreds of new markets. Cotton marketing moved inland, away from the huge markets on the coast that traditionally had handled the crop. W. H. Tison, the senior partner in a venerable Savannah factorage house, noted the change when he visited Selma, Alabama, in 1870 and saw cotton being purchased there for New York delivery. The cotton was sampled, classed (that is, graded according to color and staple length), and compressed, the whole procedure being "done . . . in Sea Port & business like manner."<sup>10</sup>

The services of a seaport factor were totally unnecessary; the entire marketing process was handled in Selma. The cotton Tison saw being purchased for New York delivery might have been shipped to one of the seaports, but a factor did not have to handle it there. When Robert Somers visited Charleston in November 1870 he found cotton exports from the city growing, but the cotton was "giving little return to the town itself" because much of it was simply passing through on its way to other markets. Buyers, he explained, were going "over the heads" of Charleston factors and merchants by making their purchases in the interior.<sup>11</sup> Somers watched the procedure in Memphis in February of the following year. Spinners' representatives were buying cotton in Memphis for shipment to Liverpool, a procedure made possible by the "establishment of *through* bills of lading by the various railroad companies in connection with the ocean steamship lines from New York."<sup>12</sup>

Cotton traveling on such through bills of lading was merely transferred

<sup>9</sup> Wm. F. Switzler, *Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States . . . 1886* (House Executive Document, 49 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7, Pt. 2), 93-97.

<sup>10</sup> Tison to W. W. Gordon, Jan. 26, 1870, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Somers, *The Southern States since the War, 1870-1* (New York, 1871), 45.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 259-60. "The ports of Norfolk, Va., Wilmington, N. C., Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., are not to any considerable extent cotton markets. The cotton which passes through these ports consists largely of direct shipments made from the interior points throughout the South to Northern seaports or manufactories in the Northern States, by means of arrangements entered into between railroads and ocean steamer lines." (Nimmo, *Report . . . 1879*, 125.)

from railroad car to ship at the ports and continued on its way. Even this was expedited; in Norfolk, for example, "railway cars run out on the wharves, where the largest of merchant vessels may lie alongside and receive the bales directly into their holds."<sup>13</sup> Traditionally, cotton arriving in the ports had been in the form of "gin bales" and before transfer aboard ship had been recompressed into smaller, higher density bales so as to diminish their bulk. But beginning in the early 1870's powerful cotton compresses were built in the interior. This not only obviated recompression at the ports, but also allowed railroad cars to double their previous capacity thereby lowering freight rates.<sup>14</sup>

The railroad, through bills of lading, and improved cotton compresses were moving cotton buying into the interior, thereby undermining the old cotton factorage system. Another technological innovation, the improvement of communications, was leading in the same direction. The telegraph, the transatlantic cable, and later the telephone put merchants in every market in almost instantaneous touch with one another. Cotton prices in Liverpool and New York could be known in minutes not only in New Orleans and Savannah, but, as the telegraph expanded inland along with the railroad, in hundreds of tiny interior markets. Somers noted while in Memphis that an English buyer could watch the movement of prices, judge his needs, and then place his order directly, via the telegraph, to Memphis. He could raise or lower his offered price at a moment's notice.<sup>15</sup> The result was obvious. The seller had no need of the expert advice of the factor concerning possible price movements and other market information. In the interior statistics were received regularly and posted for all to see and judge.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Switzler, *Report . . . 1886*, 93.

<sup>14</sup> Joseph Nimmo, Jr., *First Annual Report on the Internal Commerce of the United States (1877)* (House Executive Document, 44 Cong., 2 sess., No. 46, Pt. 2), 143.

<sup>15</sup> Somers, *Southern States since the War*, 260.

<sup>16</sup> The great market at Liverpool was also by-passed. John Crosby Brown, himself a merchant connected with various firms bearing his name, firms that had been active in the cotton business, described the change: "Communication between the Old and New Worlds by cable, successfully established in 1866, revolutionized trade between the two countries, leaving the Liverpool merchants connected with that trade without their usual occupation. In fact, the necessity for the intervention of merchants gradually ceased. Manufacturers in England, France and Germany bought their cotton by cable on samples previously sent to them from various places of shipment, i.e., New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Savannah, Galveston, Memphis, and other inland towns. Samples were sent to them from brokers and merchants in these cities, oftentimes accompanied by a firm offer price. These they could examine carefully in their own offices, make their selection for the style of goods they desired to manufacture, and cable either the acceptance of the offer or a counter-offer, with authority, usually arranged through some banker, to draw against shipment. As a consequence warehouse property in Liverpool, largely built for cotton storage, and which had heretofore brought a good return to the owners, was for a time empty, and its value greatly diminished. Consignments of cotton and other produce to Liverpool for sale practically ceased, and to a great extent manufactured goods for shipment

Ineluctably the trend toward interior buying and direct shipments to the manufacturer increased. The 1880 census, in its cotton production survey, chronicled the shift: reports from county after county in the cotton South announced that local cotton marketing was pronounced and increasing. Every town, indeed virtually every stop on the railroad, had become a market where the grower could sell his crop.<sup>17</sup>

The southern railroad boom of the 1880's<sup>18</sup> continued the process; by pushing deeper into the interior the railroad opened still more markets. *Bradstreet's* southern correspondents reported the effect. A South Carolinian wrote that in his state "better markets are now open in country towns by reason of foreign buyers sending agents to the interior." From Alabama came the report that "Cash buyers were in every neighborhood, crops were bought up promptly and shipped direct to the mills and export." And a Texas correspondent noted that "Cotton that was formerly sent to commission merchants to be held is now bought by contractors, and goes direct to New England or abroad." The journal found that there were 164 interior cotton markets in the southern states in 1885.<sup>19</sup>

By this time it was clear that cotton marketing had altered considerably from prewar days. In 1886 *Bradstreet's* devoted a long article to the "Changes in Marketing the Great Staple."<sup>20</sup> The basic change which the journal's correspondents discovered was that interior buying had become "general throughout the south about the year 1875," a development which the editors traced to the railroad and the telegraph. As a result, the business of the old port city markets was undermined. "The sending of cotton buyers into the interior, shipping cotton they buy on through bills of lading, avoiding heavy charges at the ports, has cut considerably into business formerly exclusively enjoyed by those ports." Nor had the process ended. Competition among buyers "leads them every year to go further into the country, and each year sees the remote producer and the mills or exporters brought closer together."

A New England correspondent traced the effects of the change on his

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to this country, which had heretofore been attended to by Liverpool merchants, were shipped direct by the manufacturers to the buyers in the United States on a through bill of lading. The old mercantile firms which were the pride of Liverpool soon disappeared." (John Crosby Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking* [New York, 1909], 123.)

<sup>17</sup> Eugene W. Hilgard, "Report on Cotton Production in the United States," in US Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Tenth Census* (1880), V, VI (Washington, D. C., 1884), *passim*.

<sup>18</sup> John Stover, *The Railroads of the South, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1955), 190-93.

<sup>19</sup> *Bradstreet's*, XI (Feb. 14, 1885), 99-100. The listing showed the 164 towns to be broken down by states as follows: North Carolina, 19; South Carolina, 28; Georgia, 17; Alabama, 19; Mississippi, 20; Louisiana, 6; Texas, 34; Arkansas, 6; Tennessee, 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226.

section. Until recently the cotton mills had resident agents in the large port markets who purchased cotton from factors on order from the mills. These agents were given general orders concerning price and quality, but final decisions were "left to their own judgment." This had now largely been abandoned. Mill buyers, the correspondent explained, dealt with brokers who had representatives throughout the interior in the South:

The telegraph is used freely, and the buyer knows hour by hour what cotton can be had for in each of the interior and seaboard markets. He names a price to any mill man who is in need of cotton, and if he receives an order he telegraphs forthwith to his southern correspondent to make a trade. The staple thus being secured a bill of lading is issued.

English buyers, the correspondent added, now utilized the same procedure.<sup>21</sup>

*Bradstreet's* writers predicted that interior buying would continue to grow. Their predictions were borne out. By the turn of the century the Industrial Commission reported that more than half the crop (55.4 per cent in 1897-1898) was received in thirty interior markets. From these markets the crop moved directly to the consuming markets. Factorage expenses "once considered legitimate are no longer a feature of the movement of this crop." Although 50 per cent of the crop still left the country through New Orleans, Galveston, and Savannah, these cities served merely as expeditors of cotton already bound for the mills on through bills of lading. Local markets—"almost any town of any consequence"—had adequate cotton compresses and were in telegraphic communication with the North and Europe, receiving hourly reports of prices all over the world; from them cotton could be shipped anywhere on through bills. "This system tends to dispense with the middlemen."<sup>22</sup>

Postwar factors soon became acutely aware of the competition from inland buyers. Stephen D. Heard, a cotton factor of Augusta, Georgia, for example, found himself in competition with his own business correspondent in New York. A member of the New York firm of Adolphus C. Schaefer & Co. had visited the South in 1865 and arranged a business connection with Heard. In return for any cotton Heard influenced to be sent to Schaefer, the Augusta factor was to receive a rebate of 1 per cent on the selling commission. Thus began a typical southern factor-New York merchant relationship. But the traveling New Yorker was not content with this arrangement. Instead, he went further inland to the smaller markets and

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>22</sup> US Industrial Commission, *Report . . . on the Distribution of Farm Products* (Washington, D. C., 1901), 150-52, 167-69, 173, 181-83.



visited some of Heard's customers (or potential customers) offering them the same terms he had made with Heard. One of Heard's old customers in West Point, Georgia, wrote that the Schaefer partner had visited that town and had informed one of the merchants there that "if he would ship his cotton through direct he would save the one pr cent you were getting out of the firm."<sup>23</sup>

Through bills of lading had not yet been initiated in the area, and many of those who were interviewed by the New Yorker shipped their cotton to Schaefer & Co. via Augusta and Heard. When Heard requested his return commission on such cotton, he was refused by the New York firm; the company argued that these were not Heard's customers. "The Cotton was sent to you with orders to ship it to us. You had no discretion or influence in the matter,"<sup>24</sup> the New Yorkers expostulated. This provoked a sharp retort from Heard. He found Schaefer's letter "couched in language evidently intended to add insult to injury," language "characteristic" of those "who have no scruples as to the means used to obtain money from others." Angrily, Heard decided to forego his commissions, and, enclosing a check for the balance he owed, concluded that "our business acquaintance must end."<sup>25</sup>

Severing business relations might have assuaged Heard's ruffled feelings, but it did not solve the problem. Local planters and merchants could deal directly with New York and receive a rebate on the commission besides. And once through bills of lading were established, as they very quickly were, Heard would not even be called upon to handle the cotton as it went through Augusta. He would have to offer similar terms or lose the business. This was made abundantly clear in a letter from planters in West Point at the beginning of the 1867 marketing season:

We will probably make some two hundred and fifty Bales Cotton this year on our plantations, and will probably buy some, and we want to make an arrangement with some house in your city to ship to . . . but we think that 2½ per cent commissions is more than the planter can afford to pay . . . if you are willing to receive our shipments and deduct half the commissions let us hear from you at once.<sup>26</sup>

Faced with this competition, the postwar factor had to adjust to new conditions or be driven out of business. One way, open especially to the

<sup>23</sup> W. C. Darden to Heard, Oct. 23, 1865, Stephen D. Heard Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

<sup>24</sup> Adolphus C. Schaefer & Co. to Heard, Aug. 15, 1866, *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Heard to Schaefer & Co., Aug. 31, 1866, *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Bass & Johnson to Heard, Aug. 29, 1867, *ibid.*; see also F. W. Sims & Co. to Thomas Harrold, Sept. 26, 1865, Harrold Brothers Papers.

factor in the interior, was to become a buyer himself, filling orders from spinners and shipping direct. In the early summer of 1870 Heard's new New York merchants, Austell, Inman & Co., wrote that "some of our spinning friends" were making purchases in the South for direct shipment to the North. The New York firm promised to do its best "to influence some of them to invest in Augusta." Heard was urged to make his charges "as light as possible as orders will seek points where they can be filled cheapest."<sup>27</sup>

Ironically, in buying for spinners, the factor hastened the decline of the factorage system because the buying department of a factorage house competed against the commission department. In trying to fill his orders, the factor, or agents he hired, scoured the countryside looking for cotton to buy and, in so doing, added to the number of interior buyers who were slowly destroying the commission business.<sup>28</sup> Usually the buying department, if successful, became more important and gradually absorbed the commission business.<sup>29</sup> Planters soon discovered that their factors would buy their cotton at the going market rate, thus saving the grower the cost of commission charges.<sup>30</sup>

While improved transportation and communication were undermining the factor's role as cotton seller, these same improvements were doing away with his responsibilities as a plantation supplier. Railroads that brought cotton out of the South from remote interior markets also brought food and manufactured goods from the West and the Northeast directly to southern

<sup>27</sup> Austell, Inman & Co. to S. D. Heard & Son, May 2, 1870, Heard Papers.

<sup>28</sup> For typical examples of this procedure, see R. W. Reid to Tison, Aug. 12, 1867, Tison to Gordon, Oct. 23, 1869, Jan. 26, Apr. 18, 1870, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection; Darden to Heard, Sept. 3, 1867, Heard Papers; G[odfrey] Barnsley to Wm. Duncan, June 14, 1869, Barnsley Collection, Archives Division, Tennessee State Library.

<sup>29</sup> See William Hustace Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market* (New York, 1925), 137-38.

<sup>30</sup> Tradition and law dictated that without the owner's permission a factor could not buy cotton that was consigned to him for sale; that is, the buying business and the commission business were supposed to be kept separate. The reason, of course, is obvious: as a seller, the factor had the obligation to get as much as possible for his customers; as a buyer, he sought the lowest possible price. The law was made clear early in the ante bellum period; see *Beal v. McKiernan*, 6 Curry (La.) 407 (1834). Many factors advertised that they did no buying at all. After the Civil War, as buying by factors became more common, the separation of the two functions became more important. As late as 1925 a Federal Trade Commission investigation undertaken as a result of a Senate resolution of June 7, 1924, found the buying of cotton consigned to them to be one of the abuses practiced by factors. The charges were strenuously denied by the factors of New Orleans who listed the legal safeguards planters had against this abuse. (See Federal Trade Commission, *Cotton Merchandising Practices*, 68 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Docs., No. 194 [Washington, D. C., 1925]; *Spot Cotton Trade of New Orleans*, 68 Cong., 2 sess., Senate Docs., No. 207 [Washington, D. C., 1925].) Despite law and tradition, it is probable that factors, feeling the pinch of competition, resorted to buying cotton consigned to them. Caution had to be exercised, however. (See, e.g., Tison & Gordon to C. J. Miller, Mar. 17, 1875, Letter Book, 1872-76, Gordon Family Papers, Georgia Historical Society.) The Savannah factors proposed that Miller buy a shipment of eighty-five bales of cotton coming to them for sale, the purchase to be made for Tison & Gordon "as a speculation" with their money. Miller was cautioned to manage the matter "very delicately": "Don't mention any names in Telegraphing and dont Telegraph to us."

village stores. When Whitelaw Reid visited the South immediately after the Civil War, he found New Orleans to be the center for the distribution of western provisions in the Mississippi Valley. As he traveled from New Orleans to Natchez, he noticed that the boat made frequent stops at plantations where supplies, purchased in New Orleans, were dropped off. He found this to be a remarkable example of southern conservatism, for the goods he saw being delivered had been carried from the North past these same plantations on the way to New Orleans only to return "with double freights and double commissions." When he inquired of planters why this method was used, the typical answer was that "Mr. So-and-so, in New Orleans, has sold all his cotton or sugar, and purchased all his supplies for the last ten or twenty years, and he doesn't want to be bothered making a change."<sup>31</sup>

Conservatism, however, would not sustain a system made obsolete by improved transportation. In 1877 Henry G. Hester, secretary of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, described the changed trade relations between New Orleans and the West. The Crescent City never recovered from the disruption of trade during the Civil War, he wrote. Goods from the West bound for Europe or eastern cities no longer went through New Orleans, but went directly, via the railroads, to the eastern areas of the country for consumption or export. Even most of the southern trade was lost:

Twenty years ago the entire States of Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, and Alabama, and large portions of Arkansas, Tennessee, and Georgia, obtained their supplies of provisions, breadstuffs, groceries, and even dry goods, from New Orleans. This was largely the case even ten years ago, but now the local trade is confined to Louisiana, Southern Texas, and only small portions of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Arkansas. Railroads leading down from the West have penetrated in every direction and touched the Gulf coast at several points. Little by little they have drawn shipments away from the river.<sup>32</sup>

The experience in the other port cities was the same. By 1870 Charleston and Savannah had ceased to be ports of entry for western goods. Instead of goods traveling down the Mississippi and coastwise to these Atlantic ports for distribution in the interior, western produce moved directly from the Northwest to central Georgia, Alabama, and Tennessee via the railroads.<sup>33</sup> Mobile suffered the same fate. Alabama was no longer dependent upon its port: "The railroads receive the commerce of the interior and carry it, east or west, beyond the State, and return the incoming trade."<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865, to May 1, 1866* (London, 1866), 475.

<sup>32</sup> Nimmo, *First Annual Report*, 168-69.

<sup>33</sup> Switzler, *Report . . . 1886*, 374.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 444.

With western goods available in the interior, it was no longer necessary for the cotton grower to look to a factor in the ports to make purchases for him. Merchandise from the Northeast, manufactured goods and foreign imports, also by-passed the factors. The trend was evident on the eve of the Civil War. The Boston and Southern Steamship Company advertised in July 1860 that "THEY WILL FORM A CONNECTING LINE WITH THE SOUTH CAROLINA RAILROAD and goods will be forwarded to all ports in the Southern and Southwestern parts of the country, by that and connecting roads, at through rates of freight, relatively as low as by any other steam line whatever."<sup>35</sup>

In 1869 the nation's leading commercial journal reported that southern buyers from the "minor villages, the corners and cross roads," places "unknown in Northern markets" before the war, "now deal directly with the North." In addition, the journal continued, commercial travelers "go from New York and Philadelphia, and from the manufacturing towns, and solicit direct trade with those with whom business was formerly done by the intervention of the Southern jobber or merchant."<sup>36</sup>

With buyers and suppliers on hand deep in the interior, two of the factor's services had become less important. The factorage system, nevertheless, did not disappear overnight. Many continued sending cotton to factors to be sold on commission simply because they needed the credit facilities factors offered. A Grenada, Mississippi, correspondent for *Bradstreet's*, while noting the growing trend toward interior selling, added: "The only obstacle in the way of all the cotton being sold to local buyers is the lack of capital with which to make the crop without drawing from New Orleans, where planters get advances on agreement to ship one bale of cotton for every \$10 advanced."<sup>37</sup>

The familiar ante bellum credit pattern can be seen in letter after letter in the papers of postwar factors requesting supplies on credit and pledging cotton in return. The following is typical:

I am planting on a small scale and have no merchant  
I was fortunate enough to have means almost to purchase my supplies for the  
present year. Consequently have applied to none as yet.  
But as you are in the commission business and willing to assist me a little I will  
send you my crop.

<sup>35</sup> Boston *Shipping List*, July 4, 1860, as quoted in Edward Chase Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation* (2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1948), II, 178.

<sup>36</sup> *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, LXI (Nov. 1869), 362; see also Nimmo, *Report . . . 1881*, 77.

<sup>37</sup> *Bradstreet's*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226. The editors indicated that numerous other correspondents in the South had made the same report.

The assistance I want is small one coil of rope & one Role of Bagging one Barrel of flour & one Barrel Mess Pork also one bank of twine If my arrangements suit you pleas [*sic*] forward soon If not let me hear from you.<sup>38</sup>

But, again, if the need for credit was an element helping to perpetuate the factorage system, it was also a force contributing to its decline. The need did not diminish, but alternatives to the resources of the factor appeared: credit facilities, like the markets, moved inland.

In part the shift was a result of transportation developments that allowed growers to make their purchases locally. Most of the credit advanced by the ante bellum factor had been in the form of supplies and luxuries ordered by the planter during the year with payment not due until the crop was sold. As postwar growers began to get their supplies locally, they began also to get their credit locally. A second and closely related reason for the shift inland of credit facilities arose from the social revolution produced by the emancipation of the slaves. When slaves became tenants, they had to find the means to feed and clothe themselves and to provide themselves with the supplies needed to plant a crop. Local merchants stood ready to provide these facilities. As local credit became available, the factor's domination of this aspect of cotton marketing began to be weakened.

Paradoxically, however, many of the conditions that would ultimately destroy the factor's role as creditor at first helped to resurrect cotton factorage in the ante bellum period. Tenants lacked the financial resources to grow a crop and, like the planters of old, had to find means to secure supplies on credit. Unlike the planter, however, the tenant owned no land and had few tools and other possessions to serve as security for a loan. All he usually possessed was his labor power and the skill required to grow cotton. These "possessions" were transformed into loan security by lien laws passed by every southern state after the war. Creditors could get a prior lien on any cotton grown to the extent of the credit advanced. With this as his security, the planter-landlord often stipulated in his agreements with his tenants that he would supply them with certain necessities or would aid them in securing such supplies. But the planter, himself, rarely had the financial resources to give such aid, and he turned, as he had before the war, to his cotton factor.

In return for the right to sell the crop controlled by the planter-landlord, the factor was willing to extend the credit requested. Often a planter would open a store on his land from which tenants could receive supplies

<sup>38</sup> Braxton King to J. Y. Sanders, May 26, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers. Many similar letters may be found in this collection and in the Heard Papers.

on credit, paying their bill in cotton at the end of the season. The process can be followed typically in the records of Eli J. Capell, who owned the Pleasant Hill Plantation in Amite County, Mississippi. His daybook shows income and expenditures on his plantation beginning in 1849. Entries for the ante bellum period are ordinary planter-slaveowner business records, listing dealings with his New Orleans factors and with other merchants. After the war entries begin to refer to "the Store." While Capell carefully kept his plantation account separate from the store account, the separation was merely a bookkeeping arrangement. He owned both and profited from both. At the same time his postwar entries show dealings with R. Pritchard and later Pritchard & Bickham, the New Orleans factors to whom he sent his cotton to be sold and from whom he received goods on credit to stock his store.<sup>39</sup>

Local storekeepers, warehousemen, and speculators also turned to the factors for credit. In 1866, for example, a Wetumpka, Alabama, firm, Seaman & Bros., wrote Golsan & Sanders, New Orleans cotton factors, requesting an "accommodation" of "Six or Eight hundred dollars" in groceries and other merchandise. The Wetumpka merchants indicated that they were rebuilding their warehouse and promised to "throw some business to your hands during the season." The New Orleans factors agreed to furnish the merchandise, but stipulated very firm conditions: Golsan & Sanders were to "be the sole Factors & Merchants for Seaman & Bros in New Orleans," and "every possible consignment for sale or for forwarding together with all orders that Mess[rs] Seaman & Bros can in any way influence" was to be sent to the New Orleans firm.<sup>40</sup>

Factors soon discovered that their newfound business lacked the stability of ante bellum factorage. Competition was one problem. Just as the factor as cotton seller had been unable to meet the competition from local buyers, so too did the factor as creditor face local competition. Despite any arrangements to the contrary, planters, tenants, and merchants began to get supplies on credit and to dispose of their crop (or part of it) close to home. A letter from a Mound Bayou, Louisiana, farmer to his New Orleans factor illustrates this new source of competition:

I shiped [*sic*] you 4 Bales Cotton in Janry last and would have sent you 8 bales—but I owed Mr. F. M. Miller here—and give him 2 Bales—And I bought a Mule and gave 2 Bales in payment for it—So you can understand the reason you did

<sup>39</sup> Daybook, 1849–76, Eli J. Capell Plantation Diaries and Record Books, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Louisiana State University.

<sup>40</sup> Seaman & Bros. to Golsan & Sanders, June 21, 1866, Golsan to Seaman & Bros., July 9, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers; see also Geo. Walter [an employee of Tison & Gordon] to Gordon, June 9, 1871, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

[not] get the 8 Bales—You must not think hard of me disappointing you but I could sell the Cotton here for 13 cents—without any expence [*sic*]—and had to do it to pay my debts. . . .<sup>41</sup>

When a Mobile paper reminded planters of “the great importance of sending forward their cotton to those factors making advances,” it was obviously reacting to this new problem. Numbers of planters “have shipped their crops to other houses, or sold it on the plantations, and left the factor to get his money the best way he can.” If the practice continued, the paper warned, it will become impossible for “the honest planter to get aid when he needs it.”<sup>42</sup>

The charge of dishonesty often went wide of the mark. The decision to sell locally was usually made on the basis of the probable profit margin. Interior buyers could meet or even exceed prices being realized by factors’ sales because they could save the cost of factors’ commissions. Thus, Seaman & Bros., after promising in July 1866 that they would send all their cotton to Golsan & Sanders in New Orleans, in October wrote that they were withholding their cotton from the New Orleans firm because “there is not any margin between this place & N[ew] O[rleans].”<sup>43</sup>

The factors were caught in a dilemma. If they withheld credit, they would lose the only remaining basis for their services. Yet if they continued to grant credit, they had no guarantee that cotton would come to them for sale. One solution was to deal directly with the growers (rather than storekeepers) and to take a lien on the growing crop. Heard, for example, began requesting such liens of his customers in the 1870’s.<sup>44</sup>

But the factor was at a distinct disadvantage if he chose to do business in this way. The competition was more than he could sustain. Local merchants had the advantage of being able to display their merchandise to their customers, while a distant factor had to sell goods on order, requiring from the grower both a period of self-denial and the ability to write. Moreover, the local merchant was on the scene and could see that cotton came to him as arranged; a distant factor could not give this close supervision. Tison, obviously remembering his old ante bellum business, complained bitterly of his postwar dealings with small farmers.<sup>45</sup> The al-

<sup>41</sup> G. E. Thomas to Golsan & Co., Feb. 24, 1871, Golsan Brothers Papers.

<sup>42</sup> *Planters' and Exchange Prices Current* (Mobile), Nov. 16, 1867.

<sup>43</sup> Seaman & Bros. to Golsan & Sanders, Oct. 11, 1866, Golsan Brothers Papers.

<sup>44</sup> See Heard Papers, *passim*. Old customers often objected to this requirement. A Georgia farmer wrote indignantly that he thought it very “strange” that suddenly, after having dealt with Heard for fifteen years, the firm began to require a lien on the crop for goods furnished. “I would say to you that my word is my bond and as for giving a lean [*sic*] I dont feel disposed to do so[.] you need not be uneasy[.] if there is enough made on the place you will be certain to get your pay.” (C. E. Barefield to Heard & Son, May 13, 1870, *ibid.*)

<sup>45</sup> Tison to Gordon, Aug. 21, 1869, Gordon Family Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

ternative, as Tison put it, was to deal with "merchants of the first class." Writing in August 1870 he noted that Harrold, Johnson & Co., storekeepers of Americus, Georgia, were among his firm's largest customers and added that he would be willing to lend the Americus firm money without security in hopes of getting some of their business, this with full knowledge that other factors were also lending Harrold, Johnson & Co. large sums for the same purpose.<sup>46</sup>

Thus as cotton growers turned increasingly to local merchants for credit, the factor, in order to retain his cotton business, was forced to concentrate on merchants rather than planters. In 1893 it was noted that the largest and most profitable factorage business was with interior merchants.<sup>47</sup> Ironically therefore, as the factor's business waned in the face of interior competition, much of what business he continued to retain served to support and, indeed, to encourage his competition. At the same time interior merchants became less dependent upon the credit facilities offered by the factor. Goods from the North, which now came directly to the storekeepers, were usually made available on credit. A traveling salesman representing a firm of New York hardware merchants recalled how he was required "to extend very long credits to almost every buyer" when he went South after the Civil War. Payment was taken in notes of four to eight months, the due date usually timed to the period when cotton was ready for marketing. Even then, it was often necessary to carry a customer over an entire year until the next crops were mature.<sup>48</sup>

Other wholesalers provided similar credit facilities to the country storekeepers. By 1880 credit from the North had become so widespread that conservative voices were counseling restraint. *Bradstreet's* complained that easy credit given to the local merchant allowed him to extend credit unwisely to southern consumers.<sup>49</sup>

The interior merchant's control of cotton, moreover, opened new avenues of credit. Local banks would lend funds to established merchants and would discount bills of lading and crop lien notes; this paper could easily be re-discounted in the larger banks in the cities, North and South.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Tison to Gordon, Aug. 8, 24, 1870, *ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> H. S. Fleming, "In our Cotton Belt," *Cosmopolitan*, XIV (Mar. 1893), 546.

<sup>48</sup> Edward P. Briggs, *Fifty Years on the Road: The Autobiography of a Traveling Salesman* (Philadelphia, 1911), 30, 34; see also Thomas Clark, *Pills, Petticoats and Plows: The Southern Country Store* (Indianapolis, 1944), 109-23.

<sup>49</sup> *Bradstreet's*, II (Apr. 7, 1880), 5.

<sup>50</sup> Somers, *Southern States since the War*, 141; Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market*, 139-41; *Bradstreet's*, I (Oct. 22, 1879), 1; Nimmo, *Report*: . . . 1879, 148. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* regularly carried advertisements of southern bankers not only from the larger cities but also from such places as Talladega, Selma, Montgomery, and Eufaula, Alabama;



Thus, as his business grew, the local merchant became increasingly independent of the factor. Conversely as the factor's business declined, so too did his ability to command funds he needed to give credit. Cotton on hand or to come had been the valuable security on which the ante bellum factorage system had rested. Less cotton meant less credit, which in turn led to less business.

In the face of competition arising from profound social and technological changes, the cotton factorage system, momentarily resurrected after the Civil War, gradually disappeared. Many firms, some of them with long and distinguished records in the business, simply disintegrated. Many others adjusted their business to new conditions, becoming buyers or furnishing merchants themselves. By the end of the century, C. P. Brooks wrote that "the consignment of cotton for sale has almost died a natural death."<sup>51</sup> Ten years later another cotton analyst wrote that only "a small percentage, comparatively, consign cotton to reliable commission merchants."<sup>52</sup> Despite reports of its early demise, the system continued to hold on, albeit tenuously. Factorage had steadily declined in importance in the cotton trade, a merchant wrote in 1925, "and, to-day, it is a question whether he [the factor] will not disappear altogether."<sup>53</sup> A textbook published in 1938 reported the existence of factors in the South, but found their numbers continuing to decline.<sup>54</sup>

Today, in Memphis and in other markets, a visitor will still find a few firms calling themselves factors, but the use of the word is somewhat misleading. In time the very term lost its former meaning. The factor had performed a multitude of services, not the least of which had been financing the growing and marketing of the crop. This method of financing had become less and less typical, and gradually the term "factor" had come to be applied to any merchant who received cotton for sale on commission even though in most cases the other services—supplier and creditor—were not provided.<sup>55</sup>

By the 1880's it was clear that an entirely new pattern had emerged in the cotton trade. Most growers sold their crop immediately after it was

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Americus, Columbus, and Macon, Georgia; Vicksburg, Mississippi; and Wilmington, North Carolina. (See, e.g., *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XI [Nov. 12, 1870], 611.) Often these firms indicated a willingness to buy and sell cotton, and usually they advertised that they had a New York "correspondent" from whom credit facilities were available.

<sup>51</sup> C. P. Brooks, *Cotton* (New York, 1898), 242.

<sup>52</sup> T. S. Miller, *The American Cotton System* (Austin, Texas, 1909), 103.

<sup>53</sup> Hubbard, *Cotton and the Cotton Market*, 136. Hubbard Brothers were New York cotton merchants.

<sup>54</sup> Harry Bates Brown, *Cotton* (2d ed., New York, 1938), 438.

<sup>55</sup> Federal Trade Commission, *Report . . . on the Cotton Trade*, 68 Cong., 1 sess., Senate Docs., No. 100, Pt. 1 (Washington, D. C., 1924), 29.

picked to the plantation or crossroads village store where they had received supplies, clothing, and other goods on credit during the year. Into these villages came buyers representing foreign firms or New England spinners or simply speculating on their own account. Gradually, however, a new pattern of buying arose also. *Bradstreet's* noted the development in 1886. The opportunities for profit in speculation had brought "a great many irresponsible persons" into the cotton buying business. These people were being weeded out as consumers increasingly sought out the more responsible buyers who would guarantee the quality of the cotton to be delivered.<sup>56</sup>

*Bradstreet's* prognosis proved correct. Cotton buying became concentrated in the hands of a relatively few large European and American firms. These firms, known in the cotton trade as merchants, had representatives in virtually every market, often using the services of storekeepers and ginners, who bought cotton for them at given prices. The cotton was assembled in a number of given towns where the merchants had huge warehouses to store their cotton while they awaited orders from consumers all over the world. An order would send the proper grade on a through bill directly to the consumer. By the turn of the century a small number of large firms, American and European, dominated this business. In 1904 Frank and Monroe Anderson along with Will Clayton organized Anderson, Clayton & Co., soon to become the largest cotton merchants in the world.<sup>57</sup>

When the Civil War ended, King Cotton reascended his throne, and for a while the old marketing system returned with him. But changed conditions doomed the old way. Even as the postwar factorage system struggled to regain its ante bellum position, new forces tended to undermine the factors' hegemony in cotton marketing. Slowly, but steadily, the factorage system declined, and in its place emerged the furnishing merchants and the merchant-buyers. King Cotton had found new retainers.

<sup>56</sup> *Bradstreet's*, XIII (Apr. 10, 1886), 226-27.

<sup>57</sup> US Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, *Extracts from Hearings before a Subcommittee . . . Pursuant to . . . A Resolution to Investigate the Recent Decline in Cotton Prices*, 70 Cong., 1 sess. (Washington, D. C., 1929), 3; Beverly Smith, "King Cotton Himself," *American Magazine*, CXXV (Apr. 1938), 18-19, 62-68; Federal Trade Commission, *Report . . . on Agricultural Income Inquiry: Part I—Principal Farm Products* (Washington, D. C., 1938), 3, 313; "Will Clayton's Cotton," *Fortune*, XXXII (Nov. 1945), 138-47, 231-38 (Dec. 1945), 159-63, 231-42; Ellen Clayton Garwood, *Will Clayton: A Short Biography* (Austin, Texas, 1958), 78-95. Still another new element in cotton marketing that should be mentioned, although discussion of it is beyond the scope of this article, is the futures system. The opening of cotton exchanges in New York, New Orleans, and Liverpool in the 1870's, and in other cities later, provided cotton merchants and consumers with the means to protect their large purchases by hedging on the futures market. (For a good discussion of the methods, see Alston Hill Garside, *Cotton Goes to Market* [New York, 1935]; Alonzo Bettis Cox, *Cotton: Demand, Supply, Merchandising* [Austin, Texas, 1953].)

# Henry VIII and the Protestant Triumph

LACEY BALDWIN SMITH\*

"All I say is, kings is kings, and you got to make allowances. Take them all around, they're a mighty ornery lot. It's the way they're raised." Henry VIII is the one king who has never benefited from Huckleberry Finn's tolerant environmentalist explanation for the vagaries of monarchs. He is regarded as just about the orneriest sovereign in English history, yet almost no allowances are made for his despotic behavior. Henry has been inspected, scrutinized, analyzed, psychoanalyzed, and eulogized by a veritable host of medical doctors, psychologists, theologians, and historians, not to mention journalists and novelists, yet possibly his most shocking act—his sudden, inexplicable, and callous rejection during the last year of his life of his own particular brand of Catholicism and his presumed conversion to Protestantism—has escaped serious study or adequate explanation. By and large historians have blandly accepted the myth, first expounded by John Foxe, that Henry was on the threshold of initiating a second religious revolution when he died. Professor S. T. Bindoff has stated the thesis in its most succinct form:

Had the reign lasted a little longer Henry might himself have been numbered among them [the Protestants]. It is fairly clear that before the end the King had come to recognize the need for a shift in officially-sponsored doctrine. He confided his son's tuition to three Reformers, and in his last months he was meditating the crucial step of converting the Mass into a Communion.<sup>1</sup>

What is not made apparent in Bindoff's version of the story is the monstrous hypocrisy of the King's actions. During the entire time that Henry was presumably allowing reformers to educate his son in the Protestant faith he was systematically burning and maiming the disciples of that creed; in the same month (August 1546) that he is supposed to have contemplated turning the Mass into a communion he was busy enforcing a proclamation for the public burning of all heretical books; and during the spring and summer of 1546 he sanctioned the martyrdom of seven Protestants, de-

\*Mr. Smith, whose field is Tudor history, is a professor at Northwestern University. He has written, among other things, *Tudor Prelates and Politics, 1536-1558* (Princeton, N. J., 1953).

<sup>1</sup> S. T. Bindoff, *Tudor England* (London, 1964), 149-50.

manded the abject recantation of Dr. Edward Crome, and broke out in a towering rage against his Queen's somewhat mystical and humanistic religious views, scornfully announcing that he had evidently come into his old age only "to be taught by my wife."<sup>2</sup>

There are few people quite so conservative as an elderly and successful revolutionist. Henry had succeeded in one revolution which had rocked and shocked the very core of Christendom; we are supposed to believe that, now in his dotage, he was getting ready to deny the very foundations of his faith, dismiss as unfortunate mistakes the death of a whole series of Protestant martyrs, and with a toss of his hoary old beard cast England to the heretic wolves and himself face his Maker as a confirmed Protestant. Such unprecedented behavior requires some sort of explanation. Jasper Ridley is content to go along with Huck Finn's pronouncement that kings are a mighty ornery lot and to place the motivation beyond reason; "it is perfectly possible," he asserts, "for a despot to adopt a policy of which he has always disapproved, a month after he has had some of his subjects tortured to death for advocating the policy too soon."<sup>3</sup> A kinder and more rational solution is that which endows Henry with Machiavellian prescience. Bindoff says: "One thing alone could have prompted this change, his realization that the old faith no longer satisfied enough of his people to serve as a bond of national unity."<sup>4</sup> More recently, Roger Lockyer has reiterated the Bindoff explanation, adding the even more flattering comment that "it was typical of his attitude that he set aside his own conservative religious feelings when it came to the question of appointing a regency council for his son, and gave the Protestants a majority in it."<sup>5</sup> G. R. Elton, on the other hand, prefers to question the King's Catholicism and to

wonder about his often stressed orthodoxy, allegedly founded upon doctrinal learning of a professional kind. Certainly he was no Lutheran; but why did he appoint a regency council in his will which assured that Protestantism would triumph after his death? If he was really attached to the mass, to transubstantiation, priestly celibacy and the rest, he went a strange way about serving his faith when he called in [Sir John] Cheke to tutor Edward VI, imprisoned the Howards, and cold-shouldered [Bishop Stephen] Gardiner.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> John Camper, Joan Bette, and Thomas Skygges were executed in May, Anne Askew, John Hadlam, John Lascelles, and John Hemsley in July. Dr. Edward Crome's difficulties are given in John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. George Townsend (8 vols., London, 1843), V, Appendix XVI. So also is the story of Henry and Catherine Parr. (*Ibid.*, 553-61.) The exact date of this last incident is unknown, but the evidence points to the winter or spring of 1546.

<sup>3</sup> Jasper Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, Eng., 1962), 255.

<sup>4</sup> Bindoff, *Tudor England*, 150.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain* (New York, 1964), 105.

<sup>6</sup> G. R. Elton, *Henry VIII, An Essay in Revision* (London, 1962), 25-26.

If we accept the interpretation that all these steps were taken to assure the triumph of Protestantism, then what about Elton's riddle, to which there appear to be only three solutions, each as unsatisfactory as the next? It is possible simply to accept the credibility of an extraordinary and unexpected upheaval of religious heart on the part of a crusty old monarch of whom it was said that even "an angel descending from Heaven would be unable to persuade him" once he had made up his mind. Or we can voice Elton's doubts about Henry's religious conviction and grant the likelihood that all along he was a secret Protestant, which, if true, makes the King's character even more villainous than that painted by his most ferocious critics. Finally, we can explain Henry's actions in terms of a deep concern for the spiritual welfare of his subjects and the national unity of his kingdom, but to do so is to clothe him in the unbecoming garb of a good Edwardian monarch. Henry's solution for the religious ills of his age, at least the one that he savagely outlined to his loyal House of Commons only a year before his death, was to equate national unity with inward charity, outward concord, and absolute obedience to the decrees of God's lieutenant on earth. He solemnly warned both Catholic and Protestant: avoid error; "set forth God's Word, both by true teaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed His vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty."<sup>7</sup> If Henry had any solid nineteenth-century notions about the future prosperity of his peoples and the social cohesion of his realm, he rarely bothered to state them; instead, when he heard that his subjects were complaining about overtaxation and tampering with ancient religious customs, he growled that he would shortly make these ungrateful subjects "so poor that they would not have the boldness nor the power to oppose him."<sup>8</sup> It would seem that Henry's answer to most problems was never to "set aside his own feelings" for the good of his people, but to applaud the words of Mr. Robert Simpleton, who publicly recanted his heretical religious opinions by saying "I am an unlearned fantastical fool. Such hath been my preaching and such hath been my writing, which I here before you all tear to pieces."<sup>9</sup>

The fact remains that we are faced with a dilemma. Henry's conversion is utterly unexpected; it seems to contradict everything we know about the man; and it confronts us with Elton's query—why did he do it? On the other hand, the evidence seems to be conclusive, resting upon the undis-

<sup>7</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, 535.

<sup>8</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J. S. Brewer et al. (21 vols. in 33 pts., London, 1862-1910), XVI, 589.

<sup>9</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, Appendix XII.

puted facts that his son did become a Protestant, that a majority of Edward's regency council, selected by Henry himself, favored the Reformed faith, and that the King did make the startling suggestion that he and Francis I cast out the pope, reform the Mass, and together join in a league against the forces of Rome. The only way to resolve the riddle is, like Huck Finn, to make "allowances" and take another look at the facts. The evidence is of two kinds: two direct statements by Foxe that Henry was getting ready to tamper with his religious settlement of Catholicism without the pope, and hints elsewhere that Parliament and Convocation would be asked to sanction further religious innovation;<sup>10</sup> and circumstantial evidence drawn from the events of the last months of Henry's reign and the subsequent triumph of Protestantism under Edward VI—specifically, the selection of the regency council, the education of Prince Edward, and the destruction of the Howards, father and son.

The presumptive evidence proving Henry's change of religious heart is fairly easy to question, for the logic is immediately suspect. Because A causes B and B causes C, it does not necessarily follow that A is in direct causal relationship with C. Because Henry controlled and selected the personnel of his son's regency council and those appointees overturned his religious settlement and introduced the Protestant creed, it does not follow that Henry favored the triumph of Protestantism, or, as Bindoff puts the argument: that it "showed that what Henry did not live to do he expected to be done after his death."<sup>11</sup> Or again, although Edward VI was an undoubted Protestant after 1547 and was educated by two men who became avowed reformers, this does not prove that they were indoctrinating their royal pupil with heretical ideas during his father's lifetime. Finally, there is no clear indication that the destruction of the Howards was in any way tied up with Henry's religious views. In fact, the evidence in each case suggests a totally different interpretation of the events.

Henry's purpose in refusing to select a Lord Protector for his young son and naming instead in his last will and testament sixteen "entirely beloved" but absolutely equal advisers to a council of regency, which was saddled with strict majority rule and had no machinery for recruiting new members, has been a matter of immense confusion and debate. The subject has been explored elsewhere;<sup>12</sup> suffice it to say here that it is perfectly possible to argue

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 692; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 605, 621.

<sup>11</sup> Bindoff, *Tudor England*, 150.

<sup>12</sup> L. B. Smith, "The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Question of Perspective," *Journal of British Studies*, II (Nov. 1962), 14-27; Mortimer Levine, "The Last Will and Testament of Henry VIII: A Reappraisal Appraised," *Historian*, XXVI (Aug. 1964), 471-85.

that the composition of the council, far from representing Henry's judgment about the future of the Protestant faith, merely indicated the King's immediate and personal relationship with those about him during the month of December 1546, when he was in a peevish rage with Stephen Gardiner over the transfer of episcopal lands and was alarmed by the treasonous activities of the Earl of Surrey. Henry used his will and the council of regency named in it as a weapon to discipline and control his court during the final month of his life, when all thoughts were turning from a dying old man to his nine-year-old son. The threat of being read either into or out of the council was sufficient to keep even the most scheming and ambitious courtier in harness, and by refusing to sign the document Henry left everyone in a dither of apprehension, for those who were fortunate enough to be included were no better off than those who were left out. There is no proof whatever that Lord Lisle and the Earl of Hertford were named because they were Protestants, or that Bishop Gardiner was excluded because he was a pseudo Catholic. Both Hertford and Lisle were noblemen who carefully obscured their personal religious beliefs, always living by the creed that it was safest to do only what was "agreeable to the King's Majesty's pleasure." They were men "noted neither on the one side nor on the other."<sup>13</sup> Conversely, nowhere is there conclusive evidence that Gardiner was removed at the last moment because Henry opposed his religious views. Instead, the King was furious with the man himself and boasted that he alone could rule the "wilful and heady" bishop "to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me."<sup>14</sup> Whatever the final verdict on Henry's reasons for concocting a council and organ of government almost guaranteed to collapse the moment it was put into effect, the membership of that body cannot be offered as a valid argument that the King had consciously decided to throw his weight upon the side of the Reformed faith, or that he anticipated and planned a Protestant triumph in the years to come. All that we can safely say is that the composition of the council was the result of the accident of Henry's death, which came just when he was favorably inclined toward Lord Lisle and the Seymour brothers, and highly irritated with Gardiner. What the situation would have been six months later is anybody's guess; even the Duke of Norfolk might have been back in the sovereign's good graces, for the story that only Henry's death saved the Duke from execution is based on hearsay evidence, and there were at least three other rumors current that if it had

<sup>13</sup> *State Papers during the Reign of Henry VIII* (11 vols., London, 1830-52), I, 842; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 790; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, VI, 48.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 691-92.

not been for the sovereign's unexpected demise, Thomas Howard would have been pardoned.<sup>15</sup>

The fall of the Howards, like the composition of the regency council, was largely accidental. Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, was a talented but boisterous and conceited young gentleman whose furious tongue, barbed wit, and family megalomania won him the hatred of important, if lesser born, men close to the sovereign's bedchamber. Surrey was the eldest son of the ranking peer of the realm and the grandson of the Duke of Buckingham, a direct descendant of that source of all genealogical difficulties, Edward III. His lineage made him the natural rival of Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the uncle of the young Prince, and the only other man in the kingdom capable of grasping power after Henry's death. The fact, however, that Seymour seemed somewhat favorably inclined toward the Reformed faith, and supported the Protestant cause once he became Lord Protector, does not make Henry Howard a Catholic, or mean that his destruction was engineered for religious reasons. The evidence is scanty, but it seems to indicate that the Earl of Surrey may in fact have been a Protestant himself. Certainly he was caught eating flesh on fish days, was a friend of George Blagge, a confirmed Sacramentarian who almost got himself burned for his opinions, and Surrey's brother, Lord William Howard, was hauled before the Privy Council for his heretical views.<sup>16</sup> Nowhere in the record of the Earl's trial is there mention of any religious defection. Instead, there is talk about high treason, not so much directed against Prince Edward and the future reign as against Henry himself.<sup>17</sup> Doubtless almost everyone at court was laying plans and discussing the day when a child king would sit upon the throne, but Surrey committed the incredible folly of boasting about his Plantagenet blood, proclaiming his heraldic rights to the throne, candidly talking about the day when Henry must die, and deeply alarming important people by his dark hints that certain persons would not fare well once the King was dead. Both the Earl and his father were accused of trying to influence "a large number of those surrounding the King as to bring them to their side, and had planned to depose the King and seize the government of the young prince and of the realm. . . ."<sup>18</sup> This was, even if only partly true, high treason worthy of execution. There is no evidence at all that the Howards were

<sup>15</sup> *Chronicle of King Henry VIII of England*, tr. M. A. S. Hume (London, 1889), 148; William Thomas, *The Pilgrim*, ed. J. A. Froude (London, 1861), 73; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 702.

<sup>16</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, ed. J. R. Dasent (32 vols., London, 1890), I, 400, 408, 411; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XVIII (1), 266, 315, 327, 347.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI (2), 555 (1-18).

<sup>18</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, ed. G. A. Bergenroth *et al.* (13 vols., London, 1862-1954), VIII, 536.



destroyed, as Kenneth Pickthorn suggests, either because Henry had decided that no council of regency could include both Hertford and Surrey and had opted for his brother-in-law,<sup>19</sup> or because Norfolk and his son belonged to the conservative religious camp. "The busy head of the father and the pride of the son" were crushed because they were real and immediate threats to a suspicious, ruthless, and fearful old man who was determined to be master in his own kingdom even unto the grave. It is significant, moreover, that Surrey's death and Norfolk's attainder did not materially profit the Seymour faction at court. The Duke's estates were not bestowed upon the opposition, but instead were earmarked for young Edward's forthcoming coronation as Prince of Wales.<sup>20</sup> Again, all we can fairly conclude is that the fall of the House of Howard had much to do with the political realities of Henry's own life and little to do with religion or the future reign of Edward VI.

The education of that nine-year-old "Godly Imp" remains at the core of the problem. It is indisputable that young Prince Edward became an unremitting Protestant of a singularly inflexible variety, and that his tutors, Sir John Cheke and Dr. Richard Cox, were two of "Christ's special advocates" and "principal proctors" of the new faith. The crucial question, however, is whether Henry knew this, and consciously and systematically allowed his only legally begotten son to be educated in a creed that certainly half, and possibly two-thirds, of his subjects regarded as most heinous and pernicious heresy. It cannot be argued by way of justification or mitigation that Henry was unaware of the true nature of his son's education. The training of a prince and heir to the throne was far too weighty a matter to leave to chance or to "fools and buffoons." Moreover, there was literature aplenty by authors close to the King himself warning that "to be masters of princes on earth is to have the office of gods that be in heaven. . . . For certain he that hath the charge of a prince, is the governor of the ship, the standard of an army, . . . because they have among their hands him that afterwards ought to govern all the world."<sup>21</sup> In July 1544 Henry had personally transformed Prince Edward's nursery into a schoolroom and regal household, under the stewardship of his old crony and squire of the body, Sir William Sidney. The change-over was in part due to the fact that Edward had come of educable

<sup>19</sup> Kenneth Pickthorn, *Early Tudor Government: Henry VIII* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), 539-40.

<sup>20</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, II, 15-17; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 759.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Franklin Le Van Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), 206, from John Bourchier (Lord Berners), *Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1535), 137-38.

age, and in part was an effort to prevent malicious and perverse minds from seeking to influence the heir to the throne against his father. Henry carefully ordered "that no manner of person . . . shall have any more servants allowed within the prince's house than to him shall be limited and appointed by a check-roll by the King Majesty's hand to be signed."<sup>22</sup> Later, when Edward had become King, the same kind of precautions were maintained by his uncle, the Lord Protector, who decreed that anyone laying "before the King either a letter or anything else brought from foreign parts" must first have it scrutinized by members of the council.<sup>23</sup> Unfortunately, the uncle overlooked a danger that the father had been careful to examine: the threat of pernicious influence close to the throne. One of the main charges brought against Thomas Seymour was that he had sought to corrupt "with gifts and fair promises divers of the Privy Chamber" so as to turn the young King against the Lord Protector.<sup>24</sup>

It is clear that Henry was fully aware of the need for screening the members of his son's household; it is equally manifest that the Prince's tutors could never have indoctrinated their pupil behind the King's back. Both Cheke and Cox were well known to the King personally, and they could rarely have had a chance of influencing their young ward without being spied upon by other members of the household. Edward was never alone; he was watched and cosseted from morning till night. His every movement was noted; his every word remarked upon. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that, when Edward became King, he took to writing in Greek ciphers "to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written," and he was reduced to sending and receiving notes by the rather melodramatic, if juvenile, method of hiding the documents under the cushion of his chair.<sup>25</sup> It is fairly certain that every phrase that the Prince spoke or wrote was reported to the King. Cox and Cheke, no matter what their personal beliefs, would never have risked their royal bratling spouting heresy to his father. Queen Catherine Parr herself had learned the dangers of idle talk and even the slightest theological deviation from the tenets of her royal spouse. If queens were not safe, neither were royal tutors, and both men must have been sure that Henry kept a close eye on whatever they inculcated in a prince for whom the King had risked

<sup>22</sup> J. G. Nichols, *Literary Remains of King Edward VI* (2 vols., Roxburghe Club, London, 1857), I, xxvi-xxviii; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer et al., XIX (1), 864.

<sup>23</sup> *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, ed. Hastings Robinson (2 vols., Parker Society, Cambridge, Eng., 1846-47), I, 88.

<sup>24</sup> Gilbert Burnet, *History of the Reformation*, ed. Edward Nares (4 vols., London, 1839), Pt. 2, Bk. I, Record XXXI, 284.

<sup>25</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 701.

so much and for whom his subjects had "hungered for so long." In the face of the divinity that hedged God's lieutenant on earth, most men were either confirmed and convinced Erastians or, like Bishop Hugh Latimer, so fearful that they preferred to "creep into a mousehole."

Fear doubtless played a part in the obedience demanded by a sovereign who, as God's image unto men, claimed a special place in the hearts of his subjects. But the fact remains that conscience, even tender Protestant consciences, could be salved by the doctrine that kings were God's anointed by virtue "of their power which is ordained, of the sword which is authorized, of their persons which are elected by God, and are endued with the gifts of His Spirit for the better ruling and guiding of this people."<sup>26</sup> When heaven spoke through the person of Henry VIII and assured every disobedient heart a warm welcome in hell, it is not surprising, though it might later prove to be embarrassing, that most men kept their religious sentiments to themselves. Archbishop Thomas Cranmer, for example, was careful to conclude a theological discussion with Henry by saying: "This is mine opinion . . . which I . . . do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your majesty."<sup>27</sup> Years later Gardiner questioned Cranmer about his pliant orthodoxy during his master's final years. "After your Grace," he said, "hath four years continually lived in agreement of that doctrine [*The King's Book*] under our late sovereign lord, now so suddenly after his death to write me that his Highness was seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech." Then the wily bishop asked, if Cranmer really felt that Henry was in error, why had "ye told him not so in his life," for to leave him in error was surely to endanger "his soul and the souls of others," and "if your Grace will say you durst not say the truth . . . in a case of religion, that were a marvellous allegation to the condemnation" of the late monarch.<sup>28</sup>

From what we know about Cheke and Cox<sup>29</sup> it is clear that they were

<sup>26</sup> Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters*, ed. J. E. Cox (Parker Society, Cambridge, Eng., 1846), 126.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>28</sup> *Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. J. A. Muller (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 300-301.

<sup>29</sup> Bindoff refers to three tutors who were of the Reformed faith, and it is possible to include Anthony Cooke in the list of Edward's early schoolmasters. It is not clear, however, whether Cooke was appointed before or after Henry's death, and the evidence seems to indicate that he was made a tutor by the Lord Protector. Cooke belonged to the radical party; he was deeply involved in the Northumberland plot, but eventually escaped to Strasbourg in May 1554. If he was appointed along with Cox and Cheke before 1547, his qualifications were scholarly, like the other two men, not theological. Cooke lived a quiet and retired life and seems to have spent most of his time educating a very large family. He was said to have been a deeply learned gentleman, "His Latine, fluent and proper; his Greek, critical and exact; his Philology, and Observations upon each of these Languages, deep, curious, various and pertinent; His Logick, rational; his History and Experience, general; his Rhetorick and Poetry, copious and genuine; his Mathematicks, practicable and useful." In fact, it was said that "Contemplation was his Soul, Privacy his Life, and Discourse his element," while "Business was his Purgatory, and

devout and obedient Erastians, selected by the King for their learning and loyalty to the crown. The fact that they became reformers under Edward VI and exiles under his sister, or that Cheke is said to have died of shame for having been forced to recant publicly his beliefs under Catholic Mary and that Cox evolved into a singularly difficult and peppery bishop of Ely under Elizabeth, does not prove that either man ever dreamed of whispering heresy to the young Prince. If they were introducing Reformed ideas into the schoolroom, then it must have been done with the sanction of the King himself. It is, however, highly unlikely that they were doing anything of the kind, for neither man was a "known reformer" at the time of his appointment in 1544. What they taught their pupil was in all probability straight from *The King's Book*, a formulary that Henry had described as "the perfect and sufficient doctrine" for the attainment of salvation.<sup>30</sup>

John Cheke was a savant and a humanist; his entire life was concerned with learning. His friends were scholars; his approach to life was scholarly; and his position as a royal tutor was directly based on his scholarship. He deeply applauded Dr. William Butts for his profound faith in Christ as the only redeemer of men, and he equally deplored that his good friend and old tutor, George Day, bishop of Chichester, should have been blinded by his devotion to the ancient faith, but Cheke was a professor of Greek, not a religious crusader, and he placed learning and friendship above doctrine. He never condemned Bishop Day for his faults; instead he sought to mitigate the consequences of that obstinacy by pleading for his liberty and finding him an adequate living when Day had been deprived of his see and imprisoned under Edward VI.<sup>31</sup> Cheke's learning and religion belonged to the tradition of Erasmus, and he confessed that he could "be merry on the banks' side without endangering himself on the sea."<sup>32</sup> There is no doubt that he was a reformer—both of religion and of Greek pronunciation—but far more important is the fact that Cheke was probably the most distinguished classical scholar of his generation in England. In the royal schoolroom he

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Publickness his torment." In other words, Cooke, like Cheke, was the perfect schoolmaster. (See C. H. and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses* [2 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1858-61], I, 351-54.) One final point: Cooke came from a good family in Essex, and on May 15, 1546, Edmund Bonner, Richard Riche, and Cooke reported as commissioners in Essex for the Six Articles, investigating offenders against the sacrament of the altar. (See *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI [1], 836.) If the commissioner was the same man who became Edward's tutor, he was certainly not a "known reformer" before 1547.

<sup>30</sup> Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (3 vols., London, 1950-54), II, 57.

<sup>31</sup> John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke* (London, 1705), 35-37; *The Dictionary of National Biography . . . From the Earliest Times to 1900* [hereafter cited as *DNB*], ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee (63 vols., London, 1885-1900), X, 178-83; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, clix-clx.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 5c, n. a.

sought not to fashion a Protestant Josiah but to educate a prince who would be "an academic, slow to judge, glad to hear all men, mistrusting his own reason, taking trouble to be hidden, and so not to be found at the first sight; thinking wisdom either to be in men of experience or else in no men. . . ."<sup>33</sup>

Cheke may well have been tainted with a touch of heresy as were so many humanists of his day, but that he ever consciously insinuated those ideas into the mind of Prince Edward without his father's knowledge is out of the question. Men who make a virtue of mistrusting their own reason, who knuckle under and recant their faith in the face of slow fire, and who prefer the merry bankside to the high seas are not made of the stuff of martyrs. Like Cranmer, Cheke must have kept his mouth shut, and he was appointed by the King not because he was a "known reformer" but because he was a fine scholar in the tradition of John Colet and Erasmus.

The same principle applies to Dr. Richard Cox.<sup>34</sup> Far from being a religious radical during Henry's final years, the King's chaplain and former master of Eton was regarded as a moderate man in religion. In the public debate between Bishop Gardiner and Robert Barnes in March 1540 he was appointed as one of two "indifferent hearers," and along with Bishops Thomas Thirlby, George Day, and Nicholas Heath (all of whom lost their sees for their religious conservatism under Edward or Elizabeth) he helped to write the most orthodox and cautious of Henry's religious statements, and the one in which the King took the most direct personal interest: *The King's Book*.<sup>35</sup> He was, moreover, a leading and aggressive theologian in the condemnation and recantation of Dr. Crome, who had spoken against the sacrificial Mass, and during the interrogation of the Sacramentarian Anne Askew, he and Dr. Robinson penned "a bill of the sacrament," which Anne disdainfully refused to sign.<sup>36</sup> If Cox was a reformer when he was made almoner to the Prince in 1544, he certainly kept his heresy to himself. The fact that he later became a quarrelsome Protestant ecclesiastic merely high-lights the point that much Henrician humanism was tainted with heresy and that the creed of Erastianism was safer and often more powerful than the gospel according to Martin Luther.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, ccxlv.

<sup>34</sup> There has been constant confusion over Cox since the name is a common one and the records abound with Coxes. A Dr. Cox was Cranmer's diocesan chancellor, and it is clear that he was a conservative and cautious gentleman. The chancellor's name, however, was John, not Richard, a distinction that is lost by James Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (4 vols., London, 1908), II, 394-95, and by Ridley, *Cranmer*, 241-42. See also *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 775, fol. 114.

<sup>35</sup> J. A. Muller, *Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction* (London, 1926), 86-87; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XVIII (2), 68, 34; *DNB*, XII, 412-14.

<sup>36</sup> *Acts of the Privy Council*, ed. Dasent, I, 414; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 790; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 545.

We know more about Prince Edward's education than that of any other Tudor sovereign, and nowhere is there any proof that before January 1547 he was being brought up in the Reformed faith. Instead, the evidence seems to indicate quite the contrary. In a letter to William Paget describing Edward's education, Cox had much to say about *Æsop's Fables*, Cato's advice to his son, and the declension and conjugation of Latin nouns and verbs, but on the subject of religion the almoner limited himself to the significant remark:

Every day in the mass time he readeth a portion of Solomon's proverbs for the exercise of his reading, wherein he delighteth much and learneth there how good it is to give ear unto discipline, to fear God, to keep God's commandments, to be ware of strange and wanton women, to be obedient to father and mother, to be thankful to them that telleth him of his faults, etc.<sup>37</sup>

Edward had just reached his eighth birthday by December 1544, and it would appear that not only was Mass being heard in his household but also that the royal pupil was being drilled in obedience and a sense of duty to a deity who was neither particularly Catholic nor particularly Protestant. It is clear from the Prince's letters and the remarks of his tutors that Edward's God was an ever-present, omnipotent, and tireless judge, who could ward off the "wiles and enchantments of the evil one," but who could also detect the least sign of sin and punished kings and princes far more heavily than men of base estate;<sup>38</sup> in other words, God was the image of his Tudor father, the Supreme Head of the Church of England.

Even after Henry's death in January 1547 at least the trappings of Catholic orthodoxy were observed within the royal household. The Privy Chamber accounts of 1547 show that Edward was still making the usual offerings on Easter Sunday when he attended four traditional services: two High Masses, a celebration of the Resurrection, and a ceremony referred to as "taking his right."<sup>39</sup> Throughout 1547-1548 the ancient feast days continued to be celebrated—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. Philip's, St. James's, the Assumption of Our Lady, St. Bartholomew's, the Nativity of Our Lady, St. Michael's, St. Luke's, St. Jude's, and St. Andrew's.<sup>40</sup> Only slowly did the

<sup>37</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XIX (2), 726.

<sup>38</sup> *Letters of the Kings of England*, ed. J. O. Halliwell (2 vols., London, 1846-48), II, 8-9; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, clix-clx.

<sup>39</sup> Public Record Office [hereafter cited as PRO], Exchequer, Various Accounts, E.101/426/5, 11. The exact statement is:

Easter day at Greenwich  
Item for the King's offering at Resurrection in the morning . . . 6s, 8d.  
Item for the King's offering this Sunday at high mass . . . 6s, 8d.  
Item for the King's offering at taking his right . . . 6s, 8d.  
Item for the King's offering at high mass . . . 13s, 4d.  
Item for the King's daily alms this week . . . 37s, 11d.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-50.

atmosphere in the household begin to change and the old observances die out. The evidence would seem to confirm the statement made by Jane Dormer, duchess of Feria and granddaughter of Sir William Sidney, that when the old King died "mischievous and heretical governors, contrary to his father's will" took advantage of "his tender age" and transformed Edward into a thoroughgoing Protestant.<sup>41</sup> As Cox was at pains to point out, Edward was "a vessel apt to receive all goodness and learning, witty, sharp, and pleasant,"<sup>42</sup> and it was easy enough to fashion such a godly imp into whatever mold his tutors, now free to follow their own consciences, desired.

Edward at his coronation had been well trained, and "Captain Will," that "ungracious fellow," had been conquered by men determined to adorn and furnish their pupil "with all the accomplishments which are fitting a prince."<sup>43</sup> From the start the little boy was made to realize his duty to his father, to his God, and to his kingdom. Every facet of his education was carefully designed to help him do his duty and face the weighty responsibilities of kingship. The Prince, said Sir Thomas Elyot, should be an expert in music so as to appreciate better the harmony and balance of the commonwealth, should read the lives of the ancient despots so as to avoid their tyrannies, should study the plastic arts so as to design machines of war and map out the terrain of enemies, and should be versed in moral philosophy so as to recognize "virtuous manners."<sup>44</sup> From all sides Edward heard but a single pedagogical principle: "Learn, Oh boy, what is likely to be of use to you when a man."<sup>45</sup> The results were tragic; the little princeling, who thanked his godfather for a sandbox and played with ball and hoop, was transformed into a caricature of a man, who at the age of nine wrote his father a syllogistic exercise to congratulate him on the advent of peace between England and France in June 1546.

For, as war brings on noise and tumult, so does peace usher in tranquillity. Noise and riot is an evil; therefore war is an evil. Rest is a blessing; therefore peace is a blessing. Perhaps too, what Periander the Corinthian says, may serve to this my argument—"Rest is a good thing, or a blessing." I wish to you the best things; therefore I wish to you peace.<sup>46</sup>

Edward had been taught to do his best, but always there was the hint that somehow his best was insufficient. In a frenzy of anxiety, he wrote his

<sup>41</sup> Nichols, *Literary Remains*, xxxix-xl.

<sup>42</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XIX (2), 726.

<sup>43</sup> *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 15.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft (2 vols., London, 1880), I, Chaps. vii, viii, xiv.

<sup>45</sup> *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 22-23.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

stepmother to ask whether the admiral of France, who was arriving to conclude the peace treaty, was well schooled in Latin. If the Frenchman turned out to be a classical scholar, Edward wanted to learn his lines better before meeting him.<sup>47</sup> The shyness of the boy is manifest, but his sense of duty is overpowering, for, as he wrote his father, he was but "a little manikin" who was "worthy to be tortured with stripes of ignominy, if through negligence I should omit even the smallest particle of my duty."<sup>48</sup> Idleness he shunned "like a plague"; he thanked his teachers "for telling me my faults"; and he prayed aloud to God that "I may be able in part to satisfy the good expectation of the King's Majesty, my father. . . ."<sup>49</sup>

There is no doubt that Henry watched his son's development closely and that he was indirectly responsible for the starched and sterile mind of the precocious youth, who thought in terms of syllogistic logic, feared the evil eye, and always did his duty to God and King. But this is not necessarily the characteristic of a Protestant. Again we must conclude that there is no evidence that Edward was raised in the Reformed faith or that his education shows any secret sympathy toward heresy on the part of his father. Instead, there is much to suggest that the son was reared upon the solid premise: "Equal your renowned father in greatness; no man can wish for more," the legend penned across the famous Holbein portrait of the infant Edward.

So far we have succeeded only in showing that circumstantial evidence is no basis on which to judge anything, least of all the inner reaches of a king's heart. The education of Prince Edward, the staffing of the council of regency, and the destruction of the Earl of Surrey prove little; they do not demonstrate any basic change in Henry's religious outlook; nor do they refute it. It is still possible to argue that Henry was a secret Protestant, and those who believe so can point to the fact that Foxe tried to claim Henry for the Reformed faith and presented impressive evidence to prove his case. Foxe polishes off the old King in the odor of Protestant sanctity.

And this much touching the end of King Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding), most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one mass in all England.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Nichols, *Literary Remains*, Letter XXIII.

<sup>48</sup> *Letters*, ed. Halliwell, II, 1-4.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11, 13-14; Nichols, *Literary Remains*, Letter XIV; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer et al., XXI (2), 282.

<sup>50</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 692.



As evidence Foxe first asserts that during the summer, fall, and winter of 1546 the King was quietly negotiating with the German Protestants through the industrious and perambulating Dr. Hans Bruno, and then he gives Archbishop Cranmer's version of Henry's remarkable challenge to the French admiral, Claude d'Annebault, when he arrived at Hampton Court in August 1546 to sign the peace treaty. Cranmer admitted he could scarcely believe his ears when the King turned to the Frenchman, who was a militant papist and no friend of schismatic England,<sup>51</sup> and calmly suggested that the Mass in both kingdoms be changed into a communion, that the bishop of Rome be cast out of the two realms, and that France and England unite to exhort the Emperor to do the same, or else "break off from him."<sup>52</sup>

Before considering the facts of each episode, it is important to note that Foxe, quite irrespective of the evidence he marshals, would have claimed Henry for Christ's church and would have argued that only the interference of God Himself left the glories of the Reformation to a young Prince "meeter to dwell with angels in heavenly glory than to reign on wicked earth over so perverse a generation."<sup>53</sup> Good manners required that history judge honorably of rulers and, as Raphael Holinshed said, "speak nothing but good of the Princes of the people."<sup>54</sup> Consequently, both the Protestant Foxe and the Catholic Nicholas Sanders appealed to the future:<sup>55</sup> had Henry lived only a few months longer, God would have wrought miracles and led Henry into either the bosom of Christ or the arms of Rome. Foxe had cause to claim Henry for his side, but it is well to keep in mind that it was politic to place Elizabeth's father on the side of the angels.

Archbishop Cranmer was doubtless astounded by Henry's comments to the French admiral, but this is no reason for assuming, as some historians have done, that the words were never spoken. In point of fact, all the evidence indicates that they were said, probably as Cranmer reported them. The crux of the problem is why they were said at all, and why Henry should have given Bruno to understand that he was contemplating a further and revolutionary step in the Reformation. The answers have little to do with the cure of souls or the state of Henry's conscience, and much to do with the diplomatic and military welfare of the realm. Of all subjects none is as

<sup>51</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer et al., XX (2), 856, XXI (1), 953, XXI (2), 406.

<sup>52</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 563-64.

<sup>53</sup> Roger Edwards, "Castræ Regia" (1568), in *Historical Papers*, ed. Philip Bliss and Bulkeley Bandinel (Roxburghe Club, London, 1846), 18.

<sup>54</sup> Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (6 vols., London, 1807-1808), III, 675.

<sup>55</sup> Nicolas Sanders, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, tr. David Lewis (London, 1877), 170.

elusive and frustrating as the question of mid-sixteenth-century diplomacy; for those three elderly and crotchety white knights—Charles V, Henry VIII, and Francis I—were masters at stirring up great clouds of verbal dust to conceal their ultimate purpose, which as often as not was the result of divided council, chivalric instinct, and personal impulse. Out of the diplomatic quagmire of Henry's last years, however, three distinct considerations are observable: growing fear of militant and revitalized Catholicism; cautious preparations for an international revolution in which the kaleidoscope of alliances would again be reshuffled, this time with England and France lined up against the Emperor; and preparations for a massive attack on Scotland in the spring of 1547.

As late as 1546, to most observers, it seemed impossible that Protestantism could actually survive, let alone triumph over the military and moral might of Catholicism. The habits of thought of a thousand years were far too ingrained to accept either the notion of religious heterodoxy as anything except a ridiculous proposition, or to consider seriously that heresy could endure. It seemed transparently clear that the success of Luther was not sustained by inward strength, but was merely an accident: the Emperor Charles and the legions of Rome had never been able to concentrate against such spiritual poison because of the Turkish menace in the East and the French threat in the West. If Catholic Christendom could ever close its ranks, and the Most Christian King of France and His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, who also bore the even weightier dignity of Holy Roman Emperor, would march shoulder to shoulder in league with God's Vicar in Rome, then heresy would surely be extirpated and schismatic England led back into the universal Catholic fold. Not since Luther first nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door had the moment seemed better calculated for the final and inevitable triumph of a faith that had already lasted fifteen hundred years and would endure until the end of time. Europe was at peace with the hateful infidel; Luther had gone to his ultimate reckoning with Satan; resurgent Catholicism, meeting at Trent in January 1546, had finished with formalities and was now settling down to the task of purging itself of sloth, indecision, and abuse; God's chosen instruments against the wicked, the Emperor Charles and the King of France, were for once in accord; and there was even talk that Milan, that bone of Habsburg-Valois contention for over two generations, would be presented to France by the Emperor as a symbol of the new Catholic unity.

For the armchair historical analyst, secure in the secular atmosphere of the twentieth century and strong in his knowledge that the hopes of Cath-

olics were mere fantasies and the fears of Protestants a needless chimera, it is deceptively easy to forget that Henry VIII might regard resurgent papal Catholicism as a far greater threat to his religious *via media* than a weak and faltering Protestantism.<sup>56</sup> The King had excellent cause for alarm. Reports were current that Charles might declare for the daughter of Catherine of Aragon once Henry was dead, and everyone knew that the French were hopeful of, and if necessary planning to foster, civil war in England as a way of winning back Boulogne and depriving the English of Calais.<sup>57</sup> Highly embroidered rumors were flooding in from the Lowlands that the Emperor was planning to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Antwerp, and as further confirmation of the new militant spirit, Henry learned in the early summer of 1546 that Charles had entered into an alliance with the Pope to crush the German Protestants and all who supported them.<sup>58</sup> Final proof that Catholicism was on the march came in late June when the Emperor declared war against the Schmalkaldic League and began to mobilize Spanish and Italian troops in the pay of Rome, who gleefully killed, looted, tortured, and burned "for no other cause than to exterminate religion," and who carried with them letters of "indulgence for all acts provided that they fall in this war against the heretics."<sup>59</sup>

At home in England the lunatic fringe of the Reformed faith continued to defy the Supreme Head of the Church, but their activities seemed minor in contrast to the presumptuousness of Mr. John Feckenham, the bishop of London's own chaplain, who harangued the London populace in an inflammatory sermon directed against the youth of England who were being led "from pride to lechery, from lechery to theft and from theft to heresy." Only by returning, he proclaimed, to the old virtues and ancient ceremonies "used afore XVI and XVII years ago," could salvation be found. He went on to brand the Germans as foul heretics and described the Duke of Saxony as the worst of a vile lot. Since Henry was at the moment contemplating an alliance with the Duke, it is not surprising that the government was deeply alarmed by such "odious" words.<sup>60</sup>

On the Continent the situation was equally disturbing. No matter how

<sup>56</sup> Some of the reformers were far from convinced that the succession of that "Godly Imp," Edward VI, would introduce a generation of true believers. Cranmer's secretary asked: "What think your worshipps they [the Catholics] would attempt, if his Majesty were at God's mercy . . . ?" (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, VIII, 34.)

<sup>57</sup> *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, IX, 492-95; *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 406.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* (1), 1343.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* (2), 377, 378, 441.

<sup>60</sup> PRO State Papers, Henry VIII, General Ser. [hereafter cited as SP1], CCXXVIII, 55, in *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 710.

much the Emperor pleaded the principles of *Realpolitik* and assured his brother of England that he sought only to defend his imperial rights on the grounds that "if subjects should, upon their mis-conductment, overthrow their rulers, they would have neither *Ecclesiam* nor *Principem*,"<sup>61</sup> Henry had the gravest doubts as to exactly what Charles planned either for his empire or for England. The King had considerable cause to suspect that the Emperor, in league with the Pope, was launching a religious crusade which not even the "broad ditch" of the English Channel would be able to hold in check.<sup>62</sup> In point of fact Charles had written his son Philip the previous February making it clear that his object was to bring the German Protestants "back to the true faith" and to make "them abandon their opinions," a purpose "signally for the service of Our Lord, the increase of His Holy Catholic faith, and the quietude and repose of Christendom, to which we are so especially bound by the dignity to which God has elevated us."<sup>63</sup> By the winter of 1546-1547 the Emperor had "wondrously prospered"; the Schmalkaldic League seemed to be on the verge of dissolution; the Elector of Saxony had been deprived of his estates and titles; the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse was in desperate straits; and the cities of upper Germany were surrendering in droves.<sup>64</sup> Both Henry and Francis were beginning to wonder whether, if Charles were left alone, he "would seek to command all Germany and if he gained that point would try to command elsewhere."<sup>65</sup> Never had the Emperor seemed more powerful or closer to ultimate success, and cautiously Henry began to listen to those advisers who urged him to initiate a diplomatic revolution. The time had come, they said, for France, England, and the German Protestants to join together in an offensive and defensive alliance against the Emperor and his papal chaplain. Such a league would not only check the advance of Catholicism, but, more important, might also embroil France in war in Germany, weaken the historic alliance between France and Scotland, and leave that barbaric land isolated and at the mercy of its Sassenach neighbor.

Sixteenth-century diplomacy was almost entirely devoid of any sustained or recognizable rhythm. All too often the eloquence of the courtly minuet deteriorated into a noisy rock 'n' roll in which every state seemed to be afflicted with a kind of international St. Vitus's dance. The only constant of foreign policy was the knowledge that no treaty was sacrosanct, no ally

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 34; *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 411.

<sup>62</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 439, 1285, XXI (2), 262, 315, 546, 558; *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 464, 467, 485, 488.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 304-308.

<sup>64</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 438, 471, 612, 616, 624, 625, 717.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* (1), 1207.

could be trusted, and every state had as many diplomatic irons in the fire as there were advisers about the sovereign. In Paris it was reported that Admiral d'Annebault, François Cardinal de Tournon, and Secretary of State Gilbert Baynard were all proimperial and anti-English, while the King's mistress Madame d'Estampes, his sister the Queen of Navarre, the Dauphin, and Nicholas de Longueval were favorably inclined toward England and an alliance with the German Protestants.<sup>66</sup> Henry, however, could never be quite sure which party really held the French King's ear, and he had to be wary of a trap. The possibility always existed that Francis might be using an Anglo-French-German league against Charles as a cover for troop movements which were in fact directed against Boulogne and Calais, and as late as January 11, 1547, Henry notified his military commanders in France to be on special guard since "the Emperor and French King are both in arms."<sup>67</sup>

Cautious as both kings had to be, the diplomatic tide during the fall of 1546 seemed to be running steadily toward an English-French and Protestant rapprochement, and the growing accord can be plotted in direct relationship with the advance of the imperial troops in Germany. There is no doubt that the French hoped that Charles would involve himself in a stalemate which would allow Francis to pounce upon Calais and Boulogne, but the Emperor's extraordinary successes upset all calculations. By January 1547 Richard Morysin was predicting that the French King would eventually have to "lend his help to the Germans, though not for the love he beareth unto them, yet for that it is his suretie to have one eye to the Emperor's growings. . . . A good policy for princes is not to suffer any prince, their neighbor, too far to over grow his fellows," and Morysin expected that Francis would "not commit this error, either to suffer his mortal enemy to grow too great or not to help those that cannot fall without his great danger."<sup>68</sup>

Francis' dilemma was Henry's hope, for any imperial-French embroilment would safeguard English possessions in France and leave Scotland unprotected. Conversely, any agreement between the two major Catholic powers was his greatest fear. The English constantly feared that the Emperor would buy off Francis with the duchy of Milan, thereby leaving Charles to discipline and chastise his Empire, and France to drive the English into the Channel.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, Henry's diplomacy throughout 1546 was devious in the extreme. It was vital to keep the friendship of the

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1521, XX (2), 836, 856.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, XXI (2), 691.

<sup>68</sup> PRO, SP1, CCXXVIII, fol. 52, *ibid.*, 707.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 725.

Emperor, if only to check the Pope and to discourage Francis from attacking Boulogne and Calais. At the same time Henry was sure that England would not profit from an overwhelming imperial triumph in Germany, lest such a victory turn out to be a prelude to a Catholic crusade against schismatic England. This being the case, encouragement had to be offered the German princes, and if possible France must be persuaded to stop the Emperor, either through indirect aid to the Protestants or open war in Germany. On the other hand, it was perfectly clear that any understanding with France, desirable as it might be, would only endure if Henry returned Boulogne and offered some guarantee that he would not invade Scotland. The best to be hoped for was that Francis might be willing to sacrifice Scotland to get back Boulogne and Calais, and to give himself a free hand in Germany. This apparently was what Henry was banking on: France and the Empire would become embroiled in war, the English would support Francis and the German princes but not to the point of risking war on the Emperor, and England would be free to aim a major blow against the Scots, who had reneged on their treaty obligations and the proposed marriage of Prince Edward to the child Queen of Scotland. That something of this nature was in the air is confirmed by a rumor reported in Italy during July 1546 and recorded by one of Charles V's agents. England, it was said, had offered France Calais and Boulogne in return for French support for the marriage of Prince Edward and Mary Stuart. Such an agreement was considered most unlikely; the French, it was argued, would never risk the union of England and Scotland or give up their Scottish alliance, "for what keeps England weak is that France can raise war on the Scottish border." No matter what happened, the report concluded, the Emperor would be safe from French attack since France was exhausted by war, and the recently signed peace with England was said to be highly insecure since a great number of outstanding disputes still remained.<sup>70</sup>

The Emperor was probably well advised to discount the possibility of an English withdrawal from the Continent in return for a free hand in Scotland, but throughout the summer and fall of 1546 it did begin to look as if Henry were hoping to profit from the mounting international crisis and the growing tension between Charles and Francis. Within this context of vague hopes and partly articulated policy, Henry's famous conversation with Dr. Bruno and his extraordinary words to the French admiral must be placed.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* (1), 1354. Talk of a possible Anglo-Scottish war was reported as early as May 27, 1546. (See *ibid.*, 938.)

In narrating the two episodes Foxe confused religious with diplomatic motives. If there is one thing that historians do know about Henry's mind, it is that he regarded religion, at least in its doctrinal and institutional sense, as an instrument of foreign policy, and that he was quite willing to cut his theological cloak to suit the diplomatic fashions of the moment. Twice within the year he had muted religious change for the sake of foreign affairs, first to the consternation of the conservatives, then to the annoyance of the radicals. In November and December 1545 the German Protestant princes made a concerted effort to mediate peace between England and France for fear that the Emperor would seize the opportunity (as in fact he did in June) to crush their faith and destroy their liberties. Consequently they sent their ambassadors to Calais to act as honest brokers, and Henry ordered Sir William Paget to negotiate with the French through the German mediators. This was the occasion when the Principal Secretary first encountered Hans Bruno of Metz, the best German he had ever known "for service."<sup>71</sup> Bruno was anxious to forward the Reformed faith and offered the argument that the German Protestants and the English King were natural allies since they both agreed about the dangers of the Council of Trent and abhorred the bishop of Rome's authority. Later in December he pointed out to Paget that news was coming from England of the imminent enactment of a statute banning all heretical books, which, he said, if true, would encourage their "common enemy the pope." Sir William wrote back to Henry through Sir William Petre to "know how to answer him."<sup>72</sup> Nine days later Paget received his answer in a letter from Petre that cannot be pure coincidence, for the King's other Principal Secretary wrote that "the bill of books, albeit it was at the beginning set earnestly forward, is finally dashed in the Commons House, as are divers others, whereat I hear no[t] that his Majesty is much miscontented."<sup>73</sup> There is no proof that the bill was dropped as a consequence of some hint from the sovereign, or that Paget's letter had anything to do with the behavior of Henry's loyal Commons, but it is suggestive that the statute reappeared in proclamation form seven months later when Henry could diplomatically afford to be orthodox.

A better-documented example of the subservient role of theology in the affairs of princes is the well-known tale of how, in January 1546, Henry quashed the hopes of the radicals for a further reformation within the Church by explaining that foreign considerations prevented it. Evidently the

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, XX (2), 1014.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 985.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 1030; Gairdner, *Lollardy*, II, 422-23.

King had himself led Cranmer to believe that he would look favorably upon the abolition of such things as the ringing of bells on Allhallows night, creeping to the cross on Good Friday, and the covering of images during Lent. When, however, the archbishop presented him with an encyclical notice to that purpose, the King announced: "I am now otherwise resolved . . ." for

I have received letters from my lord of Winchester . . . about the conclusion of a league between us, the Emperor and the French King, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done.<sup>74</sup>

Henry's solemn assurance to Dr. Bruno that England would side with the Duke of Saxony against the Emperor in any religious dispute was a reflection of the same secular approach to theology: a diplomatic expression, not a commitment of faith.<sup>75</sup> The doctor's presence in England during the late spring of 1546 was kept a secret since the war in Germany was just commencing, and the King had as yet little intention of antagonizing his erstwhile friend and ally. Bruno left London for Germany in the company of the Somerset Herald in late June, and two months later (August 30) the Privy Council sent after him the terms on which Henry was willing to join a Protestant alliance.<sup>76</sup> The proposals must have made the worthy Bruno wonder exactly how serious Henry was in his friendship toward the Protestant cause, for the English made it manifestly clear that the Germans would have to make all the concessions. The statement began with a fulsome paragraph about accepting the services of the Landgrave of Hesse and offering him a pension of twelve thousand florins a year. Then Henry suggested a defensive alliance "against all men and for all causes" provided that: he have the chief place in the organization; the association be called henceforth the League Christian; no one enter it without his consent; England would give aid only when all members contributed; and since Henry expected to donate the most money he should therefore have in all assemblies three voices for two of any other member. On the subject of religion the King was even more circumspect. He thanked the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Saxony, and other members of the Schmalkaldic League for their good opinion of his religious zeal, and he accepted their readiness to

<sup>74</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 561-63; Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. Cox, 414-15.

<sup>75</sup> Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, V, 692.

<sup>76</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (1), 580, 730, 995, 1160, 1371. Mention of an Anglo-German alliance goes back as far as April 1546. (See *ibid.*, 582.)



follow his advice at a conference of their learned men and his to be staged in his presence, but as a further check he also required that the league send him a list of ten or twelve theologians, all "learned and unprejudiced," from whom he would select four or five to debate the doctrinal points wherein they differed.<sup>77</sup> When these proposals were drawn up in August, the Protestant princes were doing well in their war against the Emperor, and it is not surprising that nothing more was heard of an Anglo-Schmalkaldic union until Protestant military fortunes began to wane. But even in defeat the Germans were reluctant to discuss any further bilateral agreement; instead they insisted that France be included. Bruno and the other German emissaries were in Paris in November and December in the wake of the worsening military situation, and just before Henry died in January they arrived in England, presumably carrying with them Francis' blessings, for the English resident ambassador reported from Paris on December 30 that they had had an interview with the French King and "that the answer was good."<sup>78</sup>

Henry's statement to the French admiral in late August 1546 is even more deeply enmeshed in diplomacy, for it was one of the tentative feelers being made by both sides to test the possibility of a power realignment in Europe. The idea of a reshuffling of allies began almost the moment peace was concluded between England and France, and war commenced in Germany. Bruno, it will be recalled, had been in London during most of June, and by late July François Van der Delft, the imperial ambassador at Henry's court, had picked up rumors that Bruno had not gone directly home, but had stopped off at Paris, taking with him a proposal from Henry that the two kings meet to concert plans against the Emperor.<sup>79</sup> There was some truth in this rumor since the French ambassador in London reported that Henry had warned him that his royal master should "think in time of possible enterprises" since the Emperor and the Pope had joined forces not simply to punish the German Protestants but to destroy all who aided them.<sup>80</sup> It was perfectly obvious that Henry was alarmed by the possibility that Charles and Francis would again unite against the heretics. He was far from convinced that the French imperial Treaty of Crespy, signed in September 1544, had lapsed or that the death of the Duke of Orleans had ended the threat of a marriage alliance in which Milan would be ceded to France as part of the dowry settlement. The question the King kept reiterating in his

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1526.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* (2), 602, 619, 638.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* (1), 1371.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1207, 1343.

interviews with Van der Delft was whether there were two French-imperial treaties, "one more secret than the other."<sup>81</sup>

Despite the cessation of hostilities on June 4, Anglo-French relations remained extremely unfriendly throughout most of July and August, and there was open talk that the peace would scarcely endure beyond the formal signing of the treaty, scheduled for late August, when D'Annebaut was expected in London. There was constant bickering over frontier violations, the English refused to return captured French galleys and prisoners of war, and both sides poured men and arms into the border defenses. Throughout August and the first days of September the conflict in Germany continued to go against the Emperor, but by the middle of the month the tide began to turn. As the fortunes of war shifted so also did the diplomatic atmosphere in London and Paris, and by September 18 both Henry and Francis were in conciliatory moods.<sup>82</sup> Throughout September Bruno was again on his travels, plying between Calais and Paris, presumably urging an Anglo-French accord.<sup>83</sup> By October there was open talk of a meeting between the two monarchs, for, it was said, "the Bishop of Rome has of late so pricked the French King that he will easily give ear to" a closer union with England.<sup>84</sup> The French, however, were reluctant to make the first move, and the English ambassador reported that Francis wanted Henry to act first. Secretary Paget wrote back that he regarded the whole proposal as dangerously suspect and dismissed it as a French trick.<sup>85</sup> Whatever Paget's reservations may have been, during October Anglo-imperial relations grew cooler in direct proportion to the war news coming out of Germany.<sup>86</sup> On October 7, Van der Delft found Henry in an exacting frame of mind. The King, he said, "inquired very minutely as to" the Emperor's military successes and was adamant about the restitution of Flemish properties in Boulogne, while at the same time complaining about the treatment of English merchants in Spain. Paget went out of his way to impress upon the ambassador how irritated and alarmed Henry was by the Emperor's treaty with the Pope, and Van der Delft, who was neither particularly intelligent nor well informed, reported his great astonishment that Henry was being so difficult.<sup>87</sup> By December 24, however, even Van der Delft had begun to realize what was happening and admitted that "the better the news that reaches here of the

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* (2), 27, 34, 84.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 117, 122.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 245, 262, 315.

<sup>87</sup> *State Papers, Spanish*, ed. Bergenroth *et al.*, VIII, 484-88.

progress of your Majesty's affairs in Germany, the more difficult do I find the council in my negotiations with them."<sup>88</sup>

As England and the Empire drifted further apart, Henry increased pressure upon Scotland, synchronizing his military build-up with the international situation. The more victorious the Emperor was in Germany, the more accommodating Francis became; the more concern there was in Paris, the better the chances for an Anglo-French accord; the more certain such an understanding, the surer Henry could be that the French would not intervene to save Scotland. By November English policy was obvious; Lord Lisle was recalled to court to lead a naval attack against St. Andrew's Castle in order to rescue the murderers of the Scottish cardinal, David Betoun.<sup>89</sup> Then in December and January the pace of rearmament increased. Odet de Selve, the French ambassador, reported on five different occasions the extent of the military preparations: artillery, bullets, powder, pikes, halberds, all being shipped daily down the Thames, and growing naval concentrations off the Scottish coast. Finally, just before Henry died, De Selve wrote that the Scottish representative in London, David Paniter, bishop of Roos, had told him that the English had sent sixty thousand pounds to Newcastle and were planning to invade Scotland next April or May with fifty thousand men.<sup>90</sup> What the ambassador could not, however, ascertain was whether all this warlike activity was actually aimed at Scotland or might be directed against France, for the French, like the English, always had to consider the possibility that Henry was offering them a red herring and that the moment they became embroiled in Germany, the English would attack across the Channel.

Unfortunately for De Selve, the French were in no position to concern themselves with Henry's ulterior motives. The crisis in Europe allowed Francis no choice: he had to gamble that mutual fear of the Emperor would keep Henry honest. Throughout November and December confirmation of Charles's successes began to pour in: the Elector of Saxony's estates were overrun; the Landgrave of Hesse's army melted away; and more and more German towns were surrendering.<sup>91</sup> On November 24, Christopher Mont, who was always something of a Cassandra in his diplomatic dispatches, reported to Henry that "the Emperor will restore the Bishop of Rome throughout Germany and subject the Empire to himself."<sup>92</sup> As Charles

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 534.

<sup>89</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 347.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 408, 444, 568, 651, 675, 679, 702, esp. 743.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 471, 558, 612, 616, 624, 625, 637.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 438.

rolled up his victories, Bruno and his ambassadorial colleagues found far more receptive audiences in Paris and London. Henry fell all over himself to apologize to Francis when the King's officers stopped, searched, and delayed a French royal courier at Dover, and he wrote Nicholas Wotton in Paris that he would warmly receive the German ambassadors when they came to England.<sup>93</sup> For his part, Francis recalled his Protestant inclined sister, the Queen of Navarre, and gave a favorable interview to the German ambassadors.<sup>94</sup> Both sides, however, continued to be extremely cautious—the English wanting the German ambassadors to induce Francis to enter a league with them first, since Henry was afraid that if he tied himself to the German princes the French King might “slip to the Emperor.”<sup>95</sup>

By January even these reservations had receded, for when the key German city of Ulm surrendered on December 23, it was clear to both kings that they were faced with a major international crisis. Henry was gravely alarmed, for no matter how much Charles protested that he sought only to punish rebels, not to abolish the gospel, no one believed him except possibly those staunch imperialists, Gardiner and Thirlby, the bishop of Westminster. Francis was equally concerned and seriously considered the pleas of the German Protestants for aid. Bishop Thirlby, who was traveling with the Emperor, reported to Henry on January 13 that it was now uncertain where Charles would winter his troops, for “if it be true that the French king gathers men, it may draw us to the Rhine.”<sup>96</sup> On January 17, De Selve had his last interview with Henry and related that “in speaking of means of assuring the two Kings of each other” Henry had “approved of none but a closer amity such as a league defensive.”<sup>97</sup> Obviously Francis still hoped to persuade Henry to return Boulogne, for De Selve mentioned the matter to Paget; equally apparent, Henry still banked on destroying the French-Scottish alliance, leaving Scotland in helpless isolation. By January 20, Paget was even suggesting a marriage treaty between the Princess Mary and “a son of France.”<sup>98</sup> Finally, just before Henry died, the Secretary mentioned to De Selve that he should write to Francis about the possibility of a “league offensive.”<sup>99</sup> Two days later Henry was dead, and the intricate juggling act came crashing to the ground. The idea of a French treaty was dropped immediately; talk of an alliance with the German princes faltered

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 619.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 638.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 619.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 546, 699.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 713.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 725.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 743.

on for another few months; and only the war against Scotland was carried on into the next reign.

In the light of the international scene, we must conclude that Henry's challenge to the French admiral had nothing to do with religion. It was a calculated indiscretion, addressed to a convinced papist who was close to the French King's ear, and aimed partly at testing the admiral and partly at forwarding a complicated foreign policy that never came to fruition because of Henry's sudden death. That his words were indicative of any change of religious heart is most unlikely, for what we forget is the ability of all men, but especially of ruling monarchs, to compartmentalize their minds. Religious conscience and diplomatic necessity were two quite different matters. Francis I bluntly insisted on that division when he was asked by the German Protestant princes to cease his persecution of the French Protestants, and he answered that "he would maintain the religion he received from his ancestors, and his friendship with these [Protestant] States did not affect it."<sup>100</sup> Henry would have wholeheartedly agreed.<sup>101</sup>

In all honesty, then, the most that can be said about Foxe's evidence is that Henry did in fact shock the French admiral with his propositions and that he also offered a preposterous treaty to the German Protestants. Further than this it is difficult to go except to suggest that most of the events offered as proof that Henry had shifted his theological position should be viewed in a diplomatic-military, not religious, context. The Earl of Hertford and Lord Lisle were doubtless men of the future, but the door of the King's Privy Chamber stood open to them not because they were inclined toward the Reformed faith but because they belonged to the pro-French clique and would captain any campaign against Scotland.<sup>102</sup> The dissolution of the chantry lands had profound religious repercussions, but the statute was justified on the grounds of fiscal necessity: the pressing need to pay the King's debts, defend his realm, and wage war against the Scots. The persistent rumors during the winter of 1546-1547 that episcopal lands and revenues would also be nationalized should be seen from the same perspective—as an act of emergency financing, not as a means of reforming the Church.<sup>103</sup> Henry might indeed have been willing to fleece the bishops of their estates without ever perceiving the theological implications of transforming an ordained episcopacy into a salaried department of state. In fact

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* (1), 476.

<sup>101</sup> Bishop Gardiner was convinced that Henry had no affection for the Protestants even though he "sometimes of necessity, sometimes of policy, hath wisely used them." (*Letters of Stephen Gardiner*, ed. Muller, 162.)

<sup>102</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 347.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 546.

he had already refused to accept Dr. Crème's premise that the dissolution of the chantries and the abolition of chantry priests in any way weakened the theological argument for the existence of purgatory or the efficacy of prayers for departed souls. Finally, the King's irritation with Gardiner is quite explicable without introducing the question of religion; after all, the bishop of Winchester was belligerently proimperial, the wealthiest ecclesiastic in the kingdom, and an ungrateful subject to boot.

The events and decisions of the last months of Henry's life certainly had lasting religious consequences, but there is no evidence that they were inspired by a belief that the future belonged to Protestantism. Had Henry really modified his religious position, he had plenty of occasions on which to indicate that change, but his last will and testament, which had been completely revised and rewritten only a month before his death, continued to appeal to "the glorious and blessed virgin our lady Saint Mary" and to "all the holy company of Heaven" and required the usual prayers for his soul.<sup>104</sup> During that same week of December 29, moreover, the King was still demanding that Sacramentarians make abject recantations of their faith if they wished to escape the stake.<sup>105</sup>

Henry's death interrupted much and terminated a complicated concatenation of diplomatic, religious, military, factional, and personal considerations. When the end arrived, it came with unexpected speed. What schemes lay concealed in the mind of an old and dying monarch were no longer of concern to the living, who were busy concocting their own plans even as their sovereign slipped from torment into coma and oblivion. But one point can be made. The Reformed faith triumphed not because there lay concealed within that massive royal bosom any secret foreknowledge of an England mighty and victorious in its Protestant faith. Nor did it prevail because of any inner necessity or divine will, but because of the accident of Henry dying just at the instant he did. Alter the timing; allow the King no more than another year of life, and the patterns and personalities are inalterably changed, and so too are the causal relationships between Henry's reign and the events to follow.

<sup>104</sup> The original is in PRO, Royal Wills, E. 23, IV, Pt. 1, 1; the printed version, Thomas Rymer and Robert Sanderson, *Foedera* (20 vols., London, 1704-35), XV, 110.

<sup>105</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ed. Brewer *et al.*, XXI (2), 596, 629.

# New Approaches to the History of Immigration in Twentieth-Century America

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THE once promising field of immigration studies has fallen upon hard times. Several able scholars who entered it with enthusiasm ten or twenty years ago have recently abandoned it. Yet the obvious importance of immigrants and their children in the urbanization of America in the twentieth century makes an understanding of their history more vital than ever before. The popularity of general works such as Will Herberg's *Protestant, Catholic, Jew* (Garden City, N. Y., 1960), Samuel Lubell's *Future of American Politics* (New York, 1956), and Nathan Glazer's and Daniel Moynihan's *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963) attests the importance that social workers, religious leaders, urban planners, and politicians attach to the theme. How then are we to explain the flight from a field of scholarship whose pioneer practitioners won an audience as significant as the makers and the readers of such books?

One reason, certainly, is the blight of ethnic parochialism, which has done far more damage to studies of twentieth-century immigrants than of earlier ones. The great migrating groups of the nineteenth century—the Irish, Germans, Swedes, and Jews—arrived early enough and in sufficient numbers to play significant roles in the economic and social development of major urban or agricultural regions. The history of any one group, therefore, seemed worth a lifetime of study by several competent scholars, willing to search out both the European background and the American experience of the group. But a solid book about Rumanians, Lithuanians, or Croats seems hardly as promising a way for a young historian to launch his career today. Indeed, most of the immigrant peoples of the twentieth century gain significance in American history chiefly from the fact of their settlement alongside other nationalities with whom they shared closely parallel experiences in housing, employment, and social adjustment.

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Studying these diverse groups together, however, magnifies a second, already serious problem: language skills. Few of today's American graduate students are masters of a single Eastern European tongue. An occasional one may set out to learn Polish, perhaps, especially if as a child he heard his grandparents speak it. But if we tell him he needs Czech and Lithuanian as well to understand the northern Slavs, or that a competent study of Ash-tabula, Gary, or Joliet, or of immigrant workers in coal mining or automobile manufacturing may also involve sources in Hungarian, Finnish, Croatian, and Italian, he is understandably dismayed.

An even more serious barrier is the scattered and unorganized condition of source materials. Public librarians, even in such centers as Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago, and New York, have long since despaired of keeping broad and continuous files of the scores of immigrant periodicals and almanacs or the thousands of books and pamphlets published in their own cities. The multiplicity of languages involved, the lack of staff members competent to handle more than one or two of them, and the difficulty of demonstrating the worth of any single publication were doubtless more important than prejudice against recent immigrants in producing this situation. The most substantial university Slavic collections, at Harvard, Princeton, Indiana, and Berkeley, have, moreover, concentrated upon the history of the Slavs in Europe, not in America. Thus, important files of periodicals and manuscripts have recently been destroyed, and others have been sent piecemeal to Europe. The scholar who works on any of the twentieth-century immigrant groups must spend untold hours simply locating material and negotiating for permission to use it, realizing at the same time that it must remain in private hands, out of the reach of other scholars who might retrace and correct his steps or cut a new path. A broad-scale program to collect and organize in one or more of the major university libraries a wide sample of the publications, organizational records, and personal papers of every immigrant nationality from Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe and from the Near East seems necessary.

Should even these major technical problems be solved, yet another cause of the crisis in immigration history would beset us: the intellectual and emotional involvement of historians in a cluster of value-laden arguments over cultural pluralism and the meaning of Americanization, over the nature of Anglo-Saxon domination and of religion's social role. Several of the premises that underlie much research in the history of recent immigration reflect this involvement. Americanization appears chiefly in these studies as a native Protestant scheme to engineer cultural and social uniformity. Eco-



nomic exploitation of the newcomers seems an inevitable concomitant of the cultural. And the immigrants themselves, uprooted from their homes in the Old World, appear predestined to be strangers in the New. Their history, as thus far written, is a story of alienation and conflict. Organizations and individuals whose function was not unity and defense, but assimilation, seem somehow like the good black Sambos and the Uncle Toms of Negro history—worthy of notice chiefly by way of contrast with those who nurtured and preserved their nationality's contribution to a culturally plural America.

In this paper, therefore, I wish to suggest approaches to immigration history that lay frank stress upon assimilation, both cultural and structural, rather than ethnic exclusiveness. The approaches require comparative and quantitative studies employing the tools and the perceptions of both the older social history and the newer behavioral sciences. The suggestions are my own, but they arise out of an extensive investigation that Clarke Chambers, Hyman Berman, and I have recently concluded of the social history of the Minnesota iron mining towns. Two sets of findings seem to offer important suggestions for future studies of urban immigrants: one group centers upon the integrative factors at work in this particular kind of small-town environment; the other deals with the relationships between local and national structures of social organization.

The Vermilion and Mesabi iron lands were a virgin wilderness until 1884. Those who settled there in the following thirty years came from a wide spectrum of Eastern, Southern, and Western European backgrounds. The nature of mining operations required them to locate in a dozen small towns and some forty-odd tiny villages. Here face-to-face relationships prevailed, as in their homelands. But the structure of law and custom was Anglo-Saxon, midwestern, and thoroughly capitalistic. The population, moreover, was in both language and religion as polyglot as Chicago; and economic life, far more than in great cities, depended heavily upon giant corporations like United States Steel or Pickands-Mather, whose headquarters were in faraway Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and New York.<sup>1</sup> In this particular kind of small-town environment, cultural islands grounded in sentiments of nationality could not withstand the assimilating effects of shared experience.

The close segregation of residences according to ethnic patterns, for example, simply did not occur. All that happened was that in larger towns

<sup>1</sup> George O. Virtue, *The Minnesota Iron Ranges* (Washington, D. C., 1909), 345-53, provides statistics based upon mining company records that are either no longer in existence or inaccessible to scholars.

workers from Eastern and Southern Europe were spread out at random through the poorer neighborhoods. English-speaking families, many of whom were immigrants from Canada, Scotland, or Cornwall, occupied the best homes available, with Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians scattered in between.<sup>2</sup> Under these circumstances, marriage across ethnic lines occurred frequently from the beginning; immigrant wives established informal contacts with others of different nationalities more often than in cities; and children found it impossible to identify the mixed culture of the street and the neighborhood school with their parents' Old World traditions.<sup>3</sup> The consequence was an astonishingly rapid adjustment of all groups to prevailing American folkways, and a surprising degree of structural assimilation as well, in business partnerships, civic activities, religious worship, and recreation.

Should not studies of immigrants in cities concentrate more upon the life histories of families who settled in multiethnic neighborhoods and passed rapidly into associations and activities geared to interest rather than ethnicity? Given the unbalanced sex ratios, the pursuit of wives outside their own nationality among the men who were first to arrive created many families whose language was necessarily English. Did such families later exercise a mediating role among newcomers of the father's nationality? Scattered evidence from literary sources presently available—family histories, immigrant almanacs and guidebooks, and the obituary columns of the foreign-language press—offers fruitful points to begin such studies. And urban parish records, school surveys, and census reports beckon to the student with an interest in quantification.

A second finding was that in these small towns Roman Catholic congregations functioned socially as ethnic melting pots, while those serving Protestant immigrants often nurtured a specific Old World tradition. Except for the separate Italian parishes founded after 1906 at Hibbing and Eve-

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Minnesota Fourth Decennial Census, 1895, MS schedules for Saint Louis County, 119-22 (for McKinley residents, Minnesota State Archives); lists of petitioners for sidewalk and sewer improvements in Eveleth City Council, "Minute Book" for 1913 and 1914, Eveleth City Clerk's office; and addresses of heads of families of the Russian Orthodox congregation in Chisholm in 1922 in M. H. Godfrey to John H. McLean, Sept. 21, 1922, Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files, Minnesota Historical Society.

<sup>3</sup> Saint Louis County, MS marriage record book, for Tower, 1886-1890, courthouse, Duluth, Minn., records 134 marriages, of which 16 seem, from the rough estimate possible from names alone, to have crossed ethnic lines. See also *Narodni Vestnik* [National Herald], Sept. 28, 1911, Immigrant Archives, University of Minnesota Library, recording the marriage of a Slovene girl to a son of Mining Superintendent Charles Trezona; MS marriage records of St. John the Baptist Roman Catholic Church (Polish-Slovenian), Virginia, for 1909, in the parish office showing 4 of 28 marriages were exogamous, and for 1916, showing 5 of 18; and the same for the Presbyterian church, Virginia, in the church office, for 1926-28, showing only 10 of 42 marriages were endogamous, each of these being between partners both of whom were either Finns or Scandinavians.

leth, the Slovene church at Eveleth, and the one at Virginia called, marvelously, the Polish-Slovenian church, the rule in range towns from Ely to Calumet was one Roman Catholic parish, serving Irish, Germans, Slavs, and Italians. Among Protestant congregations in the village of Virginia alone, by contrast, were a Norwegian, a Swedish, a German, and three Finnish Lutheran groups; two Baptist churches, one Finnish, the other Swedish; a Norwegian and a Swedish Methodist; an English Methodist and an Episcopal congregation, which divided between them not only the native Americans of those faiths but the immigrant mining captains from Cornwall; and a Presbyterian congregation serving both persons born in the United States and Scots and Scotch-Irish who had recently arrived from the British Isles and Protestant Canada.<sup>4</sup>

Many studies of Roman Catholic newcomers in cities have dealt in one way or another with the Americanizing influence of Irish bishops, of course. But few have explored the dynamics of congregational life. How many and exactly what kinds of interethnic congregations existed among Roman Catholics in large cities such as Chicago? When national parishes emerged among Slavs and Italians, whose memories were bound to a particular Old World village, precisely how did these congregations nurture a sense of national identity among their membership? How did ethnic lodges and mutual benefit societies affect the pattern of personal relationships in mixed and national parishes? And what different roles did non-Irish priests play when they served congregations of their own, of another, or of several language groups? How did these differences affect the establishment and operation of parochial schools? To these and other important questions we have almost no answers. Not just some mystic drive toward Catholic unity, but specific measures and circumstances have shaped the emerging community of Roman Catholics in American cities.

As for Protestants, the need for answers to analogous questions seems even greater. Which of the millions so labeled in numerous studies were in fact members of immigrant Protestant congregations: Italian, Swedish, or German Baptist; Norwegian, Finnish, Welsh, or German Methodist; Danish, Finnish, or Lithuanian Lutheran; Hungarian Reformed; or Italian Waldensian? And how, precisely, did their adjustment to the dominant culture differ from that of immigrants of other faiths? To assume the existence of a national community of white Protestants, as Herberg and Gerhard

<sup>4</sup>Information on ethnic origins of Roman Catholic congregations is most easily available from anniversary histories, an extensive file of which is in the Immigrant Archives. For Protestant churches, range town newspapers may be supplemented by the William Bell Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, and Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files.

Lenski appear to do, may be far less defensible than to stress the steadily increasing identification of Roman Catholics or of Jews with their general religious heritage. Certainly a much closer analysis of what Lenski calls *The Religious Factor* (Garden City, N. Y., 1963), in his comparison of social attitudes among Detroit Catholics, Jews, white Protestants, and Negro Protestants, would be possible from a study of, say, Hungarian Catholics, Hungarian Jews, and Hungarian Protestants who settled simultaneously in that city, or of Slovak Catholic and Reformed congregations in Cleveland, or of Rumanians of the Baptist, Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Jewish faiths in Chicago.

The mediating role of immigrant businessmen also stood out sharply in our study of the Minnesota towns. Most fascinating were the Slovene tavern-keepers, many of whom graduated rapidly into general merchandising, hotel ownership, or undertaking. Some were allies of the mining superintendents, provoking the socialists to a brief flirtation with temperance sentiments. Others were neutral on labor issues but a principal support of the parish church. All joined the chorus of popular complaint against Wall Street, while making for themselves a niche in the power structure of Main Street.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the Lithuanian Jews who sold special or general merchandise to all comers, the German and Scandinavian wholesalers who profited from easy communication with major distributors in Duluth and Minneapolis, and the Danish and Norwegian bankers all served in different ways as agents of assimilation. Of special significance were the young Finnish and Slovene clerks whom most larger banks and mercantile houses employed to serve their countrymen in their native tongue; they were links "between two worlds" long before anyone thought of writing an immigrant play by that title.<sup>6</sup>

The go-getter spirit, the pragmatism, and the penuriousness of these businessmen mirrored every facet of what Max Weber taught us to call the Protestant ethic. We need comparative studies of such men in larger cities, if for nothing else to give Weber's hypothesis a new kind of test. The familiar combination of attitudes he described may turn out to be simply an ethic appropriate to the elite leaders of any uprooted and mobile people.

<sup>5</sup> See advertisements in *Amerikanski Slovenec* [American Slovene], Sept. 10, 1891, and thereafter, Immigrant Archives; similar advertisements in *Narodni Vestnik*; letter of John Movern, Eveleth, in *Proletarec* [Proletariat], Sept. 20, 1910, Immigrant Archives; and numerous letters in that and succeeding years in *Proletarec* attacking saloonkeepers who were in league with mining officials, *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> A statistical study of the careers of fifty businessmen prominent on the range by 1920, who arrived there before 1901, reveals that 58 per cent of the men were foreign born and that 34 per cent were of East European extraction.

Perhaps more important, such studies would also make plain the precise manner in which businessmen led the way in adjustment to new conditions, providing both thrust and guidance for the newcomers' flight through cultural space. The considerable literature that now exists on immigrant bankers, Italian padrones, and Jewish merchants and clothing manufacturers is limited by ethnic perspectives, but it points to the relevant source materials: news and obituary columns in the ethnic press, the records of mutual benefit societies, and business records to be found in family papers. Consider, for example, a career such as that of Anton Nemanich, tavernkeeper at Joliet, Illinois, unofficial employment agent for International Harvester, and pillar of St. Joseph's Church. His enterprises in the "Nemanich block" eventually included a meat market, a mortuary, a florist shop, and a brewery. In 1904 he became national president of a Catholic Slovene benefit society, the organization chiefly responsible for maintaining ethnic feeling among that group. The anticlerical Slovenes called him king, but the Joliet community thought of him more as father, counselor, friend. On many an Easter Sunday the parents of half the children confirmed in St. Joseph's Church would ask Nemanich to serve as godfather. And the old priest himself declared that the congregation could never have become the center of the community in the early years if Nemanich and two other tavernkeepers had not insisted that unmarried newcomers must first go to Mass on Sundays if they wished to eat.<sup>7</sup>

Another important instrument of acculturation in the iron range towns was a broad program of social services, at first private and then increasingly public in their sponsorship. In the early years the welfare programs of the mining companies combined with scattered efforts of national missionary and local church agencies to meet pressing human needs. The medical doctors also played key roles, especially in encouraging the public schools to make health and recreation a major part of their expanding services. By 1920 the mining companies were shifting responsibility for such programs as they had sponsored to the towns and school districts, partly to put ore taxes to better use but also in response to the interest of their local superintendents. Thereafter, politics on the range became a game of balancing and harmonizing widespread local demands for services against such restraints as the companies could exercise directly or through the state legis-

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Father Matthias Hiti, Holy Ghost Roman Catholic parish, Waukegan, Ill., Mar. 5, 1964; files of *Amerikanski Slovenec* and *Glasilo K.S.K.J.* [Voice of the Grand Carniolian-Slovenian Catholic Union], Immigrant Archives, for the years 1904-21; *Spominski Album, Joliet, Illinois: Slovenskih Trgovcev in Obrtnikov* [Commemorative Album, Joliet, Illinois, Slovene Merchants and Tradesmen], comp. Rafko Zupanec (Joliet, 1915), 5, 6, 13; Joliet *Evening Herald*, May 31, 1910.

lature. The result in these communities was a welfare state that antedated the New Deal by a dozen years. Even the Boy Scout executives were subsidized with public school funds; municipal heat and light were available at bargain rates; and junior high schools had their own swimming pools. Both earlier and later social welfare programs were harmonizing influences that penetrated deeply into the life of immigrant families. At least partly in consequence, the parishes and mutual benefit societies limited greatly the range of services that their counterparts in larger cities provided.<sup>8</sup>

Students of immigration have much to learn, I think, from those at work in the new and expanding field of social welfare history, and perhaps something to teach as well. Here, too, the task of gathering and organizing a wide range of personal and organizational archives has only recently begun. In consulting these sources, however, historians of immigration should pay less attention than formerly to the social problems that these documents lay bare and more attention to the role of welfare agencies in resolving them and in hastening the adjustment of the newcomers to American life. Ethnic-oriented studies have tended to dismiss as unimportant the influence of Yankee do-gooders. But they rely too much on the testimony of idealists recorded in their moments of despair, or of immigrants who, precisely because they resisted such influences, remained prominent in the ethnic enclaves. Is not the story of other newcomers to whom welfare services provided a release from the bonds of nationality equally important and equally accessible to researchers bent on recovering it?

Finally, we have been able in these small towns to study closely the impact of public schooling upon the children of new immigrants. Roman Catholic congregations, struggling for their existence and unable in any case to harness ethnic loyalties to the clerical cart, found parochial schools impracticable, save in the two largest "melting-pot" congregations at Hibbing and Virginia. The public schools succeeded in imposing a common English culture upon children of many nationalities. The devices by which they attempted to prevent a conflict between generations were remarkably well planned. And they kindled an enthusiasm for high school and college education in the hearts of their students that has marked the history of the range

<sup>8</sup> See C. W. More, "Reminiscences of a Range Physician," *Minnesota Medicine* (Jan. 1936), 36-42; W. H. Moulton, "The Sociological Side of the Mining Industry," *Proceedings, Lake Superior Mining Institute, 1909* (Duluth, Minn., 1909), 82-98; Victor Power, mayor of Hibbing, open letter to J. A. O. Preus, state auditor, Sept. 1, 1915, Power's scrapbooks, in possession of Charles Bardessona, Hibbing; Oliver Iron Mining Company, Executive Files; see also *Daily Virginian*, Dec. 5-10, 1921, containing a running account of Oliver's public stand on welfare; and Hibbing School Superintendent, "Report," Superintendent's Office, Hibbing Schools, Feb. 1919, Sept. 1921.

towns ever since. By 1910 school enrollment in each of them except Chisholm exceeded the averages for both the state as a whole and for all towns of comparable size in the state. At Ely 97.5 per cent of the youngsters were enrolled, a record impossible without universal parental enthusiasm. And in the next decade Chisholm mastered relatively larger hindrances to become a showcase for public education for the entire upper Midwest.<sup>9</sup> The only comparable story now known is that of the immensely successful marriage of New York City's Jewish population to the public schools.

Have historians of immigration working in urban settings paid enough attention to the later careers of the thousands of Catholic and Orthodox children who attended public rather than parochial schools, often from choice as well as necessity? Have we given sufficient emphasis to the broad support of public education generally, and particularly of compulsory attendance laws, which came from Czech, Polish, Greek, and Italian leaders anxious to relieve their nationalities of the stigma and the handicap of ignorance? Federal census reports for 1910 indicate that in every region the percentage of children of foreign or mixed parentage enrolled in school closely approximated that for children of native-born Americans, despite the obvious social handicaps of the former group. In adult literacy statistics, moreover, the offspring of immigrants uniformly outranked the others, even in the populous Middle Atlantic and north central states, where newcomers were many and traditions of public education in the older population strong.<sup>10</sup>

More careful study of the zeal for schooling that these statistics suggest, and of the role of immigrant families and organizations in cultivating it, might help rid us of the notion that Americanization was an exclusively Anglo-Saxon project. And it might also reveal the bias in the widespread belief that a drive for education was the special trait of one or another ethnic group. Those who made the decision to migrate to the New World were not usually from families of superior learning or social standing, whatever their nationality. The process of self-selection turned rather upon ambition, upon a wish and a will to believe that the future was more real than the past, and upon a readiness to accept changes and make adjust-

<sup>9</sup> J. P. Vaughan, "Superintendent's Report, 1913-1914," Chisholm Schools, Superintendent's Office, and mimeographed sets of "Language Plans" for the elementary grades are the most revealing of a mass of such materials examined for this study; numerous student literary publications are also exceedingly useful. See also, in the same location, L. H. Weir, "Plans and Suggestions upon the Organization and Conduct of a System of Employment of the Free Time of the People of Chisholm, Minnesota" (multigraphed, Chisholm, 1915); Chisholm school district, "Graduates Lists" for 1926, giving occupations of one hundred outstanding high school graduates, 1908-25; and United States, *Thirteenth Census (1910), Abstract . . . , with Supplement for Minnesota* (Washington, D. C., 1913), 624-28.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 227-28, 245.

ments. Long before the ship on which he traveled touched the docks, many an immigrant had inquired carefully of those he met what the conditions were that he must face, the lessons he must learn to make his venture a success. Once ashore, he was staggered by the number and complexity of the things he did not know. He had to learn quickly in order to get ahead. To find countrymen who spoke his own language and would help him initially was great good fortune. For such a man, the "ethnic community" was not a room but a corridor. His ultimate objective was the fulfillment of a dream of success that owed nothing at all to Horatio Alger. If it was too late for him to make more than a start, it was not too late for his children. And for them, he knew, schooling was the key that unlocked the corridor door.

The other major category of our findings deals with the varying relationships of regional and national structures of social organization to local face-to-face groups. These also suggest that assimilation is a more useful perspective than alienation from which to approach the history of twentieth-century immigration.

Entrepreneurial historians, for example, have as yet paid insufficient attention to the subtle divergences of interest and policy between the local and the central offices of national business combinations. These divergences became especially significant in the Mesabi country, where the lords of industrial empires whose headquarters were far away directed when to open and close mines, what wages to pay, and what sorts of employees to favor. Many of the range captains, however, were themselves immigrants. Though sometimes well educated, they were usually practical men who disdained the armchair engineers of Cleveland and Pittsburgh. The experiences they shared and the sense of companionship they developed with their employees at the mines affected the immigrant worker's attitudes quite as much as his lodge or his foreign-language newspaper. Off the job, the superintendents frequently identified themselves more with the communities of which they were masters than with the corporations which they served, exerting, with the help of their wives, an influence that was not subject to statistical analysis or central control. Their tacit approval or disapproval of extensions of educational opportunity or of municipal services; their leadership in church and social welfare programs; their control of banks, or real-estate development companies; their selection of foremen from one or another ethnic group; and their personal friendship with priests, politicians, or saloonkeepers were all immensely important factors in the pace and the direction of the newcomer's integration. Studies of the local captains of in-



dustry and of the factory societies over which they presided in places like South Bend, Lorain, or Youngstown would likely yield similar conclusions, and historians of immigration have a special stake in leading the way.

The impact of national professional groups upon their members, and through them upon immigrant populations, also seems newly significant from our study of the range towns. National and regional associations of mining engineers cultivated professional and ethical standards on this frontier that set limits to both corporate policy and personal greed. Professional school administrators performed a similar function. The mining captains who dominated the early school boards knew the value of topflight administration of any large and rapidly expanding operation and outbid other districts in the state to get it. The self-conscious pride of the school superintendents they employed, not only in gleaming and well-equipped new buildings but also in the equal status they enjoyed with the all-powerful men who ran the mines, is obvious at every turn of the story. Leading members of both professions had been educated at state universities in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota, during the years when the academic environment nurtured progressivism.<sup>11</sup> Their tough-minded readiness to accept responsibility for social engineering poses questions that should be asked about the nature of local Americanization campaigns elsewhere as well. On the iron range, certainly, they owed less to Anglo-Saxon chauvinism than to a remarkably humane concern for an efficiently functioning society.

The roles of the three professions that dominated cultural life on nineteenth-century frontiers—the doctors, lawyers, and clergymen—varied here in ways both novel and familiar: according to the differing lengths of time that individuals served in a particular town, the strength of their local professional associations, the nature of their services, and the degree of discipline exercised by regional and national bodies. Although religious congregations were supported chiefly by their own members, grants from mission agencies in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and the Twin Cities were sufficient to knit most local congregations into a national organization. The young clergymen and rabbis who served as their pastors were not only trained and appointed by distant denominational agencies, but tended to see their professional futures leading elsewhere.

Attorneys and doctors, by contrast, tended to identify themselves permanently with one local community and to form close professional ties within the region. The doctors early managed to establish their independ-

<sup>11</sup> A statistical analysis of the careers of three hundred business and professional men who occupied leadership positions by 1920 underlies this description of occupational groups.

ence of mining company dictation, despite their reliance upon fees from company medical plans. Private hospitals evolved into prosperous clinics which in turn financed personal investments in banks and real estate. Meanwhile, they served on school boards and in various civic and welfare enterprises. In small-town societies with a narrow range of occupations, such doctors inevitably became models to the brightest immigrant youngsters. Forty-nine graduates of the high school at Chisholm entered the medical profession before 1960, thirty of them from East European families, chiefly Slavic.<sup>12</sup> The life histories of comparable groups of immigrant children who first broke into the professional ranks in urban localities would reveal much about their mediating role, I believe, both within and outside the emerging ethnic communities.

As with business and professional men, so with labor, the decisive question was the relationship of local to central organizations. Leaders of local workers' associations, both formal and informal, developed attitudes different from those which national and regional unions sought to cultivate. Their work was further complicated by ethnic competition on both local and national levels, by the successful appeal of Marxism to a minority within each language group, and by the immense power that the mining companies wielded over a narrow job market. These circumstances inclined such workers' organizations as did exist toward both a greater degree of radicalism and a stronger emphasis upon ethnic loyalties than their national leaders, who were chiefly Anglo-Saxon, in theory supported.<sup>13</sup>

A close reading of the American workers' newspapers published in each of the Eastern European languages seems necessary before the crazy quilt pattern of American socialist history can be seen whole. And understanding that pattern, in turn, must precede any adequate analysis of the relationship between the American labor movement generally and the immigrant communities that so often frustrated and divided it. The story is difficult for doctrinaire liberals to tell objectively because the immigrants who opposed radicalism on labor issues often accepted assimilation to American culture more readily. Moreover, as in other matters covered here, the variety of the languages and the complexity of the issues require a collection of source materials that covers the entire water front. And the program of research should involve steady cooperation among scholars whose total range of interests and capabilities is very wide.

<sup>12</sup> The list taken from the *Chisholm Free Press*, May 29, 1963, was checked against school records and interviews for ethnic identifications.

<sup>13</sup> See translations of scores of letters published in the Slovene socialist newspapers, *Glas*

Finally, comparison of the process by which national ethnic communities emerged out of the local associations of Slovenes and Finns makes plain the contribution of immigrant leaders themselves to the process of acculturation. A large proportion of the Americans of these two nationalities settled in the Lake Superior region. Their Old World heritages contrasted sharply. The Finns were highly literate, Lutheran, and accustomed to a climate and topography similar to that of northern Minnesota, while the Slovenes were Roman Catholics from a Mediterranean land, and from one-fourth to one-half of them were illiterate. The latter, moreover, were the only European people to arrive in this country preceded by a substantial number of clergymen of their own nationality. For decades before 1890 Slovene priests had served as missionaries to the Chippewa Indians in the dioceses of Marquette and St. Cloud and as pastors of Czech and German frontier parishes there. Yet the institutions that the two nationalities fashioned to nurture group loyalty show striking parallels.

In 1889 Archbishop John Ireland appointed Joseph Buh, Slovene missionary and pastor at Tower and Ely, as vicar-general of the new diocese of Duluth. Buh was charged with the task of knitting the German and southern Slav newcomers on the iron ranges into the American, which is to say, Irish Catholic Church. He soon founded a weekly Slovene newspaper, however, and permitted students from St. Paul Seminary who assisted him during the summer to organize Slovene mutual benefit lodges in the mixed parishes of the mining towns. The idea spread rapidly to other midwestern states. After several years of discussion, delegates from these local lodges formed a national association known as the Grand Carniolian Catholic Union, with headquarters in Joliet, Illinois. An ethnic sect thus took shape by voluntary action, inside the structure of American Catholicism. Buh's weekly newspaper became the organ of the new body, issuing almanacs, pamphlets, and a dictionary, and summoning members to an annual convention at which the students from St. Paul Seminary provided national music. Letters from local units scattered from Pennsylvania to Colorado appeared in the newspaper each week, displaying the emotions that surrounded the search for a wider kinship among people who in the Old World would have remained strangers, bound to their own village and valley. Moreover, precisely as in experiences of sect formation among Protestants, tensions flowing from the conflict between local and general objectives produced an early secession and another national Slovene organization, the

South Slavic Catholic Union, whose headquarters after 1899 were at Ely.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, among Lutheran Finns, local clubs and temperance societies gave rise to congregations which, in turn, coalesced gradually into three national sects. All three were heirs of divergent tendencies within the Church of Finland, which in the Old World had been held by national law and custom in a single communion. Many independent Finnish congregations in the mining region, however, refused to join any one of these denominations. Meanwhile, the temperance societies formed national brotherhoods as well—three different ones, none of which was identified with a particular religious sect. Thereafter, competition among these various national organizations for the allegiance of newcomers pressed each toward an increasing emphasis upon Finnishness.<sup>15</sup>

Both Slovene and Finnish religious communities, moreover, faced a continuous challenge from socialism, whose organization and ideology nurtured in each case a separate identity. Marxist lecturers appeared in the mining country after 1899 and converted numerous Finnish "workers clubs" to their program. No less than four sects of Finnish socialists eventually emerged, each fielding its own team of itinerant evangelists, and each cultivating ethnic loyalties through newspapers and summer schools in a manner that contradicted both the theoretical and the practical internationalism of the socialist movement. The same development occurred among Slovenes after 1902, when Marxists recently arrived from the homeland gained control of a newly formed anticlerical benefit society. Thereafter, local socialist clubs and lodges serving both nationalities insulated workers and their families from the religious congregations by cultivating national music and drama and fashioning a social life entirely centered in the group. "Hall so-

<sup>14</sup> *Amerikanski Slovenec* is the chief source of this story, esp. articles of Oct. 14, 1892 (by F. S. Šušteršič), Oct. 30, Nov. 5, 1891 (by Ivan Pakiž, Ely), Apr. 20, 1894 (by students at St. Paul Seminary), June 28, 1895 (reprinted in *Glasiło K.S.K.J.*, Apr. 7, 1915). See also *Zgodinja Danica* [Morning Star], XLVIII (Nov. 15, 1895), 370; *Jubilejna Spominska Knjiga . . . Tridesetletnice K.S.K.J.* [Jubilee Memorial Book . . . Thirteenth Anniversary . . . Grand Carniolian-Slovenian Catholic Union . . .] (Cleveland, 1924), 19, 23, 59, *et passim*; and Joe Zavertnik, *Amerikanski Slovenski* . . . [American Slovenes . . .] (Chicago, 1925), 375, on JSKJ. (Translations of these citations, chiefly by Mary Molek, are in the Immigrant Archives.)

<sup>15</sup> William Rautanan, *Amerikan Suomalainen Kirkko* [The Finnish American Church] (Hancock, Mich., 1911), 241-47; Uuras Saarnivaara, *Amerikan Laestadiolaisuuden eli Apostoliluterilaisuuden Historia* [American Laestadian or Apostolic Lutheran History] (Ironwood, Mich., 1947), an English summary of which appeared the following year; J. E. Nopola, *Evangelis-Luterilainen Kansalliskirkko* . . . [Evangelical Lutheran National Church . . .] (Ironwood, Mich., 1949), 1-49, *passim*; Akseli Järnefelt, *Suomalaiset Amerikkaasa* [The Finns in America] (Helsinki, 1899), 141-45; and *Kirkollinen Kalenteri . . . 1904* [Church Almanac . . . 1904] (Hancock, Mich., 1904), 64-65, 72-87. Douglas Ollila of Gustavus Adolphus College has assisted me in the translation of these references; his unpublished dissertation, done at Boston University, is the best introduction to theological phases of Finnish church history in America.

cialism" became a synonym for ethnic as much as for ideological activity.<sup>16</sup>

The several strands of this story offer numerous suggestions for research in immigrant history. A comparison of the effectiveness of the Roman Catholic hierarchy with that of the leaders of American socialism in restraining the growth of ethnic particularism in their midst is certainly in order; it would gain much from recent studies of the sociology of large-scale organization. The use of education as a device of indoctrination among both church and socialist groups is also obvious. But how did the consequences vary with the degree of control of local by national officers, or with the sharpness of the separation between competing associations of the same nationality? What difference did neighborhood ties with other nationalities make? Did the identification of religion with the established order in America strengthen the appeal of immigrant churches to those newcomers who sought individual material success? Did socialism, then, when organized on an ethnic basis, serve more to retard the processes of assimilation, and so to popularize cultural pluralism among the intelligentsia? Finally, how did the simple fact of a common language and national origin in the long run win out over ideological division and bring the various segments of each nationality closer together?

These and many similar questions beg for reasoned answers by students willing and able to look at immigrant history as a whole. Other legitimate and important approaches will, of course, continue to evoke studies of a much different kind from the ones recommended here. But until historians pay as much attention to the processes of assimilation as they have to the persistence of ethnic loyalties, not only in small towns, but in great cities as well, we will know only half of the story. Experiences of alienation, and the resulting crises of identity, may prove to have sprung more from rivalries and estrangements within the immigrant communities than from any pressures exerted from the outside. And the drive of the immigrant himself, moving individually as well as through organized groups toward what has often been called "Americanization," but which is better termed "urbanization," may turn out to be the central theme.

<sup>16</sup> See *Sosialisti* [The Socialist] (newspaper organ of the syndicalist or IWW wing of Finnish socialists), Sept. 1, 3, 1914 (describing origins of Work Peoples College, Duluth), and, for other matters, Dec. 11, June 13, 22, 1914 (on itinerant lecturers), Sept. 7, 1914 (a socialist funeral); *Työmies* [The Laborer] (organ of democratic socialism, 1904-present), Jan. 4, Feb. 1, 1910; and *Aakkosis Sosialistien Lapsilla* [A Primer for Socialist Children], ed. A. B. Makela (Hancock, Mich., n.d.). For Slovene socialism, Zavertnik covers the ground, but often inaccurately. See also Ivan Molek, "Over Hill and Dale; Autobiographical Sketches" (MS tr. by Mary Molek, Immigrant Archives), the best general source on free-thinking Slovenes in America, 247-53; the files of *Glas Svobode*, 1902-1909; *Ameriški Družinski Koledar . . . 1935* [American Family Almanac . . . 1935] (Chicago, 1935), 141-42 *et passim*; Slovene Library Club, Ely, Minn., "Minute Books," Immigrant Archives; and tr. of letters from *Proletarec* by Molek.

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General

FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, STOCKHOLM, AUGUST 1960. CONTRIBUTIONS: A. INDUSTRIALISATION AS A FACTOR IN ECONOMIC GROWTH AFTER 1700; B. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LARGE-SCALE AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE IN POST-MEDIEVAL TIMES. COMMUNICATIONS. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et Colloques, Volume I.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1960. Pp. 593.)

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY, AIX-EN-PROVENCE, 1962. Volume I, TRADE AND POLITICS IN THE ANCIENT WORLD; Volume II, MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI<sup>e</sup> Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et Colloques, Volume VIII.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1965. Pp. 162; 863.)

LES GRANDES VOIES MARITIMES DANS LE MONDE: XV<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES. RAPPORTS PRÉSENTÉS AU XII<sup>e</sup> CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES SCIENCES HISTORIQUES PAR LA COMMISSION INTERNATIONALE D'HISTOIRE MARITIME À L'OCCASION DE SON VII<sup>e</sup> COLLOQUE (VIENNE, 29 AOÛT-5 SEPTEMBRE 1965). [Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 330.)

ADAM Smith's *Wealth of Nations* greatly stressed the economic advantages to be derived from the division of labor. Then it added: "In the progress of society, philosophy . . . becomes . . . the principal or sole trade and occupation of a particular class of citizens. Like every other employment too, it is subdivided into a great number of branches . . . ; and this subdivision of employment in philosophy, as well as in every other business, improves dexterity, and saves time. Each individual becomes more expert in his own particular branch, more work is done upon the whole, and the quantity of science is considerably increased by it."

Nothing that Smith wrote was truer than this. In the field of history, at least, we have seen the "divide and progress" rule carried to extraordinary lengths. We have seen, moreover, scholars with similar special interests from different disciplines come together to pool their mutual resources; under the aegis of UNESCO we have seen them joined in international organizations for a more concerted effort to push the boundaries of ignorance a little further from us. The books considered here are the result of such efforts; they are the papers presented at

the first two international congresses of economic historians and those given at the seventh meeting of the closely allied International Commission of Maritime History.

The volumes from the economic history congresses reveal the major concerns of present-day economic historians. The center of their activity is clearly economic development; the reverse of the coin, which may be called economic underdevelopment; and satellite themes of economic development and social welfare, economic development and demography, and economic development's methodological problems. The volume on maritime history indicates the nature of the work of the international commission, which includes preparation under the direction of Charles Verlinden of the Belgian Academy in Rome of an international bibliography concerning great maritime routes, revision of a nautical glossary, and analysis of important questions in maritime trade. This volume is devoted essentially to a study of the liaisons between maritime and land routes from the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

America's role in these congresses has been impressive. Among those who have presented papers have been Thomas C. Cochran, Walter W. Rostow, David Landes, Harold Williamson, Douglass C. North, Sidney Ratner, Alexander Gerschenkron, Evsey D. Domar, and Rondo Cameron. The papers by Rostow on the take-off and by North on "The Role of Transportation in the Economic Development of North America" elicited considerable interest, while the paper by North in the maritime volume should be read by every American historian. The only paper to receive severe strictures was Cameron's; he was charged with presenting theories that were taxonomic and tautological.

As a participant in two of these three meetings, I can testify not only to the high quality of the papers that have been given but also to the value of the contacts and exchanges of ideas that such gatherings make possible. Opportunities to meet colleagues from other ideological areas and from some fifty nations are rare indeed, but on the basis of my experience I believe that they should be encouraged.

*Columbia University*

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

DER HISTORIKER UND DIE WELTGESCHICHTE. By *Fritz Wagner*.  
[Studium Universale.] (Freiburg: Verlag Karl Alber. 1965. Pp. 187. DM 17.80.)

PROFESSOR Wagner belongs to that group of German historians, including such men as Theodor Schieder, Werner Conze, and Otto Brunner, who since the Second World War have become increasingly aware of the inadequacy of classical German historiography to come to grips with the realities of a modern technological mass society and who have stressed the need for an approach to history that gives greater emphasis to the analysis of social structures and to the comparative study of institutions. This work goes beyond a critical analysis of the methodological assumptions of present-day historical scholarship to a re-examination of its fundamental philosophic presuppositions. The book consists of three quite distinct parts, the first presenting a highly compact survey of approaches to world history in European historiography from the Greeks to the present.

From this vantage point the German classical contribution to historical science, which became the model for historical science generally, appears much more parochial than it did to Meinecke for whom it still represented "the highest state in the understanding of things human."

The second part, devoted to Ranke's conception of history, illustrates the parochialism of the German school through an examination of the historiographical concepts of its greatest representative. Although Ranke was more deeply aware of the great collective forces operating in history than most German historians have been, he remained blind to basic social realities. Nor does Wagner agree with the aged Meinecke who after the war suggested that Burckhardt's cultural approach to history represented a meaningful alternative to Ranke's state-oriented historiography. Both Ranke and Burckhardt still viewed history from a narrow aristocratic, humanistic point of view far removed from the realities of the world-wide technological mass society emerging today. This new world, Wagner argues in the final section of the book, requires a total re-examination of traditional historical concepts. Historiography must be freed from both its aristocratic and its European bias. Historians must not only be willing to learn new methods from the neighboring social science disciplines and to place more emphasis on the comparative study of institutions and civilizations, but they must also rethink their Europe-centered conceptual apparatus. The great contribution of German classical historicism at this crucial point is its openness to cultural otherness and its recognition that all human cognition is time bound. Wagner recognizes that scientific history can never reduce world history to a meaningful pattern. Historiography must free itself from the Christian-European conception of linear process and search for *kairos*, the fullness of many historical moments. But Wagner rejects the relativistic and subjectivistic implications of the historicist position. History, he agrees with Martin Buber, has a real basis in man's encounter with "the fundamental fact of Being" that underlies all existence. Genuine history, he argues, has always involved concern with the problems of the meaning of human existence, and scientific history must not be permitted to break the vital link between history and philosophy. It is to be hoped that this significant essay will soon find an English translator.

State University of New York, Buffalo

GEORGE G. IGGERS

MERCHANTS & SCHOLARS: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF EXPLORATION AND TRADE. COLLECTED IN MEMORY OF JAMES FORD BELL. Edited by *John Parker*. [Publication from the James Ford Bell Collection in the Walter Library, University of Minnesota.] (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1965. Pp. 258. \$7.50.)

JAMES Ford Bell was "a merchant who was interested in the origins of present world trade relations, and who viewed commerce as the major driving force in the modern world." At the same time, he regarded the "student as an essential partner of the merchant." It is not surprising, therefore, that these essays in memory of Bell should have as their unifying theme the interdependability of the scholar and the merchant, the latter essentially in the role of the explorer.

The James Ford Bell Collection, founded by a merchant-industrialist who



was prominent in the modern economic history of Minnesota, was incorporated into the University of Minnesota Library in 1953. The ten essays included in this volume are based on or are related to materials in the collection and reflect the breadth of its scope and the rich diversity of its content.

In the first essay Thomas Goldstein considers the geographical concepts of Florence in the fifteenth century. Elizabeth Feist Hirsch then describes the attitude of the humanists toward the discoveries, while Burton Stein traces the rise of the Coromandel trade in medieval India in the third essay. John W. Webb discusses the sources of the Van Deutecum map of Russia and Tartary, while Ernest C. Abbe and Frank J. Gillis consider the work of Henry Hudson and the early cartographic work in the Hudson Bay, 1610-1631.

David B. Quinn investigates English effort to colonize the Saint Lawrence, 1577-1602, and Ward Barrett describes sugar production in the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The final three essays are on galley slaves in France, 1665-1700, by Paul W. Bamford; English exploration in the region of the Strait of Magellan by Helen Wallis; and De Lozier Bouvet's pioneer trade expansion in the Pacific by O. H. K. Spate. The essays are introduced by the curator of the collection, John Parker.

These essays constitute not only an extension of information regarding the broad variety of subjects with which they deal, but they also reflect the nature of the James Ford Bell Collection. With the other publications of the collection they are a real contribution to the field of historical literature. They present detailed studies of the themes concerned and are written in an interesting and convincing manner. The subjects are well chosen and cover the wide field of activity in the cooperation of the merchant in advancing and the scholar in describing the work of discovery.

*Rollins College*

RHEA MARSH SMITH

THE RISE OF THE TECHNOCRATS: A SOCIAL HISTORY. By W. H. G. Armytage. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 448. \$9.00.)

To most American historians the word "technocrat" has a very special meaning, referring to an adherent of the economic and social doctrines advanced in the 1930's by Howard Scott, a disciple of Veblen, as a substitute for the contemporary "price system." Anyone approaching this book as a history of the development of "technocracy" will be disappointed; Scott and Veblen are dismissed in a couple of pages, and what Americans usually mean by "technocracy" receives only passing references.

Although Armytage never fully defines his terms, by "technocrats" he apparently means a technical intelligentsia who advance the idea that a planned ordering of society in accordance with scientific and technological knowledge and accomplishments will make for a better world. Armytage's concepts, however, seem so amorphous that in the process of tracing the rise of this technical intelligentsia he also traces the development of modern science through its beginnings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, industrialization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, materialistic and pragmatic philosophies,

totalitarian political doctrines, the institutionalization and professionalization of science and technology, the managerial revolution, socialist thought, and a host of other items. Undoubtedly all these elements entered into the cultural stream of modern times, but that does not mean that all who participated in these developments were technocrats. Yet by innuendo Armytage repeatedly implies that all those who have aided in the advance of science and technology are engaged in a gigantic conspiracy to force men to order and rule their lives according to scientific and technological principles. This is, furthermore, an international conspiracy, extending to all nations that have sought to raise their standards of living by fostering scientific and technological developments. The result is a queer mélange of fact perverted by superficial interpretation and false analogy.

Armytage apparently believes in guilt by historical association. Thus Carnegie and Rockefeller, by their support of educational and scientific institutions, contributed to the rise of the technocrats; every "socialist" thinker, from the utopians through Karl Marx to Walter Lippmann (!) is a technocrat; trade associations, scholarly scientific societies, professional engineering organizations, and large corporations are technocratically inspired or motivated. Indeed, every scholar who has delivered a research paper at an international scientific conference, by Armytage's curious chain of reasoning, is a dedicated and conscious agent of the international technocratic conspiracy.

Though the author has read widely and provided much factual information regarding the rise of scientific academies and the institutionalization of science and technology within modern society, it is a shame that such vast erudition should serve a conspiracy theory of history that is such palpable nonsense. The lengthy bibliography is marred by numerous misprints and errors in the names of authors, publishers, and dates.

Perhaps we should not be surprised at such an interpretation of the cultural and social history of science and technology. Having had the "theatre of the absurd," the "poetry of the absurd," and the "art of the absurd," we now have the "history of the absurd."

*Case Institute of Technology*

MELVIN KRANZBERG

POPULATION IN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY.

Edited by D. V. Glass and D. E. Eversley. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. ix, 692. \$17.50.)

PROFESSOR Glass and Dr. Eversley have assembled in one thick, expensive volume twenty-seven pieces by scholars of various rationalities. Reviewers usually find such collections, as books, uneven. *Population in History* is unlikely to reverse this general tendency. But it is, nonetheless, an important publication, the first of its kind in an exciting "new" field, and its appearance marks, at last, the official coming-of-age of historical demography.

Of the twenty-seven chapters, only three appear to be newly written for this volume. Two of these are the editors' introductions, and one, written by Jim Potter of the London School of Economics, is entirely original. Little actual "editing" has been done, and several chapters have no indication as to provenance or original form or date of publication. The headnotes that one or two chapters have been given are too brief to be of much help.

What market do the editors hope to reach? As a teaching tool for a Senior or graduate seminar the book could be improved in a second edition. One could not reasonably expect an index to these seven hundred pages, but readers do deserve a careful bibliography of works cited—to serve as a guide to the field and to include place and date of publication in all cases. Styles of citation vary within the book, and some contributors have been fairly casual. Confusion as to focus is also seen in the choice of items. The decision to limit the selection to population history in the West since the seventeenth century was sensible, but if the aim for the following three hundred years was to illustrate in some fashion the field of historical demography, one could argue for a more representative choice of articles. Both internal and external migration deserve more attention. As for attendant problems of length and price, space could be created by dropping other pieces, the usefulness of which might be questioned in this particular book. For scholars some of these reprints were unnecessary; for students more editing would help. Glass's somewhat uncompromising, detailed history of the field (Chapter 1) is perhaps less encouraging to would-be students than Eversley's excellent and lucid general description of what historical demography is and what it hopes to do (Chapter 11).

For scholars the most significant chapter will undoubtedly be Potter's, on American population growth, 1700-1860—an entirely fresh examination of a neglected problem. Potter re-evaluates secondary materials and integrates them ably with his previously untapped sources (notably the Governors' Reports of 1773 in the Downshire Papers), and in so doing he overturns many misconceptions and past orthodoxies. As the concluding chapter in *Population in History*, the article is a formidable sample of that special combination of statistical mastery with imaginative analytical insight so necessary in historical demography.

Smith College

PETER D'A. JONES

MODERN VARIETIES OF JUDAISM. By *Joseph L. Blau*. [Lectures on the History of Religions Sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies. New Series, Number 8.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1966. Pp. ix, 217. \$6.00.)

ORGANIZED Judaism still bears the stigmata of history. Every contemporary Jewish movement is primarily a philosophical or practical response to the opportunities of emancipation and the continuing threat of anti-Semitism. Only slightly have Jewish thinkers been free to approach the real question: what help can Judaism offer to contemporary man, caught in the intellectual and emotional perplexities of the postmodern world.

Professor Blau traces in illuminating detail the origin of the major modern Jewish movements as varied reactions to the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century emancipation of Jews from the crushing burdens of medievalism. New definitions had to be created to delineate the significance of the body of accumulated habit and tradition in a world where Jews were to some degree free to mingle with their neighbors and participate in the life of their time. Reformers attempted to institute changes in practice, ritual, and concept that would permit Jews to share the optimism and meliorism of nineteenth-century Western Europe and America. Neo-Orthodox leaders sought to defend the authority of the

tradition by insisting that no basic contradiction existed between the Jewish past and the modern present. Conservatism developed as a halfway compromise, asserting the need for organic growth rather than revolutionary change. Zionism arose as an effort to "normalize" the position of the Jews on nationalistic rather than on religious grounds. Blau might also have portrayed the growth of other movements that have all but disappeared. Almost everything that Jews have felt and done as Jews has been in response to the dilemma of Jewish existence in tension with an environment that offers both freedom and hostility.

Jews as individuals have had to come to terms with all of the currents of modern thought that confute simplistic, traditional patterns of religion. But they have not been free to be anonymous individuals to any great degree. They have been compelled to define the nature of their Jewish existence whether they wanted to or not. Herein lies great tragedy. That they have made enduring contributions to modern Western civilization as individuals, despite the trauma of living in a world that could permit six million of them to be put to death simply because they were Jews, speaks much for their personal courage. That Jewish movements have also been creative and dynamic in dealing with the problematic challenge of being a part of this world is worthy of the attention Blau has given to his study.

Although it is intended to be only a brief introduction to the development of contemporary Judaism, this is a pioneering work. It is well documented, skillfully written, and eminently fair to each of the movements discussed.

*Hebrew Union College*

BERTRAM W. KORN

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume VIII, THE AMERICAN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONS, 1763-93. Edited by A. Goodwin. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xxii, 747. \$9.50.)

*The New Cambridge Modern History*, like its predecessor of over sixty years ago, has not had a very enthusiastic press, particularly in the general reviews. Yet the chief unfavorable criticism made in such reviews, that these volumes are mostly dull, if not unreadable, is not quite fair. It is probably true that very few, even among candidates for the doctorate in the United States and the Commonwealth, are going to read this or any other volume in the series from cover to cover. Perhaps to an even greater degree than its predecessor, this work is not, in fact, a history in the conventional sense, but a reference book on a particular portion of history. It ought to be reviewed as a special kind of reference work, chronologically and topically arranged rather than by alphabetically listed articles or by simple chronology.

For this purpose it has many assets and is on the whole well done. But it does have one especially grave defect, noted by every professional reviewer of previous volumes: bibliographies are to be postponed to a final "companion" volume which will cover the whole series. Even when this volume comes out, it will be a nuisance for the student to switch back and forth to it; meanwhile, the footnotes, though reasonably abundant (they were lacking in the original series) and usually up to date, are again not what the student or other searcher

who consults it needs. The ground covered in this volume was, in the original series, covered in parts of three volumes (VI–VIII), one of which (VII) was a separate treatment of United States history. Now the French Revolution is left suspended with the execution of Louis XVI and the beginning of the war with Great Britain, but the subsequent volume (IX) remedies this difficulty; and granted *The New Cambridge Modern History* is no more than a reference work and not an aesthetic or even analytical whole, the way it is broken up into periods is not very important.

Several major topics, all argued for strenuously by sponsors of the New History at the time the original *Cambridge Modern History* appeared, now turn up in this one. Over two hundred pages have been taken up with such topics as demography, economic thought, literature, music, art and architecture, science and technology, educational ideas and practices, and armed forces and the art of war (not conventional military history) before we get to narrative history. The level of all these articles is at least adequate for reference purposes. There are also several articles concerned with generalizations—to avoid the horrid word synthesis—of a kind almost wholly lacking in the old *Cambridge Modern History*. Professor Habakkuk brings skillfully and briefly up to date under the title “Population, Commerce and Economic Ideas” the kind of economic history that concerns us most nowadays; he provides, furthermore, a most useful appendix on estimated growth of population for most countries in Europe and North America in the eighteenth century, with his sources duly indicated. Professor R. R. Palmer, in a chapter on “Social and Psychological Foundations of the Revolutionary Era,” summarizes cogently his own and other recent work on this important subject. Professor J. McManners contributes a good survey of the historiography of the French Revolution up to the present day.

The British and Spanish colonies in America, and the American Revolution, are here treated as part of the general history, not, as in the old series, reserved for a separate volume. Professors Max Beloff and Edmund Wright and Dr. Maldwyn Jones contribute the chapters on North America. That they should do so confidently, capably, and professionally testifies to the great progress the history of the United States has made in the British Isles in the last sixty years. The important chapters on France are treated by British or British-formed scholars: Messrs. J. F. Bosher, D. Dakin, G. E. Rudé, and A. Goodwin. Their stance is essentially that of the school of the late Georges Lefebvre. Certainly they have all been so influenced by French historians that the omission of any actual French contributor to this volume is not a serious one. It might be noted, however, that four-fifths of the contributors are from the British academic world, the rest from the United States, Canadian, and Australian academic worlds. A scattering of continental European contributors, a feature of the earlier *Cambridge Modern History*, is not to be found in this particular volume. But when one reflects on the fate of the UNESCO histories, this cultural narcissism may not be altogether regretted.

In the balance, most of this volume is sound, unexciting, conventional academic and professional history. It does not venture, save for Palmer's chapter, very far into comparative history. It pays its respects to the subject matter of what used to be called the New History in James Harvey Robinson's sense, but it does not dally except for economics with any social or behavioral science. It

really does not seem, for the most part, very much concerned with human beings. But perhaps a reference book of this sort ought not to have such a concern.

*Harvard University*

CRANE BRINTON

EMPIRE AND INDEPENDENCE: THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *Richard W. Van Alstyne*. [America in Crisis.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. ix, 255. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.)

WHAT is "international" history? It is not the history of diplomacy and still less of foreign policy, Professor Van Alstyne states in his preface. It has to do with "deeper currents," such as the forces that worked on the British government, internal conditions in Britain and America, the interplay of personalities, the stubborn British faith that a majority of Americans were loyalists, and the role of sea power. These were indeed factors in the struggle; any one of them is worth a book, and several have recently had books devoted to them. But combining such disparate ingredients in a single short volume results less in an international view of the Revolution than in a blurring of focus.

Some of the author's points are clear and well taken, such as the role of France in preventing American bankruptcy or in curbing American ambitions for conquest. But other points rest on weak arguments. American historians are wrong, we are told, in what they "have dogmatically asserted for years"—that Burgoyne's surrender caused French military intervention—for France had already committed itself to war, weeks before Saratoga, by reinforcing the West Indies. Yet what actually brought war, the author goes on to say, was the British peace offer of 1778, which had "a strong, perhaps a decisive, influence in edging the French into the alliance [with the United States] which they had for so long wished to avoid." If the British offer and the French response were not results of Saratoga, what were they? A second example concerns the invasion of Britain that France and Spain projected in 1779. Because the two allies had "ignored" the Americans in planning the invasion, "it is a foregone conclusion that they would not have brought them to the peace table in the event of a Bourbon victory." The conclusion does not follow, for why should the United States not have been "ignored" in planning naval operations in the Channel?

An international history of the Revolution would be welcome, if it were a study either of revolutionary ideas as they affected European thinking, or of the war as it affected European statecraft at large. *Empire and Independence* is neither. It is a *mélange* with some interesting points but with no clear structure and no great novelty in material or interpretation.

*University of Michigan*

WILLIAM B. WILLCOX

THE PEACEMAKERS: THE GREAT POWERS AND AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE. By *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xviii, 572. \$10.00.)

THIS able narrative is the most comprehensive and readable account of the negotiations that ended the world war touched off by the American Revolution. Morris presents few strikingly new interpretations of major events or themes;

his prodigious archival research tends instead to flesh out older views. This is, however, the first monograph devoted exclusively to the peace-making process between 1779 and 1783. It provides much new detail, and it is written with a marvelous combination of vigor and urbanity.

The first three-fifths of the book sets the stage for the negotiations of 1782. Sometimes the detail is excessive—nineteen pages on a British *agent provocateur* in Holland—but we are left with a convincing picture of a war-weary, cynical Europe disdainful of American rights and ambitions. Even Vergennes, especially during the long and usually disingenuous negotiations over Austro-Russian mediation, showed himself ready to sell his ally down the river if this could be done without too obvious a harvest of dishonor.

With the opening of Franklin-Oswald conversations in April 1782 Morris' pace quickens, and there follows a fine examination of the tangled negotiations, full of duplicity and suspicion, which resulted in world peace and American independence. Morris understands, but scarcely sympathizes with Vergennes's difficulties, elaborates with gleeful distaste the familiar story of the Frenchman's sabotage of American positions, and finally concludes that the minister was basically shortsighted and therefore a failure as a statesman. For Morris as for others, Shelburne remains enigmatic, a man torn between a desire for peace and a wish to preserve some tie with America, a minister uncandid with colleagues and disloyal to subordinates for good and bad reasons, a tactician by turns nobly bold and supinely willing to abandon fundamental beliefs.

The Americans fare better, although Morris leaves Franklin in the shadow and excoriates Adams' well-known shortcomings. Jay is Morris' hero, the main-spring of negotiations at Paris, and those of his actions which cause debate are not subjected to rigorous analysis, notably his impulsive and unilateral approach to Shelburne when frightened by the dispatch of Vergennes's secretary to London. More by implication than direct statement, Morris emphasizes the essential unity of the Americans. Each insisted that recognition of American independence was not negotiable, that no price must be paid for it. Each (from the most interested, Franklin, through Adams to Jay) hoped America would acquire Canada, but was not prepared to struggle to obtain it. All easily agreed, for reasons the author fails to clarify, to retreat not merely from all Canada but from the Nipissing line, which would have left the United States in possession of what became the industrial heartland of Canada.

Finally, it should be said, like most American historians, Richard Morris seems to assume that, because the envoys served a noble people, their cynical and even dishonest efforts are to be excused, whereas their European counterparts are to be condemned because they served less enlightened states. In fact Jay, Franklin, and Adams triumphed precisely because they adopted the brutal morality of their contemporaries. They betrayed their instructions and the spirit of the alliance with France to obtain great benefits for their country. They cannot, as Morris seems to imply, be defended on moral grounds. They initiated, their contemporaries echoed, and their countrymen since have reaffirmed the false claim that Americans normally act with a morality superior to that of statesmen of other nations.

YANKEES AND SAMURAI. AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN JAPAN: 1791-1900. By *Foster Rhea Dulles*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. x, 275. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Dulles' book represents the latest in a long list of books that have probed the history of relations between the United States and Japan. *Yankees and Samurai* covers some of the same ground as Robert Schwantes' *Japanese and Americans* and the late Sir George Sansom's *The Western World and Japan*. Its approach, however, is somewhat different in that it emphasizes the personal experiences of individuals. Most of the narrative is devoted to recounting the actions and achievements of American diplomats, teachers, advisers, and writers who went to Japan in the nineteenth century and helped develop the country into a modern state.

Since the book relies primarily on American sources and Japanese works in translation, we learn relatively little about the Japanese response to the presence of the Yankees. Although the subtitle of the book is *America's Role in the Emergence of Modern Japan: 1791-1900*, we receive little insight into a definition of that role. The difficulty seems to be that, when we study the cultural relations between nations, we need some explicit theories of cultural borrowing and cultural change in order to be able to explain the past. Dulles notes that at first Japan borrowed excessively from the West, but later the "Japanese program of modernization became one of careful and critical adaptation." If so, what did the Japanese borrow, what did they not borrow, and what adaptations did they make in the things they borrowed? It is unfortunate that the author did not raise questions of this kind when he reviewed his material.

Another point that Dulles makes is that, in the early period of American-Japanese contact, the Japanese were very suspicious. There followed a period of friendship during which the United States acted as a protector and mentor. Most of the book, of course, is devoted to a description of this period. As individuals, Americans were well received, and friendly personal associations were established. Yet, as the author notes, the period of friendship ended sometime after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905; from that point until 1945 American-Japanese relations were marked by increasing political rivalry and mutual antagonism. The author attributes this development to the rise of nationalism in Japan and imperialism in America. I am inclined to believe that a more fundamental reason was the guardian-ward relationship. Japan wanted to stop being a ward, but the United States did not agree.

*Stanford University*

NOBUTAKA IKE

SCIENCE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. Edited and with a general preface by *René Taton*. Translated by *A. J. Pomerans*. [History of Science.] (New York: Basic Books. 1965. Pp. xxi, 623. \$17.50.)

It is difficult to see who would benefit from reading this book. Nonspecialists who are baffled by the more technical parts can rest assured that these seem just as odd to the specialist, who finds in them little more than names of theories with attached lists of scientists. The student can be told that he need not remember all



of these names, but I am sure that he must understand more about some few of them than he can learn here. The specialist in one field of the history of science cannot use the sections of the book devoted to other fields to enlarge the range of his knowledge, for, by and large, the accounts do not represent the current state of knowledge in any field. The bibliography is a collection of book names that a professor would not want to distribute to his students. The most distressing section is that on "Science and Society." It almost seems as though some improbable demon has manipulated the book so as to make even its distinguished editor sound jejune. If it is time to write general history of science—and I think it is—then the necessarily selective intelligence of a single Daumas or Crombie is, in the true sense of the word, more accurate as a historical guide than such a conventional miscellany as this.

The brief chapter on chemistry achieves a lucidity, even a distinction, not present throughout most of the volume. The two chapters on "Vertebrate Anatomy" and "Paleontology" also indicate an intelligent mind at work under difficult conditions.

*Smithsonian Institution*

WALTER F. CANNON

FREEDOM IN THE MODERN WORLD. By *Herbert J. Muller*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966. Pp. xv, 559. \$10.00.)

WITH this book, third in a series treating the history of freedom, Herbert J. Muller completes a work whose theme seems to echo that of the famous book Lord Acton projected and never wrote. Muller's volume is divided into two nearly equal parts, the first covering the nineteenth century, the second, the twentieth. Within these chronological periods the book deals with familiar matters: "The Romantic Movement," "The Industrial Revolution," "Political Revolutions," and "Revolutions of Thought and Culture in the Nineteenth Century"; while for the twentieth century the author resorts to three rubrics: "World War I," "Aftermath of the War," the "Rise of Totalitarianism." He then devotes a last and very sketchy chapter to the "Impact of the Non-Western World"—the first time the other four-fifths of mankind has figured in his story; and concludes with an epilogue on World War II and after.

Much of what he says is said gracefully. This perhaps is justification enough for such a book. Yet over and over again I found myself wondering what this has to do with the history of freedom. Perhaps Muller's response would be: anything men think or do is relevant to a history of freedom, since it will illustrate "the condition of being able to choose and carry out purposes" (Muller's definition of freedom) or its absence. But of course, by such a definition everything becomes grist for the mill, and what Muller has done is to select conventionally and arbitrarily some things to talk about while omitting others. There seem to be no very compelling reasons for his choices.

The author's guiding principle and organizing device is what he calls "the principle of ambiguity." According to this principle everything is both good and bad, advances freedom and restricts it. Most of the book, therefore, is built upon a series of observations about one or another major movement of the Western world during the last century and a half, first pointing out its good points and

then neatly balancing such praise with an equal catalogue of weaknesses or corruptions or dangers inherent in the whole endeavor. A certain irenic detachment results, yet the reader wearies at the mechanical character of such a scheme which rarely rises to any original insight or suggestion.

On some issues Muller abandons his formula of "Yes, but," for he unambiguously (but coolly) denounces Hitler and other men and movements of our own time. His passions are those of a good American liberal of the mid-twentieth century. Perhaps because so many of us share his bias his history seems insipid.

A more basic criticism is that Muller seems not to have faced the fundamental questions implied by his subject. The philosophical issue of free will versus determinism, and the more historical question of "freedom for whom?" does not emerge with any new focus or sharpened definition from Muller's bland and balanced pages. Hence, since he refrained from seeking to penetrate the deeper recesses of his subject, it appears that Muller has not written Lord Acton's unwritten masterpiece after all.

*University of Chicago*

WILLIAM H. McNEILL

RUSSO-PERSIAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS, 1828-1914. By *Marvin L. Entner*. [University of Florida Monographs, Social Sciences, Number 28.] (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. 80. \$2.00.)

THIS gracious little monograph serves to exemplify the lacunae in, and the promise of, detailed and loving research in seemingly trivial matters of pre-Soviet Russian history. If we have more like this, we may be able to dispense with many of the superficial and nonsensical generalizations we have too long nourished. In eighty pages are woven threads and themes of Russian economic and financial history, developmental economics of the nineteenth century, Russian, British, and other colonial machinations in Persia and neighboring lands, and the glories, banalities, and ludicrousness of traditional European (including Russian) diplomacy. Entner exhausts none of these; he reveals all of them as marvelous touchstones of future research.

Entner begins with a fanciful but persuading account of a Russian merchant in Persia, Sadko, and his special problems of solvency. This is balanced by a recitation of the "very important treaty" of Turkmanchai and its commercial protocol following Russian victory over the Persians in 1826-1828. The second section discusses the political-diplomatic-economic rivalry, of Russia and England particularly, in the period from the 1860's to 1890. Without chronicling every transient detail the account well summarizes the several spheres of competition in Persia: railroads, banks, and highways, as well as trade itself. This is done against the backdrop of high and low Great Power politics in the region. A high point was reached early in 1890 with a Russian ministerial decision to defer the question of an intensification of railway politics in Persia and to continue "the policy of quiet economic penetration." The third and final section, "Ruble Imperialism," deals with the 1890's and the early years of the twentieth century, particularly the application of the "Witte system" of economic penetration in one of Russia's bordering countries. Here Entner deems the role of the Russo-Per-

sian Bank to be central, a role as much political as economic. This section concludes with a résumé and close examination of Russian and Persian commercial statistics for the early years of the twentieth century, together with a critique reminiscent of some of the work of G. N. Clark.

There is no index, but one is not necessary. The cited research is excellent (predominantly in older Russian materials), and close scrutiny has turned up only three typographical errors in Russian transliterations. Finally the writing is spritely and disciplined. Entner promises that this is "the first leg of a long trek I plan to take along Russia's nineteenth century Asiatic frontiers, analyzing and describing as I move eastward Tsarist Russia's economic relations with those lands lying over the border." *Bon voyage.*

University of North Carolina

C. M. Foust

THE PROUD TOWER: A PORTRAIT OF THE WORLD BEFORE THE WAR, 1890-1914. By *Barbara W. Tuchman*. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966. Pp. xv, 528. \$7.95.)

IN her foreword Barbara Tuchman insists that the diplomatic origins of the Great War have been studied to the point of diminishing returns and that, in any case, they "were only the fever chart of the patient." She proposes, therefore, "to probe for underlying causes and deeper forces . . . and to concentrate on society rather than the state, . . . power politics, and economic rivalries." After such an auspicious and bold statement of purpose the body of this book comes as a vast disappointment. Even if she had dealt with the waning of the *belle époque* and the mounting crisis in all-European terms, without relating these to the mounting international tensions, she could have made a long-overdue contribution. As it is, however, her *Proud Tower* is a pastiche rather than "a portrait of the world before the War, 1890-1914." Tuchman quite arbitrarily limits her world to America, Britain, France, and Germany, cavalierly ignoring Italy and dismissing Eastern Europe. Equally arbitrarily she views developments in Britain through the replacement of the patriciate by "a new class," without ever puzzling about the less visible continuities in gentlemanly power; developments in France through the Dreyfus affair and those in America through the career of Representative Thomas B. Reed, without bothering about the course of events between the turn of the century and the outbreak of the war; and developments in Germany through the bombastic career of Richard Strauss without connecting it with the soaring contradictions within late imperial society and polity. Each of these chapters stands rigorously by itself, there being no effort at comparative analysis. The two chapters on the demise of anarchism and the domestication of socialism have the topical focus that is so glaringly lacking in the rest of the book. But even these two chapters suffer from the failure to relate these two movements, particularly since the extremists of both staged a comeback in the ranks of revolutionary syndicalism on the eve of the war.

Admittedly Tuchman's gift for clear narrative and synthesis, first demonstrated in *The Guns of August*, still serves her well. At the same time, though she makes no pretense of being an analytic and interpretive historian, her pen-

chant for gratuitous sketches of politicians' personalities, motives, and mustaches tricks her into painting an excessively frivolous picture of the prewar era. If one of her aims is to caution today's American power elite against being impervious to rising internal and external tensions, which might harbor another unwanted cataclysm, her fascination with colorful trivia and her soporific tone conspire to defeat her purpose.

*Princeton University*

ARNO J. MAYER

UNITED STATES POLICY AND THE PARTITION OF TURKEY, 1914-1924. By *Laurence Evans*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXII (1964), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 437. \$7.95.)

THIS policy study of major proportions is based on all of the principal documentary sources relative to the subject. It deals meticulously with the phases through which United States policy passed regarding Turkey, during and after World War I, from noninvolvement to intense concern and back to noninvolvement. In this survey, much information is given on circumstances previously not well known or understood. The extent to which President Wilson's Fourteen Points served as the mother lode of United States policy, especially with reference to the Ottoman domain, is explicit or implicit throughout the volume: "It is necessary to look behind what was said publicly to the application of the Fourteen Points to specific political situations in order to arrive at their significance in the formulation of American foreign policy and its implementation." Probably it would have been useful to have added this formulation of ideals and principles to the text in an appendix.

The detail in which progress toward postwar settlements is recorded obviates any doubt that the US, having been a participant in the war, inevitably had become involved in world politics. At the same time, the study makes clear that, until terms of the general peace had been agreed upon at Versailles, there was no occasion for the United States to have brought forward the Turkish situation, inasmuch as the US and Turkey had not been formally at war. One of the main contributions of the book is the evidence adduced showing that whereas United States freedom of action under strong Wilsonian leadership was a fortunate circumstance during the negotiations leading to the Versailles Treaty, it was subsequently no less a handicap to the international standing of the US under an indifferent administration in dealing with victorious European powers disposed to seek territorial compensation in the defunct Ottoman Empire by way of settling issues in the Near and Middle East.

Much of this volume is not likely to hold the interest of the general reader for long. It has much to offer the specialist, however, and for the graduate student it can serve as a prime example of original historical research. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the book as presented by the publisher to the public has not been improved for any reader by the inclusion of ten pages listing "The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science" accompanied by an invitation to all to subscribe to the series.

*American University*

HALFORD L. HOSKINS

LA DÉCOLONISATION, 1919-1963. By *Henri Grimal*. [Collection U, Series "Histoire contemporaine."] (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 407.)

PRIMARILY directed to French university students, this book is couched in the form of a textbook and, in addition to providing a few useful documentary selections, makes use of boldface type, italics, indented paragraphs in smaller type, and other devices that may help the student. But aside from these distractions the book stands on its own as a synthesis that succeeds very well in laying the salient facts of the decolonization movement, country by country, before the general reader. In spite of some deficiencies this is the best attempt I have seen to encompass within a reasonable space almost all the former colonies that have won their independence. The major omissions are Malta, Cyprus, Jamaica, Trinidad, and the former Italian colonies.

The great strengths of the book lie in M. Grimal's understanding of the relation between the domestic policies of the European colonial powers and the policies they adopted in their colonies, and of the discrepancy between policies and laws intended to be applied to the colonies and the actual practices in them. This is true not only of France, to whose colonies he devotes almost as many pages as to those of all the other colonies combined, but of Belgium and the Netherlands. He is also especially good on the growth of nationalism in the interwar period, which is too often neglected because little came of these efforts at the time except in Britain's Asian territories. His long section on the varied effects of World War II is original and interesting, although, in my view, he is inclined here and throughout the book to exaggerate the influence of the United Nations and does not fortify his opinions with examples (perhaps because they do not exist).

Grimal does not appear to have studied the British colonies as thoroughly as those of the continental powers; nor does he subject the British system to the kind of close analysis he gives to the continental ones. The section on British Africa is adequate except for Uganda, whose complex politics he misinterprets. He underestimates the role of the Indian princes in the crucial period between the two wars, and the sections on Burma and Malaya likewise suffer from oversimplification. He ascribes an improbable reason for the murder of Aung San, which does more justice to his murderer than other authorities have suggested, and he has confused Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of Malaya, with the king of the same name in such a way as to make it appear that the Tunku became king after independence.

But these are small blemishes in such a comprehensive work, so much of which is excellent. They could easily be corrected when a new edition is needed, as it surely will be if the university students for whom it is intended embrace it as they should.

*Tucson, Arizona*

STEWART C. EASTON

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, 1919-1943: DOCUMENTS. Volume III, 1929-1943. Selected and edited by *Jane Degras*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 494. \$14.40.) ✓

SINCE Alexander Dallin reviewed the first volume of this collection (*AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 176) and noted "a large gap" in our knowledge about the Comin-

tern and related matters, things have materially improved. We now have numerous studies of the Comintern, international Communism, and Soviet foreign policy, histories of most of the important national Communist parties illuminating Comintern activities, and thoroughgoing bibliographies. The most comprehensive of these, *Soviet Foreign Relations and World Communism: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of 7,000 Books in 30 Languages* (second printing with additions, 1966), and the bibliographies it lists reflect a huge body of sources available to the researcher. Even the Comintern archives at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow, which remain closed to critical students, are beginning to yield data and documents through Soviet historical monographs and journals.

No collection limited to the efforts of one compiler and the space of three volumes could, of course, do justice to such a mine. As in the first two volumes, the compiler presents only key pieces of the external record. Missing are some significant pieces of the external record and all of the internal record as well as personal accounts and revelations, contemporary newspaper reports, and so forth. The compiler has sought to compensate for this by furnishing extensive prefaces to each document to provide essential context. Nonetheless, if one reads only these documents and prefaces, much remains obscure.

Within these limitations, the compiler has produced a collection that serves the useful purpose of making accessible, for reference and instruction, many essential policy statements of the Comintern. Testimony to its value is furnished by the vituperative reviews that its first two volumes evoked in the Soviet Union, the bibliographic article on the Comintern by K. S. Trofimov in *Voprosy istorii KPSS* (No. 9, 1963), which lists what is acceptable from the Soviet point of view and reveals no adequate Soviet publication of sources, and the Soviet decision to publish an authoritative collection of Comintern materials in two volumes. It is hoped that the Royal Institute of International Affairs will continue to sponsor such collections and produce one for the essential policy statements of the Cominform.

*San Fernando Valley State College*

MARIN PUNDEFF

## Ancient and Medieval

ANCIENT EUROPE FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF AGRICULTURE TO CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY: A SURVEY. By *Stuart Piggott*. (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company. 1965. Pp. xxiii, 343. \$7.50.)

PROFESSOR Piggott is well known for his many contributions to European prehistory. In this, his latest book, he offers "an individual prehistorian's view of what seem to him the salient and significant factors of the period and area under review. . . ." Piggott carefully points out that the book is an "essay in interpretation" and not a comprehensive review of European prehistory. Herein lie its merits and its greatest shortcomings. In outlining what he believes to be the main-streams of European prehistory, the author is forced into a selectivity of ma-

terial, and subsequent omission of archaeological cultures, which appears to distort and oversimplify the complexities of European prehistory.

The period covered stretches roughly from 10,000 B.C. to the Christian Era. Piggott challenges and discredits the validity of ordering archaeological data into a rigid system of chronological stages defined by the presence of certain traits. Thus, the Neolithic period has been defined by the presence of such combined traits or characteristics as the domestication of plants and animals, pottery, sedentism, and architecture. These do not always appear in the same combination, however.

Piggott approaches the early periods of European prehistory by pointing to the environmental changes and ecological adaptations that man faced following the withdrawal of the ice sheets during the post-Pleistocene. Having discussed the evidence for the discovery of animal and plant domestication, an event believed to have taken place in Western Asia, Piggott discusses the Neolithic communities in Europe. Here the author's selectivity of what he considers to be the salient factors is so compressed as almost to distort the entire picture of the European Neolithic. Piggott concentrates almost entirely on the significant area around the Balkans and Central Europe. He points out the interconnections between these developing areas, which he refers to as a "nuclear area," and that of the Near East, where Neolithic advances had already been in evidence for over a thousand years. A short discussion of the complex distribution and relationships of the megalithic monuments is also succinctly related. But what of the Ertebolle (and earlier Northern European mesolithic), Trichterbecher, Chiozza, and Michelsberg cultures? In fact the entire Western European Primary Neolithic is hardly alluded to, leading us to conclude, incorrectly, that these cultures played no role in the mainstream of European prehistory. Certainly this is a misleading oversimplification. Similarly, in dealing with that area which Piggott handles best, the "nuclear area" of Eastern Europe, the relationships between the cultures he discusses remain unclear.

Piggott next discusses the consolidation of European cultures during the Bronze Age. The main events take such precedence in the narrative that regional developments are either too briefly noted or totally ignored. It is also difficult to follow Piggott's review of the Bronze Age chronologically. Clearly, he has abandoned the chronological systems of Montelius, Reinecke, and others, but he has not suggested a replacement. This makes it rather difficult for the uninitiated to follow the general development of Bronze Age cultures, for it does not hang on a cohesive chronology. The book concludes with an excellent review of the Celtic world and its aftermath.

I have pointed out above the basic shortcomings of Piggott's book, but this may be misleading, for there are great benefits for the scholarly as well as the general reader. As an interpretive essay it discusses clearly and succinctly the events that the author views as of primary importance in European prehistory, and the book is lavishly illustrated. Finally, Piggott has provided the reader with a most valuable bibliography. Although the book will not serve the specialist as a much-needed comprehensive review of European prehistory, it is a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject.

*Harvard University*

C. C. LAMBERG-KARLOVSKY

ANCIENT CRETE: A SOCIAL HISTORY. FROM EARLY TIMES UNTIL THE ROMAN OCCUPATION. By R. F. Willetts. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 197. \$5.75.)

THIS could have been an exciting book. Not all parts of the Greek world followed the Athenian pattern; the Cretan communities, in particular, seem earlier to have been among the most progressive Greek states, but in the classic era formed a relatively static backwater. Why should this be so? And what can we discover about earlier conditions from Cretan conservatism? Willetts suggests that we see his subject in these terms; unfortunately, he himself makes no serious effort to provide significant answers in this running survey of economic, political, social, and religious conditions on the island. The book, apparently prepared on command, is dreary in style; anyone seeking a picture of what we do know about Cretan society should turn to the author's fundamental *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (1955).

Much as one would encourage attempts to communicate to the beginning student, this is not a work to be set lightly before a tyro, who may be unable to sense the author's prejudices and specific point of view. While refusing to credit translation of Linear B even on general lines, Willetts easily accepts the dubious arguments of heavy Near Eastern influences on Crete via Ugarit. More significantly, he draws a strange picture of the Greek city-state: "war and slavery were essential conditions for the existence of the city-state"; or, again, "the central feature of the whole process of development of the city-states is the growth of commodity production." The bibliography is extensive, but the relevance of all its items to the subject does not appear. Although he cites studies of 1964, Willetts omits Emmett L. Bennett's valuable "On the Use and Misuse of the Term 'Priest-King' in Minoan Studies" (*Kretika Chronika* [1963], 327-35).

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

KOINE EIRENE: GENERAL PEACE AND LOCAL INDEPENDENCE IN ANCIENT GREECE. By T. T. B. Ryder. (New York: Oxford University Press for the University of Hull. 1965. Pp. xvii, 184. \$6.75.)

THE subtitle of this book is rather deceptive and pretentious; I suspect that it was added by the publisher, not the author. Instead of "General Peace," it should read "Common Peace," the translation of the Greek of its title. This is the term Ryder uses throughout, and this is what the book is about—that particular type of treaty in the fourth century B.C. that guaranteed to all the Greeks freedom and autonomy. It is an excellent account of these agreements, and there was no reason to try to hide this under a vaguer title. After a brief summary of the idea of autonomy in the fifth century, Ryder analyzes in detail all the treaties from the King's Peace in 387 to the compact signed by the Diadochi in 311. He finds that seven of these qualify as Common Peace. In 387 the Persian king in effect guaranteed the freedom and autonomy of those Greeks who were not, in return, handed over to him. In 375 this was reaffirmed, with a further stipulation that no garrisons be maintained. In 371 there were two such treaties, before and after Leuctra; the second of these for the first time made it obligatory for the signa-



tories to come to the aid of one another when attacked. In 362-361 another advance was made by demanding demobilization and arbitration of disputes. But it was not until 338, in the peace imposed by Philip of Macedon, that a competent body, the Synedrion, was set up to make the necessary decisions. The final Common Peace, in 311, was merely an extension to all the Greeks of an agreement of Antigonos, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy.

There is no doubt but that Ryder is at home in the fourth century and is intimately acquainted with the sources and bibliography. He faces up to all the problems; consequently one third of the book consists of fourteen appendixes, elaborating on chronological cruxes and all the peace treaties and proposals of the century. The longest and most important of these examines the settlement of 338/337 and concludes that the "so-called" League of Corinth was not an alliance but only an offshoot of the Common Peace.

Ryder's conclusions are quite reasonable and cautious. He admits that the idea of Common Peace had little or no idealistic support throughout the century and recognizes that it was used by great powers, both Greek and foreign, to further their own selfish ends. Although there may be some validity to his suggestion that Common Peace "may constitute one of the themes around which the complicated history of Greek interstate politics in that century can best be understood," one must be on his guard lest the very approach put too much emphasis on an idea that has much more appeal in the twentieth century than it had in the fourth century B.C.

*University of Cincinnati*

DONALD W. BRADEEN

DIADEM UND KÖNIGSHERRSCHAFT: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZU ZEREMONIEN UND RECHTSGRUNDLAGEN DES HERRSCHAFTS-ANTRITTS BEI DEN PERSERN, BEI ALEXANDER DEM GROSSEN UND IM HELLENISMUS. By *Hans-Werner Ritter*. [Vestigia: Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Number 7.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1965. Pp. xiv, 191. DM 26.)

WITH great thoroughness and admirable scholarship, Herr Ritter has investigated an interesting example of symbolism in politics in Greek history. He is concerned with the use of the diadem, a Median fillet that was worn by the kings of Persia and adopted by Alexander and his successors. As King of Kings by right of conquest, Alexander used the diadem to demonstrate his overlordship of Asia, but characteristically he wore it wound around his broad-brimmed Macedonian hat—a practice that was continued by the kings of Macedon and the Greek rulers of Bactria. In the struggles of the Diadochi, Antigonos and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes wore the diadem to bolster their claim of universal rule over Asia. However, the separatist kings, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, had no such grandiose aims, and their use of the diadem merely connoted rule over a limited area. By the time of the Epigoni the assumption of the diadem had lost its original significance and had become only a recognized symbol of royal status.

The sources for this development are the confused Alexandrian traditions and the chance fragments of Hellenistic writers, and Ritter works his way through

the morass with agility. His book has, unfortunately, the vices as well as the merits of a rewritten dissertation, and Ritter has added a skimpy forty-page account of the later Hellenistic uses of the diadem in the major monarchies and even in the lesser kingdoms (Bithynia, Armenia, Judaea, and others). He disclaims any completeness for the last section which dissolves into bibliographical references, but the reader would appreciate a fuller discussion of these matters. Particularly tantalizing are his notes on the relation between Jesus and other Judaeans "Usurpaticnen der Königswürde durch Leute aus dem Volk," as well as the implications of the mock king episode at Alexandria during Herod Agrippa's ill-timed visit to the city. Had he expanded the last section, Ritter would surely not have labeled Zenobia's use of the diadem as a Palmyrene custom, for it was connected with her claim of Ptolemaic descent and her hopes to become empress of Asia.

For those who are interested in the diadem, Ritter has produced a most useful (though incomplete) book. Yet, one wonders how far the frontiers of knowledge are really extended by studies such as this very competent monograph. Is there not more significance in the poet's insight: "Within the hollow crown / That rounds the mortal temples of a king / Keeps Death his court"? This question casts no reflection on Ritter but on the historical profession and its habits.

*University of Southern California*

THOMAS W. AFRICA

ROME OF THE CAESARS. By *Thomas W. Africa*. [New Dimensions in History, Historical Cities.] (New York: John Wiley and Sons. 1965. Pp. xiii, 254. Cloth \$5.95, paper \$2.95.)

"The vitality and major themes of Roman life are well reflected in the lives of individuals who were drawn to the capital. To mirror the times, a selection of representative Romans may suffice. . . . The political history of the era is provided for continuity and background. . . . It is hoped that modern readers will find interpretations of the men of the imperial era more meaningful than improbable anecdotes about the mad, bad Caesars."

A description of the city of Rome precedes, and a very brief epilogue on the Severan triumph follows, a collection of eleven essays on individual personalities. They are an interesting group, spanning almost two hundred years: Sejanus, Herod Agrippa, Paul, Seneca, Josephus, Apollonius, Pliny, Tacitus, Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, and Galen. Not all the sketches are exclusive to their respective subjects; for example, Apollonius brings Alexander of Abonoteichos in his train, and Hadrian evokes comment on Aristides, Peregrinus, Plutarch, and Celsus. There are illustrations, mostly coin portraits of emperors (Augustus and Tiberius appear each under the other's name), and two maps; appendixes on sources and problems, on a Syriac view of Galen, and of genealogical charts, a brief list of recommended readings, and an index. All the essays generously contain excerpts from the sources; the translations, with a small exception or two, are good.

For the lay, general reader, presumably the intended audience, this is a nice little book, interesting, suggestive, stimulating, informative, not greatly disturbing of his ideas of the Roman Empire. "The political history . . . provided" will prob-

ably be adequate "for continuity and background" if the reader already knows something about the Empire. (The emperors, as they come and go in the background, remain pretty much "the mad, bad Caesars"; and the author's most favorite word seems to be "despot.") For the serious student of the Empire, the book will probably furnish little, except a valuable stimulus and invitation to pursue some interesting bypaths which he might otherwise overlook.

I could not but be reminded of the late M. P. Charlesworth's *Five Men*, the Martin Classical Lectures delivered at Oberlin in 1935. Charlesworth and Africa have in common two subjects and a third title: Agrippa I was "The Native Ruler," is now "The Opportunist"; Josephus, "The Adventurer," has become "The Jew" (in the preface, "the Jewish apologist"); Charlesworth's "The Philosopher" was Musonius Rufus, but is here Marcus Aurelius. Charlesworth's essays exhibited his enormous erudition, brilliant scholarship, imaginative discernment, and superlative charm of wit and humor. These qualities the present author can hardly match; his reader would richly profit from perusal also of *Five Men*.

Duke University

ROBERT SAMUEL ROGERS

THE EARLY GERMANS. By E. A. Thompson. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 161. \$3.40.)

THIS modest book is not to be compared with the author's volumes on Ammianus Marcellinus and Attila, nor with such fundamental studies of German origins as those of Eduard Norden. It avoids bibliography and is based solely on the texts. The author regards it primarily as a guide to Tacitus, but he begins with Caesar and ends with the fourth century, occasionally including even later evidence. His object is to recover the picture of the "eternal German," essentially the same in all periods, although he views him not as static and unchanging but rather as undergoing the same development, person by person and tribe by tribe. And since the Germans appear in our sources mainly in connection with events of Roman history, there is much on Roman frontier policy and military activity here, too. In the last area the Romans always had an immense advantage in discipline and the quality of their weapons, provided only that they were properly led.

The last of the four chapters, "Early Germanic Warfare," is reprinted from an article that appeared in 1958. The other three describe the Germans in the times of Caesar and Tacitus, respectively, and the nature of Roman frontier policy toward them. The two former prepare the way for the last. The pastoral and hunting society of the earlier time, which employed a unified command only during emergencies, was gradually replaced by a society based on progressively more powerful warlords with their comitatus—armed retainers who lived with them on booty or other possible revenue, frequently Roman subsidies. While a warlord who acquired substantial power might be a threat to the frontier, he could also compel the tribesmen to keep the peace. Such a role was not always popular at home. The patriotic (in the sense of anti-Roman) Arminius was killed by his own kinsmen, and Marbo ended his life as a Roman guest, a refugee from the people whom he had united.

This is an interesting picture that does much to clarify Roman frontier policy in the north and east. Incidentally, the classical historian who has difficulty tracing the tribes over the years will be heartened to learn that he has some justification. Tribes waxed and waned in their importance, and the prominent names are constantly shifting, usually for unknown reasons, but often because of tribal instability and the accident of tribal nomenclature. Every student of the Roman Empire will want to read this book; it clarifies much that is usually left obscure.

*Yale University*

C. BRADFORD WELLES

AUGUSTUS AND THE GREEK WORLD. By G. W. Bowersock. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 176. \$4.80.)

THIS book provides the reader with further evidence of Octavian's mastery of Roman statecraft, this time in the realm of East-West relationships. The author presents as his principal theme the consolidation of the Greco-Roman world under Augustus. By the close of the last century B.C. this process had long been under way. A split between East and West was threatened under Antony, but the Battle of Actium postponed it for three centuries. Augustus reverted to republican practices and thus established a continuity of policy, which, the author feels, at least helps to explain the subsequent growth and consolidation of the Empire. Indeed, the continuity that Octavian restored to Roman policy in the East underlies the Greek renaissance of the second century.

Before discussing the various aspects of Rome's relationship to the Greek East under the principate, it is necessary to consider the late republican background of this problem. Thus the first chapter serves as an introduction to the problem of the origin and nature of Rome's Eastern policies.

Under the late Republic the pattern of Augustus' arrangements in the East had already been established on the patron-client relationship. In this system lay the secret of Roman rule in the East. The Greek world was thrown into confusion during the Civil Wars, however, since the clients were forced to choose sides and thus often to accept a new patron. This confusion only ended with the establishment of the principate, which meant the introduction of dynastic rule. This modification in the republican diplomatic system promised to ensure its efficient operation in the future. In restoring stability to the Empire Augustus found every principle of his policy in the East already tried and proven. The only new element introduced by Augustus was the dynastic element; what started out as the cult of Augustus became the cult of the dynastic house and an extension of Rome's diplomatic system. Since cults were expensive to maintain, the responsibility for this fell to the members of the philo-Roman aristocracy of the East. From the evidence the author concludes that the principate did not receive the support of the Empire at large, and yet intercourse between East and West continued to promote imperial unity. This ever-growing unity between the two halves of the Empire gave the educated Roman a Hellenic veneer and left Greek literary production mainly preoccupied with politics and history.

The author brings to his subject thorough and sound scholarship, and he has produced a work important not only for a deeper understanding of the principate

of Augustus, but also for its valuable contribution to the reign of Hadrian and the Antonines.

*University of South Carolina*

RICHARD H. CHOWEN

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN, A.D. 43-57. By *Donald R. Dudley* and *Graham Webster*. [British Battles Series.] ([Chester Springs, Pa.:] Dufour Editions. 1965. Pp. 216. \$6.00.)

THE authors of this book confess some misgivings about its appropriateness as a volume in Dufour's series on British battles—not because the Roman conquest of Britain is not important or because Caractacus, Aulus Plautius, and Ostorius Scapula are less notable commanders than such modern figures as Botha and Kitchner, but because the evidence for the Claudian invasion is so unsatisfactory. Before discussing strategy and tactics, the historian must delve into archaeology, topography, and textual criticism; for only by using all available means to supplement the scanty and often vague accounts of Tacitus and Dio Cassius is it possible to write a comprehensible story of the military operations.

The book begins with a brief survey of the situation on the eve of the invasion: the Roman army, its weapons and methods of fighting; Celtic political and military institutions; and a glance back at Caesar's British campaigns and the lessons that both sides might have learned from them. Later chapters describe the invasion itself and the overthrow of the Belgic kingdom in southeast Britain; the creation of the new province and the problem of its frontiers; the campaigns in Wales; and the war against the Silures and Brigantes. The story ends there. There is nothing on the revolt of Boudicca or the operations under Agricola, but the same writers have covered the former in a previous book (*The Rebellion of Boudicca* [1962]). These two works together treat essentially the same subject as Leonard Cottrell's *The Great Invasion* (1958), on which Graham Webster served as a consultant. Cottrell's book is more popularized. Written for readers who know almost nothing about Roman history, it explains many things that authors of a more scholarly work assume to be common knowledge. Dudley and Webster write with somewhat less verve, but they perhaps give the reader a better understanding of Roman fighting techniques, especially of the grim efficiency of Roman artillery, which one governor of Britain, Julius Frontinus, considered as admitting of no further improvement. Neither in siege warfare nor in open battle could the Britons hope to match their adversaries, but the land was well suited to guerrilla tactics, as Caractacus demonstrated clearly. In the end, Rome's success was due as much to diplomacy as to arms.

A book published so soon after Cottrell's cannot be expected to change the picture very much, but archaeological information accumulates fast in Britain, and our own experience continually increases our understanding of the problems of the past. In the 1930's Collingwood simply could not believe the statement of Suetonius that Nero seriously considered abandoning Britain to the barbarians. Today few would question it; we are more likely to be surprised that the Romans had the nerve to stick it out.

*University of Louisville*

LAURENCE LEE HOWE

THE FRONTIER PEOPLE OF ROMAN BRITAIN. By *Peter Salway*. [Cambridge Classical Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 286, 8 plates. \$11.50.)

THE title of this work is misleading, for the scope of the book is not so broad. It is an account of the Romanized civilian population of the *vici*, communities outside the frontier forts; it is not an account of the Roman troops or of the native tribes. Following his introductory chapter, Salway surveys in a second chapter the population of the *vici*, their nationality, their religion, and their status. The title of the third chapter, "The Civilian in His Setting," is misleading; it is little more than a listing of each site with a detailed record of the remains uncovered. Placing this chapter in the middle of the book causes difficulties for the reader. There are frequent references to types of structures, such as "strip-houses" and *mansiones*, but these are not fully defined until the fourth chapter. Chapter III should follow Chapter IV, or, better, should be relegated to an appendix. The fifth chapter is an attempt to work out the legal status of the *vicus* and its inhabitants and of the entire frontier region. In addition to the five chapters, the book contains maps and plans, plates, and an appendix. The appendix, giving the texts of inscriptions relating to civilians, attests to the author's scholarship.

Salway writes that his book is "a study of the processes and products of Romanization, of the impact of Rome on the British frontier region and the place of the Roman civilian in that area." He has used all the available sources, from reports of early antiquaries to aerial photographs. The result is impressive, yet one learns little about the process of Romanization. This is partly owing to the lack of sources and partly to the author's selection of audience. He is writing for the specialist who is already familiar with Roman provincial life.

Salway does force new views of some subjects. His discussion of the constitutional status of the frontier territories is useful, even though he admits that much is still to be learned. Since his chief concern is with civilians, it is surprising that some of his most interesting statements are about the army. He has a new view of Septimius Severus' military reforms. Instead of considering them as simply spoiling the army, he sees them strengthening the Empire's defenses, giving the frontier troops a greater stake in protecting their homes. Salway rejects another traditional view of the army in the later Empire, the view that the fourth-century frontier troops were all peasant-soldiers. He finds that the British frontier was manned by regular units until 367.

Florida State University

RALPH V. TURNER

ART FORMS AND CIVIC LIFE IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE. By *H. P. L'Orange*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. 131. \$5.00.)

THIS English translation of Professor L'Orange's *Fra Principat til Dominat*, published in Norwegian in 1958, offers stimulating interpretations not only to the student of late Roman art but also to the historian of the late Empire and to the intellectual historian concerned with the expression of the ethos of a society in its art. The Roman historian will find in the first chapter of the second part a brief

but penetrating analysis of Diocletian's concepts in his reforms. He sought to cure the confusion, disorder, and disintegration which, during the crisis of the third century, engulfed the individualized and flexible society of the early Empire. To do so, he imposed on society and government a schematized totalitarianism that was immobile, orderly, and centralized. The whole scheme pointed up to and concentrated on the divine Tetrarchs, so stylized as to be interchangeable either in authority or in artistic representation. Thus Constantine had no trouble in substituting one divine emperor for Diocletian's Tetrarchs. The intellectual historian will find in the first three short chapters that the development of Roman art reflects the change in Roman civic and spiritual life from the organic and autonomous expression of the individual, found in classical Greece, to a generalized program where individual parts became more and more subordinated until they were indifferent. For the historian of art, the second chapter of Part II uses L'Orange's previous studies in late antique art to show how, under Diocletian and Constantine, sculpture, mosaics, and architecture expressed the concept of a static, monolithic, and hierarchical state. The sixty-seven figures are admirably integrated throughout the discussion.

To paraphrase the conclusion, the basic characteristics of the structural transition from the principate to the dominate were two: massive simplification and mechanical crystallization. In society, politics, art, thought, and religion, individual articulations disappeared into immobile blocklike frameworks. There was movement away from the complex toward the simple, from the mobile toward the static, from the dialectic and relative toward the dogmatic and authoritarian. Late antiquity directed its gaze from the transitoriness of mundane things to a transcendent world of unchanging types and eternal orders. It is as if in this period of metamorphosis from antiquity to the Middle Ages, every aspect of life withdrew into a protective shell of massive blocks and rigid systems, just as the Empire enclosed itself within what it hoped, falsely, would be an unbreakable system of fortifications. Perhaps, suggests L'Orange in his final sentence, the seed of classical culture could not have survived the overwhelming tide of barbarism to fructify in later centuries without this firm, protective shell.

*Harvard University*

MASON HAMMOND

DISSENT AND REFORM IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Jeffrey Burton Russell*. [Publications of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Number 1.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. 323. \$6.95.)

ONE of the more elusive, and yet fundamentally important, aspects of the religious history of the early Middle Ages is the role of the large mass of persons of lowly status, clerical as well as lay. Although paucity of precise sources precludes anything but a blurred picture of the activities of such people, recent research has clarified certain things. It has become increasingly evident, for example, that various forms of religious dissent, including formal heresy, appeared earlier and were more prevalent than had hitherto been understood. The author of this book, who has already made significant contributions along these lines, presents here an analysis of the various manifestations of religious dissent from the eighth to the

mid-twelfth century. The terminal date has been chosen to coincide with the first appearance in the West of a dualist heresy that can be demonstrated to have come from the East. Thus he is examining movements of Western provenance.

Although the primary sources are often disappointingly inconclusive and medieval writers occasionally use the term "heresy" without discrimination, there is sufficient evidence to warrant investigation. Consequently, the monographic literature is considerable. Professor Russell has skillfully handled both kinds of material. He presents possible alternative conclusions in addition to explaining the reasoning that underlies his own. Two especially important areas of discussion may be mentioned here. Historians of the socioeconomic school have tended to link early medieval dissent with movements of social unrest. Russell feels that this interpretation is incorrect: first, he demonstrates that considerable dissent is evident before the major socioeconomic disturbances of the eleventh century; second, and perhaps more important, is his judgment that even though the major areas of dissent were in economically advanced Northwestern Europe and in Italy, no evidence justifies assuming a causal connection. Rather, these manifestations are to be understood as phenomena associated with the Great Reform. There has also been a tendency to assume that certain heretical movements before the twelfth century were dualist in nature. Russell insists that these, too, are more correctly traceable to the same broad movement of ecclesiastical reform.

All forms of dissent are examined and classified for better analysis. And in the classification of certain dissenters there is material for the continuing debate on the revolutionary character of the Great Reform. Occasionally judgments are suggested regarding the suppression of heresy in the Middle Ages, but the reader is never left in doubt when the author is examining evidence and when he is presenting opinion. Russell's own understanding of the total character of medieval Christianity, moreover, is surely relevant to his estimate of the character of medieval dissent.

This significant contribution to our knowledge of early medieval civilization is an auspicious "first" for the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

*New York University*

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOUTHERN FRENCH AND CATALAN SOCIETY, 718-1050. By *Archibald R. Lewis*. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 471. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR Lewis has written a book of great importance, one that illuminates not only the social, religious, and political structure of southern France and Catalonia, but also the nature of all French development in the pre-Capetian period. It will force historians to reappraise their understanding of the whole process of change in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries.

In outline, Lewis' story is simple enough and relatively familiar. In the eighth century the Carolingian conquest imposed Frankish forms of government on the region, but these rapidly tended to disappear in the breakup of the Empire at the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries. Great particularism resulted, reinforced in the tenth century by the rapid spread of castles, and it is only in the mid-eleventh century that one begins to discern the emergence of coherent



and relatively stable territorial principalities in Aquitaine, Toulouse, and Catalonia.

The surprises are to be found in the details. That the *Midi* retained alodial land long after the north had been feudalized has long been appreciated, but the extent to which this was the case is startling. After analyzing literally thousands of land transfers Lewis conclusively demonstrates that in the period 900-975 only 4 per cent of the land transferred was feudal in character, while this figure rises no higher than 7 per cent in the period 975-1050. All other transfers appear to have been largely alodial.

Given these facts, it is hardly surprising that feudalism never established deep roots in the south or that territorial governments were difficult to establish. Political power devolved on a host of petty *principes*, and total anarchy was only prevented by the extralegal creation of *ad hoc* assemblies made up of notables in a region anxious to settle their differences peacefully. Also striking is the obvious vitality of southern France and Catalonia throughout the period. Certain areas were of course devastated by Muslim and Viking incursions in the ninth and early tenth centuries, but even in the darkest days there still remained regions where new land was being cleared and settled.

Contrary to generally accepted views, Lewis presents a Church that never entirely lost its expansive drive and discipline, one that in the tenth century established numerous monasteries and other centers of the religious life. Only at the end of the tenth century and in the eleventh, when control of the Church by the castle-owning aristocracy began to take the form of a rather unpleasant domination, was the scene set for the reform program of Gregory VII. The evidence for these views is convincing. In short, this book is bound to cause a profound alteration in our treatment of medieval France.

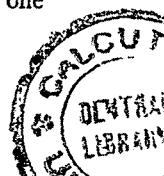
A few caveats and suggestions are, however, in order. This is not an easy book to read: its detail is one source of its strength, but the details are ultimately overwhelming. Lastly, the legal problems associated with the prevalence of alodial property need much further study. We may never fully unravel the legal complexities arising from the confluence of different cultures in Catalonia and the *Midi*, but more can be done. Indeed, had Lewis utilized J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's *Long-Haired Kings*, one suspects he would have delved further into the subject.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

DEUTSCHE KÖNIGSPFALZEN: BEITRÄGE ZU IHRER HISTORISCHEN UND ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN ERFORSCHUNG. Volume II. [Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, Number 11, Part 2.] (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1965. Pp. vi, 318. DM 58.)

In this collection of sixteen articles Adolf Gauert, author of three of them, ably summarizes the characteristics of the German royal *Pfalzen*, as far as we can determine them from both archaeological and written remains ("Zur Struktur und Topographie der Königspfalzen"). The words *palatium*, *villa*, *curtis*, *castrum*, *castellum*, and *civitas* all appear in the documents of the ninth to the eleventh century to designate what is called *Pfalz* in German. It was even common for one



and the same structure to be designated by two or three of these terms inasmuch as the *Pfalz* was a complex of various elements.

M. I. Finley of Cambridge has recently taken the position that written documents, when available in any abundance, take precedence over archaeological remains. ("Must We Dig?" *New York Review of Books*, Feb. 17, 1966): "Archaeological remains still make their contribution, but to correct, refine, and enlarge upon the information given in the writings." This point of view is given support by Gauert, who states that where both written and archaeological remains are available for the same *Pfalz*, more precise information is to be gained from the former than was previously assumed.

The particular *Pfalzen* under discussion in this volume are Grone, Werla, and Pöhlde in Saxony and Tilleda in Thuringia. All sixteen articles display enough documentation so that anyone unfamiliar with the subject can easily find his way into the scholarship. In addition to the studies of excavation and textual evidence concerning the *Pfalzen*, there are two articles on place names and one each on soil composition and early vegetation in the vicinity of Grone. It is interesting that even archaeology did not remain unaffected during the Nazi period, for in 1943, as Sabine Krüger points out in "Einige Bemerkungen zur Werla-Forschung," the *Burgenbau* of Henry I was compared to the *Bunkerbau* of the Third Reich.

The topographical drawings are well done, and the foldout color plans of the major *Pfalzen* are particularly handsome. Unfortunately, there is no index, though there is a key to the illustrations, listed alphabetically by place.

University of Colorado

BOYD H. HILL, JR.

VIKING FORTRESSES OF THE TRELLEBORG TYPE. By *Sidney L. Cohen*. (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 1965. Pp. 103, 22 plates. D. kr. 29.)

THIS volume represents a full and scholarly examination of certain Viking fortresses of the Trelleborg type built and occupied during the tenth and eleventh centuries in Denmark. Previously scholars have believed that these fortresses were built at the time of Sweyn Forkbeard for the mustering of his army used to attack England. Professor Cohen shows rather conclusively that they were instead originally built as religious centers, probably honoring Thor, and that they are similar to certain other cult centers found in northern Germany and as far to the east as Kievan Russia. As for the occupation of these fortresses for military purposes, Cohen argues that they probably were not put to such use until the time of Canute, and thus cannot prove the special character of Sweyn's armies that invaded England.

The author is to be congratulated on his wise use of archaeological, numismatic, and other evidence to buttress his arguments and on the wide-ranging nature of his inquiry. It should be noted, however, that one can still argue from other evidence that Sweyn's armies differed from those of the great Danish invasion force of 865-878, without depending upon data based on a military use of such fortresses. Sweyn's armed forces do seem from other evidence in part to be a national levy, as Cohen himself admits. What he has made clear is that Scandinavia needs to be studied in a broad Northern European context in

which supposed differences between Teutonic and Slavic and Celtic peoples and their cultures seem less important than some historians have assumed.

*University of Texas*

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

DE ONUITGEGEVEN OORKONDEN VAN DE SINT-SALVATORSABDIJ  
TE ENAME VOOR 1200. By *Ludo Milis*. [Verzameling van onuitgegeven  
Belgische Kronieken en van onuitgegeven Documenten betreffende de Ge-  
schiedenis van België, Number 61.] (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van  
België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1965. Pp. 1, 88.)

IN the eleventh century no area of Western Europe saw the foundation of more monasteries than Flanders. Although few attained the prominence of the more renowned monasteries of Europe, they contributed to the cultural and economic development of Flanders and testified to the spiritual regeneration wrought in the Low Countries by Gérard of Brogne.

Typical of the Benedictine monasteries was Saint-Sauveur established in 1063 at Ename near Audenarde through the generosity of Count Baldwin V and his wife. The monk Walbrecht from the monastery of Saint-Vaast at Arras became the first abbot with jurisdiction over twelve monks. Primarily important for the history of medieval Flanders because it developed the rich lands along the Schelde River, Saint-Sauveur was characteristic of the monasteries that undertook vast land reclamation in Flanders during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The principal source for Saint-Sauveur has been the chartulary edited in 1881 by Charles Piot, who included a few original charters, but contented himself mostly with editing material contained in a later chartulary. As a result of a study of the lands of Saint-Sauveur between 1063 and 1250, Ludo Milis has now presented us with 103 additional documents tracked down in the archives of Ghent, Brussels, Lille, and Paris.

In his introduction to this edition, which limits itself to the new documents, Milis skillfully delves into the monastic archives, the tradition of the texts, the dating, and the diplomatics of the earliest charters granted by the Count of Flanders. He has been able to redate some of the documents edited by Piot. Because Milis has worked with such care, it would now seem that all the documents relevant to the monastery of Saint-Sauveur of Ename have been uncovered and published. This edition justifies the imprimatur of the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium.

*Brown University*

BRYCE LYON

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION: SOURCES OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL  
HISTORY, 1066-1540. By *J. J. Bagley*. [Pelican Original.] (Baltimore: Pen-  
guin Books. 1965. Pp. 285. \$1.65.)

THE dedication reads "To the many who have asked, 'How do we know?'" The pages that follow provide a stimulating answer that represents the best in medieval scholarship. This book is unique as an extended bibliographical essay linking together selections from sources chosen primarily to illuminate the nature of the sources themselves. The method is impressionistic rather than comprehensive;

nevertheless, a surprising amount of information is presented. No other book conveys so well the "feel" for the historical materials of this period and some of the problems they present to the historian.

It is something of a paradox that the book might be recommended either as an excellent introduction to the sources or as interesting and enjoyable reading in its own right. Interpolated explanations in quotations and a "no nonsense" glossary of technical terms make the book suitable for a wide range of readers. There are, however, certain weaknesses in chapter division by century, which breaks down in practice with some rather odd chronological transpositions: Matthew Paris is discussed with chronicles in the "Twelfth Century," and Henry II's survey of fiefs made in 1166 turns up in the "Thirteenth Century" with a similar survey taken in 1212.

Nevertheless, the most serious criticism is that having so well provided an introduction, and probably captured the reader's interest and imagination, Mr. Bagley makes it unduly difficult to take the next step. Many selections from the sources are cited so vaguely that it would be something of a chore to find their context. In fact, if the reader is to take a serious interest in the subject, he is left explicitly dependent upon *English Historical Documents*, edited by D. C. Douglas and G. W. Greenaway. In a book devoted to the sources, with extremely brief bibliography, there is no mention of "The Oxford History of England" series, which has particularly good bibliographies, or of the *Guide to the Public Records*. Perhaps it is unrealistic to ask for more in a book of such obvious value that the reader is likely to finish by wondering why someone did not think of doing this before.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

THE RED BOOK OF THE EARLS OF KILDARE. Edited by G. Mac Niocaill. [Coimisiún Láimhscríbhinní na h-Éireann.] (Dublin: Stationery Office for the Commission. 1964. Pp. xix, 210. £2 5s.)

*The Red Book*, a chartulary of the Kildare Fitzgeralds, was compiled early in the sixteenth century, just as that family's long career passed apogee and tilted sharply downward. Appropriately the last document is dated 1519, the year when Garret Oge, ninth Earl and Lord Deputy of Ireland, went to London to answer charges of maladministration brought by his ambitious enemies. Fifteen years later his family was mired in catastrophe, and their Ireland, medieval Ireland, had begun to die its helplessly protracted death.

The more than two hundred documents, the earliest dating from about 1189, extend over nearly the whole of medieval Irish history. Many are of particular interest as illustrating the extraordinary tidal fluidity of Hiberno-Norman land claims and holdings and the tacitly acknowledged recovery by the native Irish of so much of their lost territories. Because the Fitzgeralds tended to have a fist, rather than a finger, in every Irish pie, *The Red Book*, though small, is unusually valuable. Many of the documents have of course been cited before, but now for the first time all are made available.

That is, the documents themselves are made available, clearly edited and printed *in extenso*. For what they contain the scholar will still have to depend

largely on his own powers of excavation. The edition provides a brief introduction, a scattering of textual notes, and a single, rather inadequate, all-purpose index. There are no historical notes, no genealogies, no discussion of doubtful surnames or place names, no map, no sign that either the editor or the Irish Manuscripts Commission thought the reader might have the slightest difficulty putting the material to instant use. Yet surely the editor, a good scholar, had amassed many notes while he was preparing the text and index. And surely the commission, which supported such a good edition of the *Dowdall Deeds* a few years ago, should not, for this more important work, have relapsed from the standard set then. For the exploration of medieval Ireland no fog-dispelling device known to scholarship comes amiss.

Harvard University

JOHN V. KELLEHER

DE OORKONDEN DER GRAVEN VAN VLAANDEREN (1191-AANVANG 1206). Part II, UITGAVE. Edited by *W. Prevenier*. [Verzameling van de akten der belgische vorsten, Number 5.] (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie van België, Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis. 1964. Pp. lxxv, 654, 32 plates. 940 fr. B.)

THIS beautifully printed collection of documents was prepared by Dr. Prevenier who has rigorously followed the editorial rules established by the commission in 1955. It is Volume II of a series of three works and is the first to appear. Later it will be supplemented by a *Diplomatische Inleiding* and by *Documentatie en Indices*. The documents collected here had their origin in the many centers that had any connection with the Flemish counts and are representative of traditional feudal routine as well as of exceptional political demands. The editor has provided the full manuscript history for each document, in some instances giving an elaborate tree to show relationship to a parent source. The selections are all in Latin, with the exception of one charter in French and a few excerpts in Greek in another.

To examine the 298 pieces in this volume leads one deeply into the lives of two Flemish counts who held strategic positions in the feudal-monarchical world at a critical period in the history of Western Europe. Knowing and being related to many of the great in the exciting Age of Philip Augustus, faced with crucial problems of maintaining and expanding their own prestige when faced by powerful and covetous enemies, these two men, especially Baldwin IX, played major roles in their time. They were no petty lords. One was a Count of Hainaut and Margrave of Namur when he added the title of Flanders to his claims; the other only Count of Hainaut as well as of Flanders, but he was to die as an emperor of Constantinople fighting against the Bulgarians.

Obviously the materials do not give the complete history of these two Baldwins, but they permit us to understand the complexities of their feudal lives. Their concern with Flemish questions naturally appears in the many references to grants made to religious establishments as well as to individuals, to the ever-pressing need to regulate tariffs, to the control of the comings and goings of merchants and lesser men; also to provisions for special fishing and port rights for a favored community, for the confirmation of forest holdings, and for the prohibition

against placing money *ad usuram*; to the need to confirm in 1198 the *keure* previously granted to Saint-Omer and a charter for holding a fair at Bruges. Treaties with Philip II and agreements with John of England move them to a wider plane. The documents attract added attention as they deal with Baldwin IX's participation in the Fourth Crusade.

The volume is enhanced by thirty-two plates containing seventy-eight reproductions of original manuscripts and seals. One regrets the necessity again to remark on the total inadequacy of the binding for this series, which is far too fragile for books of such dimensions. Fine scholarship, important content, printing and paper of highest quality deserve protective covering that does not fall apart with first use.

*Northwestern University*

GRAY C. BOYCE

A BARONIAL FAMILY IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND: THE CLARES, 1217-1314. By *Michael Altschul*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIII (1965), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 332. \$7.50.)

IN this monograph Mr. Altschul has concentrated on the Clare family during the thirteenth century when its head, the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, was both a wealthy and powerful English nobleman and an important marcher lord with extensive Irish estates. The Clares, relatives of Duke William, came with him to England and by the common route of royal favor and profitable marriages achieved the position they held until the partition of the estates on the death of the last male heir in the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314. In the thirteenth century the Clares were leaders in the struggle to enforce Magna Carta, in the antiroyal movement of 1258, and in the Barons' War. The second Earl, in the 1258 struggle, was more interested in advancing his personal position than in promoting constitutional government. In the Barons' War, his son acted as a moderating force against the extremists on both sides, refusing to support Simon de Montfort when he thought the latter's regime no better than the King's. For all this activity, the real interest of the Clares lay in their marcher lands. As lords of Glamorgan they spent much of their time and energy in establishing their rights against the Welsh chieftains and in asserting their independence of the English crown.

Altschul is concerned to portray the Clares as a representative family and so to illustrate the life of the nobility in other than its political aspects. Younger sons, in positions in Church and state, were active in furthering family interests. The value of marriage rights is abundantly illustrated as is the usefulness of marriage in the acquisition of land and political power.

A study of the family's sources of wealth is hampered by inadequate records and by the shifting corpus of family possessions owing to marriages and deaths. Altschul has determined, nevertheless, that income came primarily from manorial rents, feudal and judicial payments, and the profits of boroughs. He estimates that, in the first half of the thirteenth century, next to the royal family, the Clares were the wealthiest family in England.

This study provides a many-sided and detailed picture of a baronial family

whose members, although holding considerable English estates and active in English affairs, regarded themselves primarily as marcher barons dependent on Welsh and Irish revenues for much of their wealth and position. The book is a valuable addition to the growing body of studies in depth of medieval English families and estates.

Princeton, New Jersey

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL

ADEL UND VOLK IM FLORENTINER DUGENTO. By *Berthold Stahl*.

[Studi Italiani, herausgegeben vom Istituto Italiano di Cultura in Verbindung mit dem Petrarca-Institut an der Universität Köln, Number 8.] (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1965. Pp. 198. DM 22.)

THOUGHTFUL and well documented, this study from the seminar of Gerd Tellenbach presents an interpretation of the history of Florence between 1250 and 1300 in terms of the slow transformation of the *classe dirigeante*. The Ghibelline nobles of the *contado*, weakened by the decline of their natural allies, the German emperors, were gradually forced to take up residence in the city and ultimately merged with the urban nobility. The third element of the ruling oligarchy was composed of the opulent merchants and bankers of the *Calimala* or cloth guild, whose growing wealth had estranged them from the mass of the *popolo minuto*. No enduring unity was achieved within a governing elite so diverse in its origins, outlook, and interests. The constituent families continued to pursue their dynastic feuds and economic rivalries as passion or interest dictated. The ensuing public disorder was combated by the *popolo minuto* through the ordinances of 1293, which prescribed Draconian measures against disorderly magnates. The relaxation of the ordinances in 1295 was conceded by the *popolo minuto* as a means of disarming the hostility of the less intransigent members of the opposition and of establishing a partnership in power between the old oligarchs and the *novi homines*. The change in the composition of the ruling class was reflected at the military level in the assumption by prosperous guildsmen of knightly rank and functions.

The author perceives the same process of adjustment and compromise at work in the relations of Florence with the surrounding *contado*. The legal maxim "Stadtluft macht frei" prevailed in Florence, but only on condition that the former serf should have resided in the city for ten years without being reclaimed by his master. The stipulation affords some presumptive evidence against the arguments of Davidsohn and Salvemini, who contended that the city authorities encouraged the inflow of unfree persons. But the reaffirmation of the measure in 1325 suggests that the immigration had become sufficiently substantial in volume to require legislative action, and the author might well have indicated the pressures and counterpressures that engendered the enactment. Secondly, some examination of the military organization of the *contado*, admittedly an obscure and difficult subject, might have convinced the author that the seven substantial residents of Pasignano who performed knight service for Florence were not exceptional cases, but merely exemplified the Florentine policy of imposing cavalry service on subjects of sufficient means without regard to social rank. Otto of Freising had already observed in the mid-twelfth century the

readiness of the Italian city-states to raise men of low degree to knighthood in order to maintain a cavalry force strong enough to crush the resistance of rival territorial powers. In the case of Florence, its bitter and protracted conflict with Siena in the thirteenth century furnished an occasion to make fuller military use of the manpower of the *contado*. But in general the author has analyzed the changing social ingredients and policies of the ruling class in Florence with clarity and penetration. It is to be hoped that he will follow his present vein of investigation, originally opened up by Otokar and Plesner, into the fourteenth century.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

EUROPE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by *J. R. Hale et al.* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1965. Pp. 520. \$10.95.)

As the editors say, these essays are intended both to offer guidance to those who are interested in the later Middle Ages and to show "the nature of the interest which English scholars are taking in the history of late medieval Europe." They are at the same time a reflection of excellent scholarship by distinguished students of continental Europe in the later Middle Ages. Although economic history and the history of Eastern Europe are deliberately neglected (except for the essay by Dimitri Obolensky on the relations of Byzantium and Russia), the studies treat important topics; they are so stimulating that I wish I had the space to discuss those with which I am somewhat familiar. The space is lacking, and so I present a summary of the contents with a few minor criticisms.

Some of the studies belong to the Italian Renaissance as well as to the late Middle Ages: Nicolai Rubenstein on Marsilius and contemporary Italian thought (a very good treatment which shows appreciation of the background); Peter Partner on Florence and the papacy, 1300-1375; D. M. Bueno de Mesquita on Italian despotism; E. F. Jacob on late medieval Christian humanism; and J. R. Hale on the Italian creation of the bastion. Late medieval political thought on monarchy in "the age of privileges" is represented by Beryl Smalley on Church and state, 1300-1377; John Le Patourel writes on French princes in the fourteenth century; H. S. Offler discusses government in the Empire; and P. S. Lewis covers sovereignty in France during the fifteenth century.

Important too are the essays by Anthony Luttrell on the crusades in the fourteenth century; James Campbell on England and Scotland in the early period of the Hundred Years' War; A. J. Ryder on the government of the Aragonese Empire in Naples; J. R. L. Highfield on the titled nobility in Castile; C. A. J. Armstrong on languages in the Low Countries; and J. M. Fletcher on the social problem of poor students, nobles, and wealthy professors in German universities.

All are good contributions, but why are ideas of public law and the state neglected? Why can one scholar declare that there can be no sovereignty when privileges are granted? How can one say that Pierre Dubois was a chauvinistic lawyer who determined French policy? I miss any reference to the work of Ralph Giesey on Jean de Terre-Rouge. Altogether, valuable as the essays are, they hardly ever refer to the background of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, on Louis XI's determination that the king should have no equal in the



realm, mention of Bracton and others on kingship in the thirteenth century is needed. And why is Aristotelianism credited so often with the introduction of the principle of the common good?

Princeton University

GAINES POST

LES COMPTES DE LA TAILLE ET LES SOURCES DE L'HISTOIRE DÉMOGRAPHIQUE DE PÉRIGUEUX AU XIV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE. By *Arlette Higounet-Nadal*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Démographie et sociétés, Number 9.] (Paris: S.E.V. P.E.N. 1965. Pp. 236.)

THIS is a curious book, obviously only a fragment of a larger work. The title describes it accurately; types of sources are discussed, and accounts of nine tailles running from about 1320 to about 1401 are published. Some useful tables show receipts from various quarters, family names, occupations. But the author draws almost no conclusions from her study; instead she describes what she hopes to do when she has completed her analysis of the documents. The only statement that will aid students of demographic history is her assertion that when it made its greatest effort in 1366-1367, Périgueux was able to find 1,320 taxable hearths. She does not, however, risk a guess as to the number of persons per hearth; nor, except in general terms, does she estimate the number of those exempt from taxation. In short, most of the material in this book cannot be used effectively until the author completes her work.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

THE HUSSITE KING: BOHEMIA IN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS, 1440-1471. By *Otařar Odložilík*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 337. \$10.00.)

UNTIL recently there existed no substantial publication in English, and hardly anything up to date in any Western language, on the Poděbradian phase in the history of Bohemia. During 1965 two works on this topic appeared: my *George of Bohemia, King of Heretics*, and this book. While the central figure, George of Poděbrady, is identical, the two books, nevertheless, present different approaches to their topic. It is impossible to write about the last Czech on Bohemia's throne without touching and elaborating on problems of diplomatic history. Odložilík's book, however, is overwhelmingly, almost to the exclusion of domestic developments, concerned with this side of George's reign. Even within the framework of his foreign policy it is one specific aspect that dominates the work: the relation between the King and the papacy. This is justifiable, for among Prague's foreign relations those with Rome were paramount and necessarily influenced and often determined George's policy toward other powers such as Poland, France, Venice, Hungary, and toward the Emperor Frederick III and the most important German princes.

Odložilík's work is not the first in the long Poděbradian historiography that specializes in the Prague-Rome relationship. Compared to earlier uncritical glorification, Odložilík, for all his warm feelings for the Hussite King, maintains a

remarkable objectivity. Some of the best parts of the book deal with the motivations and actions of the popes and their foremost servants. No other historian of the Poděbradian phase of history has done as much work in the Vatican Archives as has Odložilík. This has certainly helped him to present the papal views and policies in a thoroughly fair and sober manner.

Odložilík decided not to burden his book with a heavy apparatus of documentation. Occasionally, however, informed readers would like to get a more specific explanation, on the basis of available sources, of the author's interpretation, especially when those readers have worked in the same fields and have themselves arrived at a different interpretation. For example, Odložilík refuses to consider seriously the suggestion that the great plan for a peace league of lay princes (1463) was not exclusively the work of Antoine Marini, that, specifically, Martin Mair might have had some influence on its shaping. This is not done by discussing the evidence and explaining his choice, but by leaving any alternative unmentioned. By taking this stand, Odložilík attributes to Marini a more important and decisive role in that phase of George's foreign policy than I, for one, would be ready to accept.

On the whole, this is a fine contribution to the problems of the Poděbradian Age, a work worthy of its author and of the mature, thoughtful, and wise scholarship that he has represented for such a long time in the historiography of his native country.

*University of Calgary*

FREDERICK G. HEYMANN

THE WARS OF THE ROSES. By *J. R. Lander*. [History in the Making Series.] (London: Secker and Warburg. 1965. Pp. 336. 50s.)

THE fifteenth century will soon cease to be, if it ever really was, the forgotten century of English history. There has not been such a spate of writing about it, as that of recent years, since the days of Wylie, Kingsford, and Vickers. This latest work is essentially a collection of sources, with modernized spelling and punctuation, but retaining the contemporary language. This will no doubt frequently puzzle the general reader for whom the book is intended, as in words like "upsetting" meaning "setting up," or "witty" which will evoke a fleeting thought of Henry IV incongruously showing sparkle and humor on the eve of a battle. Similarly, "Way, nay, God defend [it]" might give pause as might the lack of punctuation, when it was observed, "and no doubt of it was a fervent cold weather and a biting," when Humphrey of Gloucester was murdered in 1447.

On the other hand, there is a fascination in the language for those who will make the effort to read it. Professor Lander has an intimate knowledge of the sources; he writes with authority; and he has assembled an illuminating collection of contemporary or near contemporary writings.

It is a pity that the plan of his work does not allow space for any effective discussion of these writings. There are not many historians who could have done this better than Lander. As it is, the same general readers for whom he writes are left at the mercy of propaganda, much of it concealed as near contemporary history. All the help they receive is a negative warning of the unreliability of the sources, usually at the expense of the Yorkists. Nor are they encouraged to

penetrate the surface of events and to have some concern for the interplay of ideas. Open-mindedness of any kind is not encouraged by the somewhat fanciful publisher's blurb which claims stoutly that the whole series of "History in the Making" "is history as it really was."

Lander himself shows repeatedly that he is not under any such delusion. Despite this, one closes the volume with a little uneasiness as well as much appreciation. It would, perhaps, have been better if it had ended at the conventional date of 1485, rather than at the death of Henry VII. Some precious space could have been saved and given to the suggestive but scanty introduction, or to Chapter VII on "The Fortunate Island." Some might even have been used to give a more spacious and reasoned evaluation of the many problems and difficulties still confronting the historian of this age.

University of Toronto

B. WILKINSON

## Modern Europe

THE CAMBRIDGE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF EUROPE. Volume VI, THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTIONS AND AFTER: INCOMES, POPULATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE. In two parts. Edited by H. J. Habakkuk and M. Postan. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 601; xii, 603-1040. \$19.50 the set.)

VOLUME VI of *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe* appears in two "parts," or volumes. Volumes IV and V have not yet appeared. Two more volumes are promised for the indefinite future. Meanwhile a revised edition of Volume I (first published in 1940) is reported to be on its way. The misfortune, mismanagement, and confusion suggested by this record are fully exemplified in Volume VI. It apparently went to press sometime in 1961; it was, therefore, in view of the number of important publications that have appeared in the interim, out of date before it was published. Some of the chapters appear to have been completed, and not retouched, at least ten years ago. They are uneven with respect to coverage as well as quality; the majority deal with the period from about 1800 to the outbreak of World War I, but a few reach World War II or after, and two or three dip back to the seventeenth century and earlier.

W. A. Cole and Phyllis Deane sketch "The Growth of National Incomes." The authors, well known for their quantitative studies of British national income, do not restrict themselves to quantitative data here, but engage in necessarily superficial discussions of the causes of growth or nongrowth in specific countries, which are repeated—and sometimes contradicted—in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Their coverage of continental Europe is especially weak, indicating that they have not consulted some of the most important sources even of quantitative data. D. V. Glass's and E. Grebenik's chapter on "World Population, 1800-1950," is a competent demographic study, but it has little to do directly with the history of the period indicated. Only ten pages sketch the history of population growth in Europe and Asia (the other continents are virtually ignored except for one table); over half the chapter is devoted to a fairly technical discussion of fertility rates

and their significance, with illustrative data drawn from recent years. "The Opening of New Territories" (A. J. Youngson) deals chiefly with English-speaking territories; South America is mentioned briefly, but there is nothing on Africa or the Russians in Siberia. The chapter is based on a narrow range of secondary sources, including textbooks, and is marred by numerous inaccurate details. The chapter on transport (L. Girard) might have been written thirty years ago in so far as it purports to summarize recent research.

Over half of Part I (328 of 601 pages) is given to David Landes' essay on "Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe, 1750-1914." (The title in the table of contents omits the word "industrial," suggesting a difference of opinion between the author and editors on the intended scope of the chapter.) It derives from an exceptionally wide knowledge of the relevant literature and sources; the bibliography is longer and more valuable than all of the others together, although even it contains a few surprising omissions. The scope of the chapter is broader than either technological or industrial history and includes *ad hoc* comparisons with other regions and obiter dicta on both earlier and later epochs. On the other hand, detailed treatment is given only to Britain, France, Belgium, and Germany; the Mediterranean and Scandinavian countries are barely mentioned, whereas the long section on Britain's Industrial Revolution largely duplicates standard textbook accounts. Elsewhere, instead of merely summarizing the existing state of knowledge, Landes frequently puts forward interpretations of his own which are likely to mislead nonspecialists, especially since he does not always do justice to the views of those he criticizes. (This brief paragraph does not do justice to Landes' book-length contribution, which merits a review in itself.)

Part II (Chapters vi-x) is more successful in providing readers with concise, balanced summaries of the state of knowledge on its topics. Folke Dovring treats "The Transformation of European Agriculture" with authority and finesse. Douglass North gives a succinct account of industrialization in the United States from 1789 to 1914. In what is probably the most original chapter in the book Alexander Gerschenkron studies in depth the agrarian policies of tsarist Russia in their relation to industrialization. Roger Portal presents a straightforward chronological account of Russian industrialization from the mid-nineteenth century to the era of the Five-Year Plans, and G. C. Allen concludes with a brief, competent review of industrialization in East Asia.

The editors excuse themselves for the duplications, contradictions, and uneven tenor of both the chapters and the bibliographies on the grounds that the authors had complete freedom of expression. Such a *laissez-faire* policy verges on irresponsibility, however. The authors might at least have read one another's contributions in order to consider differences of opinion—and to be sure that they were using the same set of "facts"!

*Santiago, Chile*

RONDO CAMERON

BERGBAU UND HÜTTENWESEN IN FRANKREICH UM DIE MITTE  
DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS: EINE STUDIE ÜBER DIE ENTSTEHUNG  
KAPITALISTISCHER PRODUKTIONSVERHÄLTNISSE IN DEN

GRUBEN DES LYONNAIS UND BEAUJOLAIS. By *Adolf Laube*. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Montangeschichte, Number D 38.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. 1964. Pp. 153. DM 29.60.)

BERGBAU UND ABSOLUTISMUS: DER SÄCHSISCHE BERGBAU IN DER ZWEITEN HÄLFTE DES 18. JAHRHUNDERTS UND MASSNAHMEN ZU SEINER VERBESSERUNG NACH DEM SIEBENJÄHRIGEN KRIEGE. By *Hans Baumgärtel*. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Kultur und Technik, Number D 44.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. 1963. Pp. 192. DM 42.80.)

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES BERGBAUS, HÜTTENWESENS UND DER MONTANWISSENSCHAFTEN (16. BIS 20. JAHRHUNDERT). Volume I. [Freiberger Forschungshefte, Montangeschichte, Number D 46.] (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Grundstoffindustrie. [1964.] Pp. 127. DM 24.)

THE two-hundred-year-old Academy of Mining in Freiberg performs a rather unique service in the special attention that it pays the history of mining. Detailed treatments of technological, economic, and social factors in this field are certainly welcome. Freiberg, being located in East Germany, is naturally strongly influenced by Marxist doctrine, which should not, however, prevent it from making significant contributions to the history of mining. Present-mindedness and rigidity in approach are, nevertheless, dangers, which, while not absent elsewhere, seem to be more prevalent in the DDR (German Democratic Republic). These three volumes demonstrate both the possible pitfalls and benefits of environment that their place of origin influences.

Laube's work falls more in the category of having been benefited. Using Marxian criteria as his conceptual framework, Laube carefully analyzes an exceptional group of records of several French mines, whose main product was silver. The records cover only a few years in the 1450's, following their sequestration by the King after the conviction of their former owner, Jacques Cœur. The records have previously been used mainly to reveal Cœur's activities. As a result of a careful analysis of these records, whose quality far exceeds their brevity, Laube has provided an entrepreneurial study of considerable value. It is highly useful as a standard by which enterprises of subsequent periods for which longer time series are available can be judged. The picture that evolves from this study indicates that fifteenth-century enterprises already had an organization and a technology as advanced as that to be found as late as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this does not come as a complete surprise, it is nonetheless a welcome additional demonstration. Laube's worth-while monograph suffers from an overly strong exploitation of the particular archival sources. A more comparative approach could well have yielded better results.

Concerning Laube's study, one might be tempted to complain about an excessively rigid organization. No such problem exists for Baumgärtel's rather diffuse volume. To be sure, to relate mining and absolutism in eighteenth-century Saxony provides more problems than does an intensive study of a few years in one particular enterprise. Baumgärtel, however, made his task considerably easier by a strong and wise reliance on the published and unpublished writings of several top

officials in the area. The most important of these personalities was Friedrich Anton von Heynitz, the most influential person with respect to mining during the period of his service in Saxony from 1763 to 1774. Subsequently he became minister of mining in Prussia. A thorough exposition of his views as well as those of several other officials on whom Baumgärtel's study strongly leans would have resulted in a fine picture of the conditions of mining at the time and the measures that were proposed and taken for their improvement. That this could have been the case is clearly indicated by the publication, as an appendix, of a long document submitted by a commission headed by Heynitz in 1771. Not only is the reader frustrated in this expectation; he is annoyed by a number of rather tired clichés about the "exploiting class," about "inhuman wages," and so forth.

The last volume is composed of papers presented at a meeting at Freiberg in 1963. They deal primarily with mining education and were given by Soviet, Hungarian, Czechoslovak, and East German historians. The book's greatest merit is its bibliography of articles and books on the history of mining produced by East German writers between 1945 and 1963. The titles of serious historical works, as well as numerous propagandistic pieces, are included.

*Tulane University*

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

FRANCESCO BUONVISI: *NUNZIATURA A VARSAVIA*. Volume I (1 GENNAIO 1673-2 GIUGNO 1674). Edited by *Furio Diaz* and *Nicola Carranza*. [Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Number 75.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. xviii, 536. L. 4,000.)

PUBLICATION of the correspondence of the papal nuncios still goes on apace. The editors may be tiring of the project—at least the increasing number of typographical errors suggests as much. But historians will undoubtedly be as enthusiastic as ever, particularly when they see the care with which Furio Diaz and Niccolò Carranza, respectively professor and assistant of modern history at the University of Pisa, have identified and indexed all the many names cited in the text and have reconstructed the original Polish orthography from the Italian adaptations.

This book follows upon the two previously published volumes of the same nuncio (*Nunziatura a Colonia* [1959]), and it is also drawn from the rich Buonvisi archive in Lucca. It covers a particularly important moment in the history of Poland: the sixteen months between the Peace of Buczacz in January 1673 and the election of the future liberator of Vienna, John Sobieski, in May 1674. It gives, in the almost daily reports of one of the most perspicacious observers and able diplomats of the time, a very detailed picture of the internal political conditions of the country and describes the almost insuperable difficulties the nuncio had to face: a weak, vacillating king, "un corpo insanabile perchè non voleva guarire"; an aristocracy "sepolti in un profondo letargo e totalmente acciecati dall'interesse proprio"; and a "plebe" slowly becoming aware of the possible advantages of Turkish domination. Finally, it thoroughly documents the policy of the papacy: to re-establish harmony in Poland and in Europe, not for the sake of peace itself, but to "restituire alla nazione pollacca

[sic] la gloria di combattere et di vincere," and thus push back the Turks. In spite of its humiliation at Westphalia, in other words, the papacy was still pouring its money and energy into the defense of the *Respublica Christiana*, a noble if anachronistic ideal that had long since disappeared from the calculations of all the other states of Europe.

University of Chicago

ERIC COCHRANE

IL PROBLEMA ITALIANO E L'EQUILIBRIO EUROPEO, 1720-1738. By Guido Quazza. [Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, Biblioteca di storia italiana recente, New Series, Volume VII.] (Turin: the Deputazione. 1965. Pp. 500. L. 10,000.)

IN the preface and conclusion of this book Quazza claims to have proved, first, that in the early eighteenth century the "Italian problem" was the central one in European affairs and, second, that in these years Piedmont had not yet assumed its destined role as the unifier of Italy. He also implies that his study illustrates the way the historian should integrate the traditional matter of diplomatic history with the important substratum of "ideas and forces." But the claims and the boast prove to be unwarranted. How can one pretend to have shown that Italy in this period was the chief apple of European discord if his research deals chiefly with Piedmontese foreign relations and if he lightly dismisses such topics as Spain's grievance over Gibraltar, Charles VI's obsession with the Pragmatic Sanction, and all the ambitions involved in the War of the Polish Succession? As for Piedmont and its future role as unifier, it is hardly worth anyone's time to refute the old nationalist, even Fascist, historians' view that the *Risorgimento* began in the early eighteenth century. And where in this study are the "ideas and forces" underlying diplomatic history? Quazza's few attempts to flesh out his traditional diplomatic treatment with other material and comment remind me of Oscar Levant's witticism that he likes to sit in front of table lamps "to give myself an illusion of three dimensionality."

Stripped of its grand generalities, Quazza's book is a fairly useful study of little Piedmont's frustrations as it saw the Great Powers seizing choice lots of Italian real estate. Indeed, perhaps the main interest of the book lies in the reactions of the Piedmontese kings and ambassadors to the major European rulers: the "royal phantom" of Spain and his overbearing wife, the latter obsessed by the idea of getting a slice of her native Parmesan for her son; Charles VI of Austria, lazy and haughty, but not too proud to settle for Tuscany when he lost Naples and Sicily; and Cardinal Fleury, the cautious and opportunistic chief minister of France, arranging the land transfers and treating the disappointed young Piedmontese sovereign as if he (Fleury) were the affable but all-powerful head of a zoning board. The last fifth of Quazza's book is an appendix of nuggets from the archives of Turin—a strange mixture of general diplomatic reports on Spain, Austria, England, and Italy, and more specific discussions of Austrian troops, English commerce, and Walpole's excise crisis. For this unbound book of five hundred pages the publisher charges sixteen dollars. *Corpo di Bacco!*

University of Pennsylvania

JAMES CUSHMAN DAVIS

THE BATTLE OF BUSSACO: MASSÉNA VS. WELLINGTON. By *Donald D. Horward*. [Florida State University Studies, Number 44.] (Tallahassee: the University. 1965. Pp. xvi, 185. \$5.50.)

UNDERSTANDABLY, the history of the Peninsular campaigns has been the special province of English historians. French counterparts to the classic studies of Napier, Oman, and Fortescue do not exist, and, true to tradition, the two most recent works that deal with the Battle of Bussaco (Michael Glover's *Wellington's Peninsular Victories* and James Marshall-Cornwall's *Marshal Massena*) are again by Englishmen. Donald Horward has set himself the task of redressing the balance. His monograph on the Battle of Bussaco, the first installment of a larger study of the French efforts to drive Wellington out of Portugal, by viewing the struggle from the French side, provides a new and highly useful perspective. By making full use, for the first time, of French archival sources, he also is able to add new material to the earlier accounts of the battle and to question a number of previously held assumptions.

When seen from the French side, the Battle of Bussaco assumes a greater significance. For Wellington the battle was a tactical victory; for Masséna, the French commander, it proved a major disaster that was to prejudice the outcome of his campaign and all subsequent French efforts to hold the peninsula. If English accounts give full credit to the courage displayed by the French troops and are properly critical of Masséna, in Horward's opinion they are too generous in their praise of Wellington. The evidence Horward has assembled highlights the mistakes of both commanders. Had Masséna struck more quickly and handled his troop dispositions and reconnaissance more effectively, Horward argues, he had at least a chance of success; had Wellington taken proper measures to block Masséna's subsequent flanking move, the campaign might well have ended at Bussaco.

To challenge the work of a historian of Oman's stature requires some courage. Horward, however, marshals his evidence with skill, and, where he disagrees, he argues his case persuasively. If we are dealing here with the account of a single battle, what must be no more than a fragment of a larger canvas, the approach and the methods employed by Horward give promise that he may one day effect a major reassessment of the Peninsular campaigns.

*University of Michigan*

JOHN BOWDITCH

FRÜHJAHRSFELDZUG 1813: DIE ROLLE DER RUSSISCHEN TRUPPEN BEI DER BEFREIUNG DEUTSCHLANDS VOM NAPOLEONISCHEN JOCH. By *Fritz Straube*. [Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Geschichte der Völker der UdSSR an der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Series B, Abhandlungen, Number 5.] (Berlin: Rütten & Loening. 1963. Pp. 284. DM 29.90.)

BAD history can be written in any political environment, but authoritarian regimes, when they represent sophisticated and demanding ideologies, lay a particularly heavy burden on the study of the past. The author of this work on the spring campaign of 1813 has allowed his Communist beliefs to cripple him as a historian. He sets himself two main tasks: to prove that Kutuzov showed no re-



luctance to continue the war against Napoleon even after the French had been driven from Russia and to demonstrate that without the dedication of the Russian soldier and the German common man the Wars of Liberation would have faltered. Though he draws on new material in the East German and Russian archives, he achieves neither of these aims. His analysis of Russian grand strategy is inhibited by the concepts of just and imperialistic wars and adds nothing to our understanding of the conflicts among the Russian leaders, the administrative and economic problems of their armies, the government's negotiations with Prussia, Sweden, and England. The second task—demonstrating the connection between popular attitudes and policy—offers an important methodological challenge, which, however, the author evades. Instead he resorts to revolutionary logic.

Syllogisms by themselves cannot fill a book, and much of the text is in fact devoted to attacks on the Prussian government of the period and on its later German interpreters. The combative yet slipshod manner in which this is done suggests that ideology alone should not be held responsible for the results. Certainly many German histories of the Napoleonic era have been marred by the overbearing nationalism of their authors. Nor can it be doubted that we need to know much more about the politics and strategy of 1813 and that the Russian and East German archives contain much unexploited material on this period. New studies of the Russo-Prussian alliance are needed; this book shows how the thing cannot be done.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

PETER PARET

RUSSIA AND GERMANY: A CENTURY OF CONFLICT. By *Walter Laqueur*. [Encounter Book.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. 367. \$6.75.)

Mr. Laqueur, an exceedingly versatile and prolific scholar, has followed up his previous studies in recent Middle Eastern, Russian, and German history with a book on the relations between Russia and Germany since the mid-nineteenth century. This is not, as one might expect, predominantly diplomatic history; it is, rather, a history of the ideas and attitudes of certain circles, some obscure, some influential, that profoundly affected the relationship and history of the two countries. Diplomats and their craft, the author rightly maintains, were not the most important agents of international relations in recent times, particularly in the age of totalitarian dictatorships, and diplomatic documents would not tell the whole, not even the most significant, part of the story. He wished, therefore, to deal with the metapolitics of Russian-German relations and to uncover, in particular, the specific Russian influences on Nazi ideology. This is, then, a history of ideas and intercultural relations, with political, economic, and military developments placed in their proper context.

Laqueur is eminently qualified for undertaking such a study. Born in 1921 in Breslau in the border zone between the Germanic and Slavic cultures and intimately acquainted with Russia and its culture, he brings to the subject the necessary tools as well as historical understanding. Besides exploiting the rich resources of the Wiener Library in London, he has used unpublished materials at the Berlin Document Center, the National Archives, the Hoover Institution, and

at various specialized archives in Western Europe. East German archives were not accessible to him. For the Russian side of the story, he consulted Russian newspapers, periodicals, books, and pamphlets, many of them difficult to come by.

As a background for the Russian contributions to Nazi ideology, Laqueur sketches the influence and activities of Baltic Germans in Russian ruling circles and the strained relations between Russians and Germans in an age of Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism. He rightly draws attention to the specific and direct influence, largely overlooked by scholars, of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and of certain Russian *émigrés* in Germany on Nazi thought in the early 1920's. The author has dug deeply in the "ideological rubbish dump" of that period to reveal the obscure and pathetic characters who contributed the anti-Semitic version of anti-Bolshevism to Nazi thought.

A lengthy chapter analyzes critically the official attitude to the baffling phenomenon—to Marxists—of Nazism, which was persistently viewed as an excrescence of bourgeois capitalism, on a par with social democracy, which was labeled "Social Fascism." This blind dogmatism, which did not distinguish between Nazism and its declared enemies and which identified the German Social Democrats as the main enemy of Communism, lasted until 1934 and contributed significantly to the triumph of Hitler. The final section of the book, dealing with the period since 1939, offers some fresh insights but little new material. The reader might disagree with some of the author's judgments regarding Soviet policies, but these are minor matters in view of the broad range of the subject covered.

Laqueur has produced an illuminating and fascinating account of a little-known area in Russian-German relations, based on a wide range of published and unpublished materials. He writes with commendable detachment, yet with critical, sophisticated judgment, in a fresh, lucid style. The rich explanatory and bibliographical notes add considerably to the value of this work.

*American University*

CARL G. ANTHON

THE ARTICULATE CITIZEN AND THE ENGLISH RENAISSANCE. By Arthur B. Ferguson. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1965. Pp. xvii, 429. \$10.00.)

THE title of this book leaves the prospective reader somewhat uncertain as to its contents; it is in fact an extended historical essay on English social and economic criticism from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the accession of Queen Elizabeth I. The earliest works dealt with are *Mum and the Sothsegger* and the *Libel of English Policy*; the latest, the *Discourse of the Common Weal*. About a quarter of the book is devoted to the period before 1500. The treatment of the topic is chronological with successive chapters on the major social critics of these generations, including such familiar figures as Fortescue, More, Starkey, Latimer, Crowley, and the author (perhaps Sir Thomas Smith) of the *Discourse*. This is well-mapped ground, but Professor Ferguson approaches it from a fresh angle. He is interested in these writers as private commentators and critics, concerned with the socioeconomic, and, very obliquely, the political, order. He sees them as the shapers of the first era in the long history of English public opinion. The emphasis

of his book lies in a careful and detailed examination of the gradual shift from the generalized grievance and moralistic, often abstract, counsel of late medieval writing to the systematic and realistic analysis of the Tudor authors and the concrete remedies spelled out by them.

In such a book there is a risk that the treatment of successive authors will become a mere catalogue of names and ideas; secondly, it is not easy to say something fresh about authors as well known and well studied as most of these. Ferguson has succeeded largely in overcoming both these obstacles. The book might have been somewhat more compact, but it would have lost something of the full and careful analysis that is one of its strengths. The author is particularly persuasive in tracing the gradual acceptance of the pursuit of mercantile advantage as a morally neutral or even praiseworthy activity and the concomitant emergence of an embryonic but articulate mercantilism. He offers a convincing account of the crucial shift away from traditional medieval moralism to a new secularism with a descriptive rather than a normative approach to economic and social phenomena; he is careful not to neglect the remaining elements of the older outlook still embedded in these writers. Occasionally he argues a little too strongly for the coherence of the new thought; on his own showing it was highly pragmatic and came tumbling out in unsystematic and quite *ad hoc* fashion.

Most of the earlier writers dealt with in this book inclined to be, as critics, somewhat detached, abstract, and distant from the actual business of government. But the mid-century writers, as Ferguson points out, offered prescriptions of a specific and pragmatic type, and their ideas were beginning to percolate directly into the formulation of government policy. Some, like Sir Thomas Smith, were directly involved in government at a high level. The crucial distance that had separated social criticism from political action was rapidly dwindling. The moment when considered public opinion became part of the fabric of English politics deserves closer investigation.

This is a useful and thorough book on an important topic; it will serve more than one field of historical interest.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

TWO TUDOR CONSPIRACIES. By *D. M. Loades*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 284. \$8.00.)

By tracing the opposition to Queen Mary's rule, in particular the conspiracies led by Wyatt and Dudley, Mr. Loades has pinpointed both the weaknesses and the essential resiliency of the central government in mid-sixteenth-century England. Constitutional theories were vague at best, and the royal councilors were quarrelsome and frequently inept, but a fundamental hatred of rebellion, and the mistakes of the plotters, prevented resentment of the Spanish marriage from turning into effective resistance. Religious motives were conspicuously absent, as were social grievances. The risings that did take place relied almost exclusively on a few ambitious gentry and their dependents, who were never strong enough to overthrow Mary, even when Wyatt reached London itself. Loades skillfully conveys the atmosphere of constant crisis, and he provides a shrewd analysis of the causes

and consequences of the unrest, making an important connection with the first stirrings of parliamentary opposition. But it is an uneven book, which frequently becomes lost in a welter of minor plotters. Nearly three chapters, for example, are filled with detailed information about indictments, trials, punishments, pardons, and fines—information that should have been relegated to an appendix and presented systematically in the text. So many names are mentioned that it is difficult to keep track of those that count, particularly when there are a number of Dudleys, Throckmortons, or Carews to follow. It is unfortunate that a book dealing with revolt and conspiracy should lack narrative drive, and Loades even allows some of his best moments (such as Throckmorton's acquittal) to pass undescribed because they are well known. Yet much of his material has already been covered in the important studies by Harbison and Garrett, and he might have taken greater advantage of its dramatic possibilities. After a fine start in the early chapters, the interest is lost as the obscure names multiply. Thus, one is frequently forced to refer to the index to find out who is who, and the narrative sags. This is a pity because the over-all conclusions and analyses are persuasive and suggestive. The discussions of the motives of the troublemakers are particularly good, and the chapter on the exiles in France is an excellent study of the perennial problems of such overseas plotters.

Any student of this period will profit from reading the book, but it will be difficult going in places. There are a useful map, a brief bibliography, and an interesting set of appendixes.

*Harvard University*

THEODORE K. RABB

THE REFORMATION IN ESSEX: TO THE DEATH OF MARY. By *James E. Oxley*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xii, 320. \$8.00.)

Mr. Oxley's foray in depth into the social and financial thicket of the first phase of the Reformation in Essex County may well establish a trend in historical studies relating to that upheaval in the English Church. His work does in a magnificent way for Essex what Professor Rowse did many years ago for Cornwall. It is pleasant to think that one day the entire history of the Tudor-directed insular theological revolution may be available in such perceptive, excellently conceived, and well-written divisions. Yet this is a work of further merit too: as a specialized contribution in filling out a critical historical period and phenomena, as a study in the intricate procedures of gathering and synthesizing historical data, and as an example of scholarly extrapolation of knowledge from an incredibly rich supply of historical evidence.

The author's reaction to the problems of quantity and heterogeneity of documentary materials, however, forces me into a minor caveat. Sometimes the zest of the chronicler gets the better of the balanced historian, and the cataloguing of factual minutiae concerning clerical incomes, benefice values, inventories of dissolved monasteries, clerical pensions, the liquidation of heretics, and such directs attention away from the study itself. Owing no doubt to his wealth of materials, the author sometimes fails to rely on the most dependable sources available. This is especially obvious in his occasional resort to Strype, Wriothoesely, Foxe, Machyn, Cardwell, Wilkins, and others, in citing royal injunctions, royal and conciliar

proclamations, and other official instruments concerned with clerical discipline, institutional regulation, and the general process of the Reformation.

One is inclined to question, too, in light of Professor Neelak Tjernagel's recently published *Henry VIII and the Lutherans*, the soundness of Oxley's exclusion of any discussion of the relationship of that reformist movement per se to the religious situation in Essex prior to and during the period of Cranmer's ascendancy and Mary's attempted return to Rome. Calvinist, Anabaptist, and other dissenting groups are ignored in about the same degree. The chapter "Fire and Faggot," a digest of Foxe's account of several Essexshire martyrdoms during Mary's reign, contributes little of real value. The tabular appendixes relating to pluralities, benefices, monastery populations, and the values of religious houses, chantries, free chapels, and hospitals in the dissolution period offer interesting statistical pounds and pence information pertinent to the economic and social history of the English Reformation.

DePaul University

PAUL L. HUGHES

WILLIAM STRACHEY, 1572-1621. By S. G. Culliford. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 1965. Pp. 224. \$4.50.)

As the writing of biography progresses, increasingly minor figures become subjects of increasingly elaborate scholarly accounts. William Strachey has now been promoted from 120-odd lines in the *DNB* to nearly twice that number of pages in this book.

Strachey has not, of course, been totally unknown. Students of the American colonies will be familiar with his *True Reportory* of Sir Thomas Gates's shipwreck on the Bermudas in 1609, recently treated to a new edition by Louis B. Wright, his *Lawes* for the Virginia colony, and his *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*; literary scholars will be aware of his influence on Shakespeare's *Tempest*, his friendship with Ben Jonson, and his connection with the Blackfriars theater. But little has been known positively about the man himself. Culliford, having worked through an amazing mass of local papers and legal documents, supplies a wealth of information about Strachey's ancestors, properties, and financial troubles.

Most interestingly, Culliford has been able to give us a full account of Strachey's travels to Constantinople, which have been shrouded in obscurity. Setting out from England in 1606 as secretary to the new ambassador, Thomas Glover, Strachey met with misfortune when Glover clashed with the previous envoy, Henry Lello, who had remained in Turkey. Strachey transferred his loyalties to Lello; within a year he was back in London, penniless and without a job. It was then that he sailed for Virginia, only to be involved in the wreck of the *Sea Venture*. Even his account of that disaster met with bad luck, for it was not printed until after his death. Strachey's longer work, *The Historie of Travaile*, was forestalled by John Smith's *Map of Virginia* and was not published until the nineteenth century. Despite his exciting adventures and colorful prose style, Strachey had little to show for his life when he was buried in London on June 21, 1621.

While Culliford fails to sustain a high level of readability when dealing with Strachey's family and property transactions, he does weave as continuous a nar-

rative as the scrappy materials permit. Included are an appendix that discusses the sources for *The Historie of Travaile* and an excellent bibliography.

University of Texas

STANFORD E. LEHMBERG

SHAKESPEARE'S SOUTHAMPTON: PATRON OF VIRGINIA. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. x, 323. \$6.95.)

THE depth and breadth of Mr. Rowse's acquaintance with Elizabethan and Jacobean society are beyond question. But his knowledge is regrettably not employed to best advantage in his latest book, a biography of the third Earl of Southampton that adds little more than a highly individual style to the work long done by Stopes, Craven, and others. Rowse is hardly generous to these predecessors, from whom most of his material is drawn. There are only seven references to Stopes despite Professor Akrigg's question as to whether quotations may have been taken from her biography rather than the sources cited. At the only place in the text where—so far as I have noticed—another scholar is depicted as perceptive, the generosity is tempered by omission of the man's name. Of more consequence is the indifference to accuracy and method, which Rowse has flipantly defended in the *Times Literary Supplement*. Thus, when a possible interpretation is presented, alternatives are either peremptorily dismissed or left unmentioned. An association that, for example, Shakespeare *could* have had in mind is treated, not as one plausible alternative, but as an incontrovertible fact. William Strachey's "Noble Lady" is described as the Countess of Bedford with no consideration of Gayley's arguments in favor of Lady Howard or Culliford's for Lady Smythe. And the identification of Sir William Harvey as "W. H." concludes: "There is no problem." One vital step in this identification is the explanation that the word "adventurer" in the dedication of the sonnets meant an investor in the Virginia colony in 1609. Yet in fact Harvey never subscribed to the Virginia Company.

Having virtually ignored predecessors and alternatives, Rowse relies extensively on judgment by adjective and unsupported assertion. Epithets such as "odious," "ass," "wicked," and "bitch" are applied as easily as more wide-ranging *ad hoc* statements. With no attempt at justification Charles I is summed up as "a hopeless king," the Treaty of Westphalia is considered to have "confirmed things much as they had been before," and so on. The depiction of quartan fever as both consumption and malaria and the many similar off-the-cuff opinions can be regarded as inconsequential shortcomings. But it is less easy to accept in comfort the admission that the venality and treachery of John Churchill were "unaccountably omitted" from Rowse's family history of *The Early Churchills*. And further doubts are raised by the comment that follows the information that the Journals of the House of Lords became much more detailed in 1621—"for those who like that sort of thing." This may be a pleasant witticism, but does it reflect an impatience with the more detailed and precise kind of history that additional documentation makes possible?

There is more that is new on the Earl of Southampton in the occasional references in Lawrence Stone's *Crisis of the Aristocracy* than there is in this biography. It is remarkable, for instance, that Stone should have been able to analyze the 1624 survey of the Southampton estates whereas Rowse can give no hint that such

a source even exists. Although the present book provides an account of the Earl's life and antecedents that is easy to read, and asides that are frequently entertaining, it is too little concerned with proof or evidence to be a substantial contribution to its subject.

*Harvard University*

THEODORE K. RABB

CALENDAR OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE MOST HONOURABLE THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, K.G., P.C., G.C.V.O., C.B., T.D., PRESERVED AT HATFIELD HOUSE, HERTFORDSHIRE. Part XIX (A.D. 1607). Edited by *M. S. Giuseppi* and *D. McN. Lockie*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, Number 9.] (London: H.M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 638. \$33.60.)

ALTHOUGH the Salisbury manuscripts for 1607 do not seem to reveal material that essentially adds to our knowledge of Jacobean England, they will be welcomed by students of the period. Parliament is in session, but there are few references to it. James is concerned with hunting but also with the serious financial difficulties of his government. He offers specific advice to the council on the problems created by monopolies and suits, urging the council "to stay this continual haemorrhage of outletting." He reveals his animosity toward the Dutch: "Should I ruin myself for maintaining them, should I bestow as much upon them yearly as cometh to the value of my whole yearly rent?" James also is concerned about cases in the law courts. When Salisbury instructs him in considerable detail about developments in Fuller's case, James thanks his minister for his "discreet handling the Judges in Fuller's matter."

The problem of the recusants occurs frequently in these letters. Worcestershire "still swarms with multitudes of dangerous papists, who though they go to church for form's sake, conceal in their houses priests and others of most dangerous dispositions." In Yorkshire there is a lonely valley where the papists "well-weaponed" defy the law and "upon a whoop or two given gathered together, resisted, pursued and reviled" the officials seeking them out. For Northumberland a detailed document is drawn up "for religion in the principal families, by whom the multitude may safely be led in matters of religion or other action."

Several entries concern Cambridge colleges. The master and fellows of Christ's College write James that Gabriel Moore of Trinity, the King's choice, is not theirs and ask that "they may be permitted to make a free election." To choose Moore "cannot but be a great discouragement to our own scholars who are painful and profitable students, when they see these preferments, which our honourable foundress provided for the poorest, to be carried away by the rich and such as can make best friends in Court to his Majesty."

The letters in this volume cover a wide range of topics. James Town is mentioned, a messenger from the Sultan arrives, and young men traveling abroad write home to Salisbury. The widening horizon for some Englishmen at this time, the old and new problems of the government, the life and thought of early Jacobean society come alive for the year 1607 in this volume whose editing has been expertly done.

*Rutgers University*

MARGARET A. JUDSON

THE ENGLISH MILITIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE STORY OF A POLITICAL ISSUE, 1660-1802. By *J. R. Western*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 479. \$11.50.)

RESEARCH on this work began as an attempt to write a supplementary volume to the monumental work of the Webbs on English local government. The approach was abandoned when it became obvious to the author that, unlike other phases treated by the Webbs, the militia never ceased to be an issue in national politics. Thus, despite the title, the preface makes clear that this is a study of English politics and local government and not a military history. Part One describes the making of the Restoration militia settlement and the strengths and weaknesses resulting from the way in which it was made. Part Two tells of the agitation for reform that stemmed from these strengths and weaknesses and how it eventually succeeded. Part Three deals with the workings of this new system after 1758.

This genuine piece of research is based on a considerable amount of unpublished source material. No bibliography is given, but the note describing sources and the voluminous footnotes indicate the enormous amount of work done by the author during the sixteen years devoted to the study. Parts One and Two, which deal largely with politics on the national level, are not easy reading. At times the details are almost overpowering. Fortunately the superb summaries at the ends of the chapters tie together this wealth of detail and leave the reader with a clear impression of the forces that determined the use made of the militia for internal police duties and defense against foreign invasion.

Part Three is largely an account of the new militia at work under the Act of 1758. Hence the treatment is more descriptive than narrative. Concerning the raising of men, it treats the questions of who bore the burden of the levy, who served in the militia, and what militiamen entered the army. A chapter is devoted to the administrative, economic, and political obstacles to real conscription. Other chapters deal with life in the militia, the pay, clothing, and equipment, the routine of life during service, and the question of militia efficiency. Perhaps because of the subject matter, Part Three seems to be written in a much more sprightly style than the earlier parts. The short concluding chapter is excellent.

This work is a distinct contribution to English history from 1660 to 1802 because it shows the part that the militia and standing army played in the clash between the executive and legislative branches of government. Scholars in other fields who are interested in social and military history will find Part Three and the conclusion worth reading.

*Western Reserve University*

DONALD GROVE BARNES

VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE: TORY HUMANIST. By *Jeffrey Hart*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 169. \$5.00.)

IN this study of Viscount Bolingbroke Mr. Hart attempts to place his hero firmly in the humanist tradition—the man of letters instructing the rulers of the day. He explains Bolingbroke's political and literary career in terms of a consistent en-



deavor to preserve traditional values during a period of "drastic social and intellectual change." A brief introduction and seven chapters describe the background provided by Erasmus and More, Ascham, Elyot, Sidney, Spenser, and Milton, place *The Idea of a Patriot King* and other treatises in this line of descent, and contrast the character of these admonitions with those provided by Machiavelli and Hobbes. Bolingbroke's statesmanship, insurrection, and exile are sympathetically explained, and his return to organization of the opposition to Walpole outlined. "The Rational Basis of Monarchy" developed by Bolingbroke is then examined, "The Heart of the Machiavellian Problem" uncovered, and the proper conduct for a "Just Prince" determined. Throughout, the combat and flux of the Machiavellian world image are contrasted with the moral purpose implicit in the decrees of a rational providence. An epilogue summarizes conclusions.

The technical apparatus is poor. The index does injustice to the text, lacking even one entry for Hobbes. The footnotes vary from too brief and vague a documentation to extended précis of more than a page. There is no bibliography. Hart has explored manuscript collections, and most readers would like to know more about their character and content.

The chief merit of the book is the original and stimulating discussion of Bolingbroke's humanism. This should lead to renewed interest in the work of a man greatly admired by Voltaire, Pope, and others of his contemporaries, but until quite recently rather neglected. I would have preferred more on the literary virtues and perhaps less on opposition, per se, to Walpole. The probing of Bolingbroke's admiration of, yet revulsion from, Machiavelli is in many ways illuminating. Not everyone will agree with the exposition of the Florentine's theory of "renewal," but in context it is still very much worth reading. The question may well be raised whether it is entirely just to make the distinction between opposition propagandist and ruling oligarchy, one of morals. Surely all oppositions exercise the privilege of criticizing the virtue of the government in power, and some, by so doing, have been responsible for much of our political theory.

Bryn Mawr College

CAROLINE ROBBINS

THE POLITICAL JOURNAL OF GEORGE BUBB DODINGTON. Edited by John Carswell and Lewis Arnold Dralle. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxv, 476. \$11.20.)

PUBLICATION of *The Diary of the Late George Bubb Dodington* in 1784 made its author a stock character in the drama of eighteenth-century English politics. He became the outstanding example of the small-minded, boroughmongering, place-hunting politician in the Age of Walpole and the Pelhams. The editor of the volume, a parliamentary reformer named H. P. Wyndham, achieved his goal of ridiculing Dodington as typical of those who governed England under a corrupt representative system.

Then, a little more than thirty-five years ago, Sir Lewis Namier started to teach us that reformers and Victorians failed to understand corruption. Corruption, we learned, was not corrupt; it was simply the way Englishmen did things in those days. At Namier's suggestion, Messrs. Carswell and Dralle have produced a new edition under a new title, *The Political Journal of George Bubb Doding-*

ton. Wyndham, it appears, took liberties with the text and omitted such enlightening political entries as "Thursday. The family only," and "Saturday. The same. We drove out." The new editors, using the Dodington materials at Harvard, have supplied these deficiencies and corrected the text. They have also inserted letters that add mites to our knowledge of Dodington's activities. Unless his missing papers come to light, this volume must be accepted as a definitive edition.

Carswell and Dralle have taken great care with the text, and the Clarendon Press has produced a handsome book. The editing of the text, however, is decidedly weak. The explanatory footnotes are casual, inadequate, and sometimes inaccurate. The index, "expanded to give summary particulars of identification" that have been omitted from the footnotes (so write the editors), is studded with such items as "Baillie, Mr., 224," and "Hillman, Miss, 9." These particulars are summary indeed. All the same, students of eighteenth-century English politics will welcome this new edition of the old villain's diary. Dodington re-emerges as the familiar Bubb—pedestrian, humane, uninhibited by principles, occasionally a bad better in the game of politics, yet appropriately successful in securing, at the end of his life, a peerage for which he had no heir.

*Yale University*

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

FRESHEST ADVICES: EARLY PROVINCIAL NEWSPAPERS IN ENGLAND. By *R. M. Wiles*. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 555. \$10.00.)

"To know a man who lived in former times, one must see his portrait and read his letters; to know a community as it was two centuries ago, one should read its local newspaper of that time." The advice is sound, the task formidable; the result is, in this instance, a happy excursion into the provincial life of early Hanoverian England. Rightly believing that newspapers "comprise a record, not only of what people used to read, but of what they did and of what they were," R. M. Wiles demonstrates that "the 150 newspapers published in sixty English towns before George III came to the throne throw a revealing, if never dazzling, light on many aspects of social life during a particularly absorbing period in England's history."

The papers themselves provide a fascinating source for the scholar who would know the problems of starting and maintaining a sometimes successful business, the lines of communication, trade, and transportation along which the papers moved, the nature of local enterprise as suggested by advertisements and commercial news, and the tenuous profits eked out by men and women who were anything but "lords of the press." Those hardy folk were indeed optimists in need of fortitude and luck to survive the burdens of legal restraint, tax expenses, news shortages, defaulting advertisers, and long-winded contributors. They deserve the sympathetic treatment Wiles has given them.

For the rest, the reader will delight in a choice selection of "freshest advices" of the sort that tickled the fancy of both country squire and tavern loiterer: news of foreign wars and occasional parliamentary debates (the risk was real); editorial comments that suggest that not all publishers were pious Methodists or Quakers; literary features ranging from the redundant to the ridiculous; and those "dis-

closures" of strange births, false maids, murderous assaults, and natural phenomena that still carry readers from one advertisement to the next.

A chronological chart and a bibliographical register of provincial newspapers add special value to Wiles's monograph. His painstaking location of the rare extant copies of these papers will be a boon to future scholars.

The eighteenth-century English newspaper has long awaited the attention of modern historians. It is remarkable that the provincial press should have found two highly competent chroniclers in the last four years, and it is a pleasure to note that their careful, extensive research has produced two complementary but quite dissimilar books. G. A. Cranfield's *The Development of the Provincial Newspaper 1700-1760* was a brilliant synthesis; Wiles's *Freshest Advices* is like a breath of air straight from the English countryside.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

THE POLITICS OF NAVAL SUPREMACY: STUDIES IN BRITISH MARITIME ASCENDANCY. By *Gerald S. Graham*. [The Wiles Lectures Given at Queen's University, Belfast, 1964.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 131. \$6.00.)

THE title of Professor Graham's lively and interesting book is perhaps a bit misleading. This is more a study of naval geography than of naval politics. It gives us a chapter on the Atlantic Ocean, largely limited to the eighteenth century, another on the Indian Ocean ("From the Cape to Canton"), concerned in good part with the nineteenth century, and a third, "The Mediterranean Corridor: Gibraltar to Bombay," an illuminating discussion of threats to the route to India, mainly in the Victorian Age. A final paper, "The Illusion of Pax Britannica," arrives at the not very surprising conclusion that that age was characterized not by "the forceful imposition of a *Pax Britannica*" (who ever said it was?), but by "the international acceptance of a British monopoly of the seas." But the author's initial proposition, "To appreciate the full influence of sea power on the development of the British empire naval history has to be studied from Cabinet offices in Whitehall as well as from the quarterdeck," arouses hopes that he hardly satisfies. The monographs he cites as sources seldom give an adequate account of ministerial policy, which indeed is often singularly difficult to isolate and document. It looks as though Graham himself, or his students, will have to dig deeply into the manuscripts before we have a real analysis of the politics of naval supremacy.

In his remarks on the modern situation, the author writes off Mahan as obsolete. "With the coming of the aeroplane, an empire based on control of the sea was no longer possible. Battleships and cruisers were not sufficient of themselves to maintain maritime communications." But whatever the Royal Navy thought in the beginning, all military thinking for many years has been in terms of the judicious combination of naval and air strength. For *sea power* read *maritime power*, and perhaps Mahan is not quite so out of date. What is it that enables the United States to intervene in Viet Nam? Incidentally, Moscow was not the capital of Russia in the nineteenth century.

Canadian Forces Headquarters, Ottawa

C. P. STACEY

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE DON NAVIGATION. By T. S. Willan.  
(Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 165. 35s.)

THIS selection from the papers of Joseph Mellish of Doncaster, now in the manuscripts department at Nottingham University, provides a vivid picture of the struggles over the improvement of inland navigation in England before the classic age of canal building. Mellish was the leader of a group of landowners who were apprehensive that improvement of the navigation of the Don River by canals and dams, rather than the more expensive cuts, would flood their lands and perhaps jeopardize the existing mills and communications in their neighborhoods. Their correspondence, published in this volume, covering the period from October 3, 1722, to February 23, 1723, illustrates their organization of a successful resistance to a bill to improve the Don from the Yorkshire Ouse to Sheffield, put forward by the Company of Cutlers of Hallamshire in alliance with the Corporation of Doncaster.

The landowners were not opposed to industry and the interests of the towns, but to the interference with the rights of private property and compulsory purchase which all important river improvements involved, and especially to the flooding of their lands. The arguments put forward in this selection, as well as the discussion of the politics and financing of the improving company set out in Professor Willan's excellent introduction, go far to explain why large-scale inland navigation developed only after 1760, in spite of the fact that the technical problems could have been solved much earlier. Willan's introduction, indeed, is so thorough as to make the printing of some of the items redundant, save for their antiquarian interest. But as a whole the work is a most useful contribution to the prehistory of industrialism.

*University of British Columbia*

JOHN NORRIS

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE REVEREND JOSEPH GREENE, PARSON, SCHOOLMASTER AND ANTIQUARY (1712-1790). Edited by *Levi Fox*. [Historical Manuscripts Commission, JP 8.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1965. Pp. v, 200. \$8.00 postpaid.)

LEVI Fox's edition of the letters of Joseph Greene to his brother Richard, a notable antiquary of Litchfield, and to his patron, James West of Alscot, introduces us to an entertaining companion, but does not particularly increase our knowledge of eighteenth-century England. The parts of Greene's life we should most like to know about—details of his mastership of the Stratford on Avon grammar school for thirty-seven years and his performance of pastoral duties in the several parishes he held—are scarcely mentioned in the letters, although what there is about them is typical enough. A tedious dispute with a writing master who had pre-empted a small schoolroom and a rather more full series of reports to West about the education of his infant son do provide a few useful details about pregrammar school education in the provinces. References to clerical activities mostly concern the standard search for preferment (in Greene's case, eventually successful), although there is some indication of a conscientious performance of duties and an adequate piety by eighteenth-century standards. Greene's antiquarian interests are

more fully represented in the fifty-four letters to his brother. Many of the subjects are trivial enough—unimportant books and bad prints—but there is some material of importance for those interested in the eighteenth-century Shakespearean revival. Greene was directly concerned in the restoration of Shakespeare's monument in 1746 and left many notes and memorandums about it (printed in an appendix), as well as descriptions in his letters to his brother. There is also something about Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee. But, in general, none of the matters in these letters are of great importance for scholarship.

The real merit of the edition is in revealing a pleasing and spirited character and personality. Greene as an individual is well worth knowing about, even though quotations from his letters seem unlikely to become commonplaces in social or cultural history.

*University of Delaware*

ROBERT A. SMITH

THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTH LINCOLNSHIRE. By *David Grigg*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xiii, 218. \$10.00.)

IN the continuing reassessment of the agricultural revolution the study of particular counties or regions is of great assistance. Dr. Grigg's work, dealing with an area of striking internal regional contrasts, offers special opportunities for comparisons. In a century south Lincolnshire changed from a land of much fen and wild heath (mainly less than two hundred feet above sea level) to one of the most productive and technologically advanced parts of England.

Grigg has made a conscientious effort, hampered somewhat by shortage of material, to present and establish a number of fairly definite and up-to-date ideas and to fit them into the general pattern of agricultural revolution. To summarize briefly: On the whole, the half century before 1815 did not witness any great productivity increase as a result of new methods of cultivation. Parliamentary enclosure and the main stage of the drainage of the fens, sources in themselves of greatly increased output, were the tasks of that period. Parliamentary enclosure, important as it was, did not result in any marked change in the size of landholdings, either as to occupancy or ownership, nor in a surplus agricultural population. The chief technological progress came in the period after 1815 when the methods of high farming became fairly common. Grigg very properly discriminates between innovations made by the few progressive farmers and their general adoption. Except for the introduction of steam engines into the drainage system, new machinery played no important part directly in the agricultural revolution. The landlords did not make any significant contribution to technological advance, either by precept or by example. And finally the small holder (Grigg thinks) remained "important" or even "dominant" over most of the region.

On this last point, unfortunately, it becomes apparent that the author has pressed his data too hard into his own concepts. He tells us that "the small farm was still the dominant production unit at the beginning of the nineteenth century" and that this remained still the case in 1851. A careful examination of his text and his Tables 10, 11, and 24 shows that he has confused the percentage of the number of holdings of various sizes with the percentage of the area that they comprised, and the social significance of small holders with their economic sig-

nificance. Aside from this misadventure in logic the book has considerable merit.

*Thetford Center, Vermont*

CHESTER H. KIRBY

LORD DARTMOUTH AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By B. D. Bargar. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 219. \$6.50.)

THIS study focuses on the public career of William Legge, second earl of Dartmouth, while First Lord of Trade (1765-1766), Secretary of State for the American Department (1772-1775), and Lord Privy Seal during the American Revolution. It is based on a close study of the private papers of the Earl at the William Salt Library, Stafford, a less than satisfactory survey of the relevant files in the Public Record Office, printed sources, and several key secondary works. The dust jacket claims that it is "a different interpretation" of the events preceding the Revolution. I could find little to substantiate the claim. Indeed, the treatment of the events leading to the break with Britain closely follows those in the familiar monographs cited. Bargar's conclusions as to the causes of the Revolution, moreover, are those of Andrews, Gipson, and Osgood. Neither the tyranny of George III nor the materialistic aspirations of the Americans were responsible. Rather, the colonists and the mother country had developed to the point where they no longer agreed on the imperial constitution. Eighteenth-century British politicians, no matter what their party or faction, could not foresee the emergence of the Dominions of a later era. Even Dartmouth, more moderate than his fellow ministers during the critical, indirect negotiations in the winter of 1774-1775 with Franklin, failed to see that the Empire could indeed endure without parliamentary supremacy. The account of these negotiations constitutes, perhaps, the only significantly original section of this book. Dartmouth and the other ministers saw the issue "in simple black-and-white contrasts: either a colony acknowledged Parliament's right to make laws for all Englishmen or else it became an independent state." Given this mentality, it was impossible for them to settle the fundamental issue: how to reconcile "imperial control with colonial home rule." Consequently they had to resort to force. A closer and more extensive examination of the sources might have revealed to Bargar other alternatives.

Bargar fails to investigate the position of the Continental Congress and does not appreciate the advice it received from Franklin and Lee in London who misrepresented the British position. The Americans were operating under the misconception that economic coercion would force the British to retreat. Nor does Bargar investigate political controversies in the colonies, which were closely related to the challenge to the mother country and jeopardized any hope of accommodation. In this study of history as pure, disembodied constitutional doctrine there is no room for the ambitions, the mistakes, the passions, and the miscalculations of mortal men.

*University of Nebraska*

JACK M. SOSIN

THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Volume XI, THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: THE RUMBLING OF THE

COMING STORM, 1766-1770; Volume XII, THE TRIUMPHANT EMPIRE: BRITAIN SAILS INTO THE STORM, 1770-1776. By *Lawrence Henry Gipson*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. lxxxix, 579, xxxv; lvii, 372, xxx. \$10.00 each.)

WHEN Professor Gipson published the first installments of this series thirty years ago, he expected to complete it in ten volumes. Not surprisingly, in view of its broad scope and detailed treatment, that expectation has not been fulfilled. The tenth volume carried the narrative only part way through the year 1766; the present two complete the account, so far as Great Britain and the rebellious colonies are concerned, to the terminal event originally planned, the Declaration of Independence. Left for a thirteenth volume, now in preparation, are a discussion of those areas of the old Empire which remained "beyond the Storm," a summary chapter on the whole series, a treatise on historiography, and a bibliography.

The major theme of these two volumes is that of the relations between the British government and the colonies: parliamentary legislation and attempts at tighter administrative control on the one side, colonial resistance on the other, and the interaction of attitudes and events on both sides of the Atlantic. Three minor themes also receive attention: intercolonial rivalries, illustrated chiefly by the boundary disputes of New York and Pennsylvania with their respective neighbors; intracolony sectional conflicts as exemplified in the Carolinas; and the problems of the frontier, including Indian policy, land speculation, and westward migration. In regard to all these matters Gipson has given us the sort of detailed examination, based upon extensive use of documents and familiarity with leading monographic studies, with which we have already become familiar in this series.

Readers of the earlier volumes will expect to find here a solid narrative of events, and they will not be disappointed. It may be said with confidence that in the work of no other twentieth-century historian can so full and detailed a general treatment of the entire subject be found. Indeed, it seems probable that one of the major ways in which future students will use this series, and notably these two volumes, will be as a reference work in which they can find the factual information they need. Those already familiar with the series, however, will not expect to find, nor will they do so, that these volumes are easy reading. Sentences, for example, are often long, loosely constructed, and crowded with too much detail for quick digestion. One could wish that the author had given as much careful attention to stylistic matters in his presentation as he has to historical substance.

In general interpretation these latest volumes offer what has become a generally conventional view. By the 1760's and 1770's, the author tells us repeatedly, the colonies had become mature political entities, led by men who insisted on managing their own affairs and who resisted any attempt from outside to curb their freedom of action or to interfere with local interests. The British ministry and Parliament, as then constituted, on the other hand, were unwilling, and probably unable, to recognize and accept this "maturity" and hence blundered on from mistake to disastrous mistake until the final crisis. It is in the detailed presentation of the chain of events, set in the context of this broad interpretation, that these volumes make their chief contribution. They depict the climactic years of a major epoch in Anglo-American history as written by one of our senior his-

torians, a man who has dedicated a lifetime to a study of this period. Some readers will prefer a different or more complex interpretation, but all must agree that it will be a long time before another equally devoted scholar will have the courage to undertake, and the tenacity to carry to his planned terminal date, so comprehensive a treatment of these years.

*Yale University*

LEONARD W. LABAREE

✓ THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. Volume V, JULY 1782–JUNE 1789. Edited by *Holden Furber*. With the assistance of *P. J. Marshall*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xxx, 496. \$12.00.)

THIS long-awaited Indian volume of Burke's *Correspondence* contains 338 letters to and from Burke and members of his immediate family, of which 192 have not been previously published. Admitting the difficulty of classifying a letter according to contents when it treats more than one subject, an attempt to classify the letters in this volume by determining the emphasis of each shows that, of the total, about 90 are concerned primarily or entirely with Indian affairs or the impeachment of Hastings, an equal number with what might be called politics, parliamentary or otherwise, 7 or 8 with Ireland, and almost 150 with private and personal as contrasted with public affairs. This volume, letters and notes, is rich in biographical detail but less fruitful of information that would yield new evaluations of Burke as a public man. There is almost nothing new about Ireland; there is not a word in the correspondence about the Irish trade bills of 1785. The editors decided that Burke did not write the letter of May 13, 1785, to Sir John Tydd. Concerning domestic politics, only three "reflective" letters on the state of the nation are identified by the editors. During the stirring six months from October 1783 to the end of March 1784, Burke, it seems, wrote or received no letters of importance about the India bills, the fall of the Fox-North coalition, or the early weeks of Pitt's administration. If this volume makes clear that Indian business and the impeachment, taken as one, was the overriding single public issue in Burke's mind in this period, and if the letters tell much about procedures and tactics relating to it, they yield little that is substantive except to strengthen the judgment (I agree with the editors) that in the Indian business Burke was sincere even when wrong.

With all the new information that this volume supplies, the basic sources for evaluating Burke's thought and his career as a public man in the period 1782–1789 still remain the printed ones that have long been available: his speeches, the parliamentary debates, or the *Reports of the Select Committee on India*, for example. As in the preceding volumes of this grand enterprise, the footnotes are exceptionally informative, the editing, superb.

*University of Kentucky*

CARL B. CONE

THE UNDERGROUND WAR AGAINST REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE: THE MISSIONS OF WILLIAM WICKHAM 1794–1800. By *Harvey Mitchell*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 286. \$5.60.)

THIS book is about British agent William Wickham, who went to Switzerland in 1794 to encourage various French *émigré* groups there and continued these efforts



for many years, spending considerable sums—for example, £ 94,028.10.2 in 1795. To tell Wickham's story the author must introduce those with whom his subject dealt, and so we enter the counterrevolutionary labyrinth, but we do not remain on the low level of clandestine ingenuity. Wickham's activities record the phases of British policy and are a kind of mirror of the French counterrevolution, an important subject if only because it reflects the vital issues of the Revolution. The author hopes to demonstrate that British efforts were "an integral part of the counter-revolutionary movement," and although he disavows pretensions "to throw a powerful searchlight on the broader problems of the counter-revolution," he also hopes to discover why the British failed. These objectives lead to key problems of interpretation.

Among the crisscrossing relationships of 1797—the Directory, the legislature, Louis XVIII, the *émigrés*, the Austrians, the British, and General Bonaparte—much was at stake, but there is particular interest in the dilemma of the moderate Royalists. The elections of 1797 guaranteed their future, on paper, but in fact they were trapped between two kinds of illegal violence: the Fructidor *coup* against the legislature, predictable in the near future; and the only apparent means of contesting it, a *coup* against the Directory in the name of Louis XVIII. The Royalists remained divided and irresolute, Fructidor arrived, and the Directory was free to go on experimenting with its own version of counterrevolution backed by the military.

Mr. Mitchell's central theme of British policy and its execution is soundly developed with the aid of Wickham's correspondence and various archival and secondary sources needed to give it perspective. These materials, however, are less suited to the assessment of the failure of British policy. The difficulty lies in explaining the passivity of so many Royalists in the face of Fructidor. Mitchell's view is that British aid compromised the movement at its crisis point and, further, that the majority of Royalists within France could not tolerate the prospect of success for Louis XVIII and his entourage, whose *émigré* mentality was hopelessly out of touch with French realities. He is probably correct, and one might add that the intellectual history of the emigration could be used to strengthen his thesis, but where French responses to British policy are concerned his conclusions overreach his sources. The main parts of his book, however, will henceforth be indispensable.

Swarthmore College

PAUL H. BEIK

THE GREAT MUTINY. By James Dugan. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1965. Pp. 511. \$6.95.)

If history is written by men who have a reverence for accuracy and an understanding of the epoch they write about, then this book is not history. The author repeatedly sacrifices accuracy to literary color, and he unites exaggeration with dismaying ignorance. Thus he can explain a marked feature of French naval tactics as follows: "The frugal French went to the limit of delicacy—they aimed their cannons to bring down British top hamper, not to smash up stout hulls which would be costly to repair. The British, more of a berserker folk, aimed only for the hulls. . . ." It would be pointless to itemize the ways in which the author

misunderstands the condition of eighteenth-century Britain and its navy because no scholar will turn to this book for guidance on particular matters.

Can such a book contribute to historical knowledge? It can. The important question about the mutiny of 1797 concerns its cause. Was it a strike for higher pay and better conditions or was it born of the spirit of political radicalism? In 1913 Conrad Gill acknowledged that there had been a gradual decline in the seaman's real wage, but concluded that there had to be a triggering event and could see no other than radicalism. But his suggestion that the mutiny's leaders were landsmen infected by radicalism rested on scanty evidence. In 1935 G. E. Manwaring and B. Dobree pointed out that there was an important reason for sudden discontent among the seamen, namely that pay had recently been increased for other groups in the armed forces, but they hedged on their conclusions and entitled their book *The Floating Republic*. This book provoked two articles by D. Bonner Smith (*Mariner's Mirror*, XXI-XXII [1935-36]), articles that have apparently disappeared from sight. Bonner Smith argued that the mutiny was just a strike for higher pay and demonstrated how thoroughly the matter of pay preoccupied the seamen at the outset, but he did not deal directly with the question of political motivation.

It is here that Dugan's book makes a contribution. The mutiny's leaders are the main objects of his research. He has wisely chosen not to put words in their mouths, but to find out what they said. Although some of its sources are unreliable, the book provides a rich narrative of the mutiny and puts us close to the situation and thoughts of the mutineers. The impression we gain is that this was not a mutiny led by hotheaded landsmen, but by the regular leaders of the lower deck such as the captains of the tops. Dugan relegates formal discussion of this question to an appendix and even there ventures no conclusion. But his conclusion may be found in his narrative. This book, in spite of its opening chapters on "The Bastille" and "The Rights of Man," makes it harder than ever to believe that the new radicalism had much to do with the mutiny of 1797.

Princeton University

DANIEL A. BAUGH

GEORGE CANNING: THREE BIOGRAPHICAL STUDIES. By P. J. V. Rolo. (London: Macmillan and Company; distrib. by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1965. Pp. ix, 276. \$7.50.)

Rolo's *George Canning* is not a definitive, nor even a consecutive, biography, but rather three "biographical studies" of Canning as a man, a politician, and a statesman; it is a form of organization that presents inevitable difficulties, though these are almost fully surmounted by the author's considerable narrative skill. Canning was a man of contradictions: denounced for his low birth as the son of an actress, he was yet a product of Eton and Christ Church and owed his first cabinet post to a marriage connection with a duke; lauded by "advanced" opinion, and regarded by the Radicals as one of their own, he came to his brief premiership in 1827 largely as the King's servant, on a program of opposition to parliamentary reform. Both Disraeli and Gladstone were to claim him as mentor.

Canning's biographer offers us a living being, a difficult enough task; he does not, however, provide a convincing interpretation of Canning's place in English

history, which might have linked man, politician, and statesman. Moreover, Rolo's conclusion that Canning earned the epithet "great" for his activities as Foreign Minister from 1822 to 1827 is undermined by a number of earlier implied judgments, which Rolo was too honest a historian to have omitted. Canning might indeed have had his moment of greatness had his intrigues, between 1809 and 1812, to secure supreme direction of the war against Napoleon been successful. Rolo writes of Canning as a "potential" Chatham or Churchill and convinces us that a man of Canning's industry, energy, and style might indeed have filled the void of statesmanship in the wars against Napoleon. What Rolo's fascinating narrative of Canning as politician also reveals is a narrow egotism and deviousness, reminiscent more of Lloyd George than the other war leaders, which caused Canning to defeat himself again and again, wasting all his opportunities.

Rolo does not fully appreciate that, on matters of policy, Canning's strengths and weaknesses both derived from his entrance into politics as a disciple of Pitt the Younger. From Pitt came his devotion to Catholic emancipation and his sympathy with the new economics. From Pitt also—the Pitt of the 1790's obsessed by a dread of Jacobinism—came that fear of sedition which led him to approve of Peterloo and to oppose parliamentary reform. In external policy as well, Pitt's spirit and example cannot be neglected. While most fairly noting that Canning's European policy was, in essence, little different from that of his predecessor Castlereagh, so hated by the Radicals, and also a Pittite, Rolo does not see Canning's Latin American and European policies as belonging to a century of decisions, based largely upon concern for England's maritime and commercial interests.

Canning succeeded, employing his customary devious tactics, by managing the monarch and thus frustrating the opposition of the ultras, in continuing the "liberal" foreign policy of a number of his predecessors; his particular triumph was to convince contemporary British opinion that his program constituted a *reversal* of past policy. This, however, seems an insufficient basis for the conclusion that he deserves the mantle of greatness.

*State University of New York, Stony Brook*

BERNARD SEMMEL

JOHN OWENS: MANCHESTER MERCHANT. By *B. W. Clapp*. ([Manchester:] Manchester University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 193. 37s.6d.)

JOHN OWENS, the founder of Owens College, which later became the University of Manchester, was head of the business firm of Owen Owens and Son. This book is primarily a history of the firm. Owen Owens, founder of the firm and father of John, was born in 1764 at Holywell in Flintshire. Early in his career Owen moved to Manchester, which was then becoming the center of the cotton trade. John, the only child to survive infancy, was born at Manchester in 1790. By the time John completed his elementary education his father had established a successful manufacturing business. John entered his father's business at the age of eighteen and became a partner at twenty-five. A few years later he assumed the responsibility of managing the firm and remained its head for eighteen years.

The firm passed through the several stages that characterized business enterprises in Manchester during the early decades of the Industrial Revolution. Its

operations passed from manufacturing to foreign trade and finally to financial speculation. It took the firm twenty years to become well established as a cotton manufacturer and twenty more years to acquire respectability in overseas commerce. Its durability was remarkable in a period of uncontrolled competition and of wide fluctuations in the trade cycles. It suffered losses during the panic of 1826 and the depression of 1837. The continued fall of commodity prices during the depression compelled the firm to withdraw from overseas trade and to reinvest its funds in railway shares. When Owens died in 1846 his firm had accumulated £160,000; his father's capital had been £5,000 forty years before. The combined talents of father and son had made the father a substantial merchant and the son a rich one.

In spite of Professor Clapp's efforts, the life of Owens remains hidden in the heavy ledgers that record his many business transactions. Rarely do we glimpse the real man. Like other businessmen of his age, he was frugal, honest, and diligent. Seldom did he cut short his working hours or take time off for a holiday. In politics he was both Whig and Radical, a member of the Manchester Reform Association and the Anti-Corn-Law League. He was a Dissenter in religion and a regular contributor to the local Lancastrian school. His modest contributions to charity, however, were no inkling of the generous bequest of £100,000 with which he endowed Owens College. Many students who have studied there will be grateful to Clapp for disclosing more about the founder of their college and the business conditions in which he prospered.

*Lehigh University*

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

AMERICAN DEMOCRACY IN ENGLISH POLITICS, 1815-1850. By *David Paul Crook*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 237. \$5.60.)

DURING the period of this study English readers were offered much politically oriented description and comment concerning the United States; Mr. Crook's work is primarily a study of this material. It examines thought and opinion, not politics in action. Taking some clues from the political scientists, the author has explored the variant views of America expressed among the several political groups and has shown with what consistency these presentations reflected the hopes and fears of the writers and, presumably, of their readers. Since he recognizes that the Radical admirers of the republic have already had their due, perhaps more than their due, from other scholars, Crook devotes much of his attention to three sets of commentators: Benthamites, Whigs, and Tories. The earlier Benthamites—distinguished not always successfully from "Radicals and Ultra-Radicals"—seem to him arid and doctrinaire in their use of America to promote their millennium. In the same period (before 1832) Tories opposing innovation in Britain adopted easily the narrow and splenetic tone of leading writers in the *Quarterly Review*. After 1832, however, the Benthamites, their main goal attained, became more critical of America, and the Tories more circumstantial and judicious in their steady opposition to democracy. But Crook's most original contribution is the attempt to demonstrate that there was a distinctively Whig approach to America. Using mainly the writers in the *Edinburgh Review*, he shows middle-of-the-way Whig attitudes as genuinely different both from Radical

approbation and Tory rejection. The Whig picture was more balanced, more pragmatic, more adjustable to changing topics of concern. Finally the author deals with the influence of Tocqueville on British thought, ascertaining once again that, in interpreting his great work, men with differing assumptions and prepossessions largely found what they wished.

Crook has tried to give his readers a sense of the importance of subjective stereotypes and of the complexity and ambivalence of English opinion about America. But this very task involved him in blurred lines and questionable classifications that make for difficult and even confusing reading. For example, were all contributions to the *Edinburgh Review* typically Whiggish? Is Nassau Senior a good sample of Whig thinking? Why do Richard Cobden and George Combe appear conspicuously in the chapter on Whiggery? In spite of such questions and in spite of some rather cumbrous verbosity in the early parts of the book, its careful use of its chosen materials is valuable in giving a new and more realistic perspective to the old question of the "influence" of the United States on Britain. And we may be grateful for the detailed tables of relevant articles in the reviews with their painstaking ascriptions of authorship.

Clark University

H. DONALDSON JORDAN

KNOX: THE ANATOMIST. By *Isobel Rae*. (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas. 1965. Pp. v, 164. \$6.50.)

ISOBEL Rae's biography of the nineteenth-century Scottish anatomist Robert Knox is a contribution to the history of medicine and science and, to a certain extent, also to the intellectual history of early Victorian England.

Seasoned by practical medical experience and broadened by contact with foreign countries, Knox began his successful career as doctor of anatomy, a career that lasted only from 1825 to 1829. His hopes to discover the origin of life and to detect the laws of organic life through a thorough study of anatomy were rudely shattered when Edinburgh police discovered the body of an old woman in his School of Anatomy in 1828. The woman had been murdered by two depraved slum dwellers in Edinburgh, and the corpse delivered for a good price to the unsuspecting Knox. This ended the anatomical career of Knox who had attracted hundreds of pupils and who had shown promise of becoming one of the great anatomists of Scotland.

The pathos of Knox's life lends itself superbly to a dramatization of several themes: the undeserved suffering of the innocent and upright Knox, the scholar, Nonconformist, and victim of the envy and hatred of his medical colleagues; the hopeless task he faced in trying to overcome the Philistine prejudice and hypocrisy of the good citizens of Edinburgh who condemned the science of anatomy because it contributed to the despicable trade of the body snatchers; the exposition of the lowly state of medicine in Scotland prior to the Act of 1858 which introduced provisions for the better regulation of the discipline at the universities of Scotland.

Rae aimed at a reassessment and a re-evaluation of the facts that led to Knox's tragic life. In spite of the variety of nineteenth- and twentieth-century writings on Knox, Rae undertook her task of presenting the tragic hero to the contemporary

world. This book, while not less sympathetic with its hero than previous biographies, is more restrained in its praise of Knox, carefully evaluating his weaknesses as a human being. Yet, with the wealth of sources at her disposal, the author has missed the opportunity to integrate her portrait of Knox into the broader framework of early Victorian life. Even without these broader perspectives, however, Rae's book is a solid account of the frustrations and disappointments that a medical innovator was bound to endure in Scotland in the early nineteenth century.

University of Hartford

ANN BECK

INTELLECTUALS IN POLITICS: JOHN STUART MILL AND THE PHILOSOPHIC RADICALS. By *Joseph Hamburger*. [Yale Studies in Political Science, Number 14.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 308. \$7.50.)

IN his earlier volume, *James Mill and the Art of Revolution*, Professor Hamburger described the role of the Philosophic Radicals in the passage of the Reform Act of 1832. His main thesis, persuasively argued and documented, was that their threat of violence and revolution was a calculated bluff, a threat they neither intended nor desired to carry out, and that their strategy succeeded not because everyone was taken in by the bluff, but because some politicians, recognizing it as such, chose to submit to it for tactical reasons of their own.

The present volume, in contrast to the first, is a study in the failure of strategy. In the decade following the Reform Act the cast of characters was largely the same, except that John Stuart Mill was now in the starring role; the drama revolved about the attempt of the Radicals to create an independent party in Parliament. The fatal flaw, the cause of the tragedy (the earlier volume had moments of high comedy in the intricacies of dissimulation and machination), was ideology—a doctrinairism that pervaded not only the ends of political activity, the doctrine or program of the party, but the means as well, the party organization itself. The familiar ideological identification of party and program was expressed in Mill's assertion that since only the Radicals had a grasp "both of absolute truth and of adaptation to the particular wants of the time," they alone were "the visible instruments and the only apparent agents" of genuine reform.

Hamburger has described this situation with a precision and clarity that historians and political scientists may well envy. In his absorption in the present subject, however, he has unfortunately neglected to relate it to the earlier one—to explain, that is, why the Radical strategy succeeded in the first case and not in the second. Was it that the ideology had become so much more rigid and petrified under the aegis of John Stuart Mill than of James Mill? James Mill, to be sure, as Hamburger has so well shown, had a highly developed sense of the distinction between the private and the public, between what was true and what was expedient, and had no scruples about acting on that distinction, whereas his son was notably thin skinned, strait laced, and high minded. Yet the son was also, and particularly at this time, far less ideology-ridden than the father, far less committed either to the doctrine or to the party of the Philosophic Radicals.

There is another open question. In his admirable reconstruction of the ideological politics of the Radicals, Hamburger may have unwittingly belittled the

ideological nature of their philosophy. There is no substantive analysis of their theory of government or principle of utility, no sustained analysis of the relationship between the philosophy and the radicalism in Philosophic Radicalism. It may be his preoccupation with the two Mills to the exclusion of Bentham that accounts for such curious understatements as that Philosophic Radicalism was "based on James Mill's political ideas and these owed a great deal to Jeremy Bentham," or that John Stuart Mill "did not deny all influence to Bentham." A closer examination of the philosophy developed by Bentham, adopted by James Mill, and adapted by John Stuart Mill might have shown it to be considerably more influential, more comprehensive, and less benign than is assumed here. Such a philosophical examination might also have suggested an emendation in the title of this work. The theme is not so much "Intellectuals in Politics" as "Ideologues in Politics."

Brooklyn College

GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

VICTORIAN OXFORD. By *W. R. Ward*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1965. Pp. xv, 431. \$13.50.)

THE history of the University of Oxford in the nineteenth century is a confused and forbidding one, involving a gradual and complete reform of the university from its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century character. It was an incredibly somnolent and hidebound institution with a limited classical curriculum and indolent and often ignorant tutors, with its professorships lapsed and a dearth of students (only one-half of the number that attended in 1612), with a fanatical determination to preserve the traditional connection with the Anglican ascendancy, with its rich endowments lavished upon a handful of badly chosen fellows (often absentee), and, overall, the ill-balanced pre-eminence of the colleges with their out-moded statutes all but overshadowing entirely the university proper.

The story of Oxford's reform is a long-drawn-out and wearisome one, full of frustrations, resistance, obstructions, complications, and false starts, which does not make for easy reading. To tell this story required an enormous expenditure of effort in research—through university archives, private letters, periodicals, and parliamentary records covering the part played by innumerable men and factions—and an even greater exercise of intellectual energy in grasping the problems, people, arguments, and cross relationships involved. It is a real triumph of research. Indeed, Mr. Ward has covered this material with such meticulousness that it seems the task will never have to be done again, and it is hard to imagine a later scholar having the courage to rival the achievement, as Ward has superseded Charles Malet's earlier account in the latter's *History of the University of Oxford*, Volume III.

Such a book could not be expected to be readable or interesting in the usual sense, but it might have been made more useful for ready research if some of the information had been made available in a series of appendixes covering the gradual steps to reform in various fields such as examinations, election to fellowships, removal of religious tests, revision of curriculum, development of university commissions, reorganization of the relationship of colleges and university and their governing bodies, instead of relying on the index. (Incidentally, a number of items

such as fellowships, university commissions, or curriculum do not appear at all in the index.) A recapitulatory paragraph from time to time would also serve to keep the reader from being smothered in detail.

*Madeira School*

MILLCENT BARTON REX

GOVERNMENT AND THE RAILWAYS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN. By *Henry Parris*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 243. \$5.75.)

Dr. Parris traces the growth of government regulation of British railways from 1840 to 1868. In a final chapter he sums up developments during the period 1868-1914.

Government regulation of railways in Great Britain began with the establishment of the Board of Trade Railway Department in 1840. Obviously railways tended, by their very nature, to be monopolistic, and competition could not be relied upon as the motive force or "invisible hand" to function for the general welfare. Hence, as Peel assured the House of Commons, although "no one was more adverse to any general interference with the employment of capital than he was," the bill was necessary to protect the public.

The Act of 1840 was "part of a general trend towards the intervention of governments in more and more branches of natural life." When this trend was interrupted during a comparative twenty-year lull from 1846 to 1867, railway regulatory legislation was not excepted, despite the decrease in ideological resistance to such legislation. The author attributes the inactivity during this period to the Conservative split following the repeal of the corn laws and the "reversion to a situation more closely resembling the eighteenth century, in which the House of Commons had been dominated by groups rather than parties." The opposition of any determined group was able to hold up legislation.

The railways found, however, that while there was no significant increase in legal power to regulate them, there was a growth of administrative power, and the Railway Department learned to exercise this power "more and more effectively." Despite the patronage system, the permanent officials were "models of ability, industry, and integrity," and the railways found it "normally cheaper" to adopt their "suggestions."

Although the author paints a happy picture, with proverbial British common sense and good sportsmanship prevailing in the relations between the regulatory agency and the railways, the public and the railway employees had to wait until a later date to receive much benefit. The railroads were largely able to weigh the "cost of acquiescence" against "the cost of resistance." With the financial balance sheet of the railways as the chief determinant, the interests of manufacturers, farmers, traders, railway employees, and the general public were considered last, if at all. Parris states that when their rates were restricted by law the railways "naturally" tried to keep their costs, "notably their labor costs," down. He admits, however, that the railways always displayed a "traditional reluctance" to increase wages, improve conditions, or recognize organized labor. Even before the beginning of rate regulation, "overwork" was "widespread and systematic." When



maximum rates were fixed by law, the railways immediately increased their tariffs to the maximum.

Developments are traced carefully, but it is difficult to agree with Parris when he sees the "fundamental pattern" as "one of emerging partnership between government and railways." What is clearer is a picture of government striving, rather belatedly, to restrain the industry's "natural" and understandable quest for maximum profits regardless of social costs.

*Brooklyn College*

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON. By *Jo Manton*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1965. Pp. 382. \$5.95.)

THAT the size of the theater has nothing to do with the significance of the play applies no less to history than to drama. A village Hampden may reveal as much about the central issues of the day as a parliamentary one, but the historian must make sure that he is studying a village Hampden, not Aunt Sallie's cousin whose fame is wholly apocryphal. This account of England's first woman doctor illumines much more than the central theme, important though that is. Indeed, it could scarcely avoid doing so. Elizabeth Anderson (1836-1917) was so many firsts: the first woman M.D. in France, the first woman to be elected to a school board, the founder of the first hospital staffed by women, the first woman dean of a medical school, and Britain's first woman mayor. Withal she was wife and mother. How could she do so much so well? The answer is plain. She had character as well as ability; that is to say, she had judgment, devotion, courage, taste, and that useful commodity, money.

Several members of her family, one of those evangelical, self-reliant, public-spirited families that created nineteenth-century England, matched her achievement. The best known, her sister Millicent, wife of Henry Fawcett, courageously and ably promoted women's rights. One must also remember their father, who started as a London pawnbroker and prospered in diverse ways, including election as mayor of Aldeburg, but his character was most important—courageous, independent, innovating, whether in business or in supporting his daughters' aspirations. Such people had many associates, equally strong willed and pioneering. Of them it is sufficient to mention tactful Emily Davies, founder of Girton College, and difficult, aggressive Sophia Jex-Blake whose personality was as hyphenated as her name.

Except for a few able and powerful allies, Elizabeth Anderson found the medical profession, young, old, and peripheral, entrenched against her. Its members stood on the assumption that it had been a great mistake to admit Eve to the Garden and that everything that had happened since proved it. No technicality was too trivial, no stratagem too devious, to obstruct the path of this persistent woman. Yet her struggle never turned her into a fanatic. She had time for many people and many interests. Her career had wit and humanity as well as instruction, and the account of it is delightful both in itself and in the telling.

*University of Missouri*

CHARLES F. MULLETT

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND THE COMING OF THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR. By *Richard Millman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 238. \$5.60.)

IN his preface to this excellent monograph Richard Millman rightly remarks that "British foreign policy from the latter part of Palmerston's career to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 has not been thoroughly investigated." Nothing has been written about this period to compare with the studies of Webster and Temperley on the achievements and failures of Castlereagh, Canning, and the early years of the march of Palmerston. Millman's competent study fills several gaps in our knowledge of the history of British foreign policy in the mid-Victorian period. It also contains many informed and shrewd comments about the manner in which British foreign policy was shaped and applied.

Millman's book is the result of long and careful research in the Public Record Office, the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle, the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna, and elsewhere. He has studied many sources, including the Cardwell, Clarendon, Derby, Disraeli, Gladstone, Granville, Lyons, Russell, and Stanley Papers.

In the years that followed the Age of Palmerston Britain was increasingly reluctant to commit itself on the Continent. Millman's first chapter ("The Fall from the Pinnacle") explains the reasons Britain played a minor part in the disputes about Schleswig, Holstein, and Venetia in 1866. "Ours will be a pacific policy," said Lord Stanley, "a policy of observation rather than action." The policy of Lord Clarendon and his colleagues failed in the Austro-Prussian crisis of 1866. After Sadowa Britain was content to see the rise of Prussia to balance the strength of France and Russia. Meanwhile Napoleon III sought compensation after the Austro-Prussian conflict and tried to obtain the grand duchy of Luxembourg from the Netherlands. The long negotiations, carefully described by Millman, ran into the sands. The result was the London Conference, collective guarantees of the neutrality of Luxembourg, and disputes about the meaning of the guarantees. Meanwhile, too, a revolt against Ottoman rule erupted in Crete, and Britain refused to put pressure on the Turks. Then and later the British government "successfully defended British interests on the Continent by restricting their scope."

Probably the best parts of Millman's book are those about Britain's activities and interests in the complicated problems of Belgium and the Belgian railways (Chapter vi) and "The Balance of Power and the Hohenzollerns" (Chapter ix). They should be read by all students of nineteenth-century European history.

We all regret that some monographs are unnecessary scribblings on the margins of history. This book, in contrast, is really important, a considerable achievement indeed.

*Wayne State University*

GOLDWIN SMITH

THE EDUCATION OF A NAVY: THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH NAVAL STRATEGIC THOUGHT, 1867-1914. By *D. M. Schurman*. ([Chicago:] University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. 213. \$5.50.)

THE author tells the story of six naval historians, nonacademics by training, "who in something under fifty years changed British naval history from a patriotic

antiquarian pastime into a serious academic occupation, with rules, standards, and techniques of its own." The six, some of whom were as much propagandists as they were historians, are Captain Sir John Colomb, his brother Vice-Admiral Philip Colomb, Mahan, Sir John Laughton, Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond, and Sir Julian Corbett. What they had in common was a conviction that the naval past could reveal guiding principles for the present.

The title is misleading: the Royal Navy was far from having been well educated by 1914, as the title may imply, and one of the "educators," Richmond, did nearly all his publishing in the post-World War I generation. A number of the judgments could be challenged. One could also fairly criticize the style, which is not always clear. The pluses, happily, easily outweigh the minuses. The work is the first of its kind—a thoroughly researched job that needed doing and that will not have to be done again in our time. It is based on the writings of the six, the other relevant printed sources, and a selective use of manuscript collections, notably the Richmond Papers of early vintage and the Corbett Papers. The volume has three main facets: the formative biographical influences, which are competently sketched; the principal writings of the six, which are brilliantly analyzed and appraised; and the plenitude of fresh insights, which are often thought provoking, above all in the Richmond and Corbett chapters.

The author's main conclusion comes perforce as an anticlimax. The pioneer naval historians did succeed admirably in transforming British naval history, yet the result of their labors, when measured by the influence they had on the conduct of the two great wars of this century, was surprisingly slight. One misses a full discussion of why this was so. Professor Schurman has given us a useful and stimulating work. Though addressed to naval historians and to "people concerned with the formulation and exposition of military policy," I suspect that, like the work of the six, it will prove of greater value to the historian.

*University of California, Irvine*

ARTHUR MARDER

EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MOVEMENT, 1870-1920. By *Brian Simon*. [Studies in the History of Education.] (London: Lawrence and Wishart. 1965. Pp. 387. 50s.)

CONSIDERING the breadth and complexity of the material with which he deals, Brian Simon is more successful than one might have expected in this successor volume to his *Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870*. At the least he is interesting, and at best illuminating, as he charts the course of working-class education in the fifty years from 1870. His title is somewhat misleading: this is not, as it suggests, primarily a study in political attitudes and action, although Simon makes it a point to cover the positions on education of the various organized groups within the Labour movement: the early Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour party, the Labour party, and the Trades Union Congress. But he is using "Labour Movement" in its broadest sense, virtually as a synonym for the working class as a whole. "Education" is meant very broadly also, taking in not only the education of the working-class young but also of their elders. Indeed some of Simon's most rewarding pages have to do with adult education, and it is impressive, and saddening, to read of the lengths, often ingenious

and sometimes desperate, to which, in the earlier period, the working class had to resort in order to learn anything at all. One might wish that Simon had organized all this material more rigorously. At the beginning of his study he is concerned chiefly with adult education; thereafter with the education of children, the effects of the Acts of 1870 and 1902, and the efforts of the working class to achieve a minimal secondary education; finally he returns to the adults. The result is an occasional diffuseness and tendentiousness, perhaps unavoidable in so wide-ranging a study.

What gives the book coherence is Simon's Marxist point of view: education in Britain during the period is seen in terms of class differences and privilege. He argues that the elementary schools operated on the basis of the 1870 Act were "specifically designed to discourage all initiative, to develop habits of obedience, docility, and passivity." And while he admits that under this act there were efforts, especially on the part of some school boards, to make more secondary education available to the working class, he contends that these efforts were effectively undercut by the Act of 1902. If this is not the whole story, it is still illuminating to have the 1902 Act discussed, not, as it frequently is, with regard to its religious implications, but rather as it represents (in Simon's eyes) an attempt to protect the secondary schools from a massive entrance of the working class. The heart of the argument is more humanitarian than ideological and can be summed up as the struggle between "right" and "patronage." The English system will almost always allow impressive talent to rise from below, but it is to rise "individually" into a middle-class world. School fees will be waived for the talented working-class child, but his education is seen (from above) as a favor bestowed, rather than something to which he has as much right as the child of the middle or the upper class. This concept of "patronage" has only recently begun to die. It still survives in the notion that all will be well with the public schools if they simply will increase the number of scholarships they bestow upon the worthy poor, but otherwise remain as they were. In fact, at every point the established system is willing to adapt itself to change, so long as it can keep itself fundamentally unchanged. As Simon quotes Edward Thring, the famous Headmaster of Uppingham: "It is necessary to jump in these jumping days."

*Harvard University*

PETER STANSKY

THE BRADLAUGH CASE: A STUDY IN LATE VICTORIAN OPINION AND POLITICS. By *Walter L. Arnstein*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xii, 348. \$8.00.)

ONE of the most vexatious problems of Gladstone's second ministry (1880-1885) was the Bradlaugh case. Professor Arnstein's history of the case now provides "a multidimensional portrayal of the impact of the case upon the various political parties and personalities" and an explanation of how the Irish question and Victorian radicalism affected Bradlaugh's struggle to enter Parliament. Drawing on a vast array of manuscript collections and other primary sources, Arnstein presents a succinct portrait of Bradlaugh's life to the time of his election as M.P. for Northampton in 1880 and then offers a close analysis of his struggle to take his seat in the Commons. It is a tale of mistakes, political opportunism, intolerance, and

stupidity that involved Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Randolph Churchill, Cardinal Manning, and the artful Labouchere. In some ways Bradlaugh, already suspect because of his republicanism and views on birth control, muddied the waters by his request to substitute a "freethinker's" affirmation for the prescribed oath and by an open letter to the *Times* (May 21, 1880) explaining his position. Arnstein deftly traces the consequences of the letter and demonstrates that "for most M.P.'s the key issue involved was [now] not constitutional technicalities but Bradlaugh's alleged avowal of opinions . . . out of harmony with those of the majority of his countrymen."

When Bradlaugh was finally seated in Parliament on July 2, 1880, he proved himself a conscientious Radical M.P. much in advance of the Liberal party. But his brief and exemplary interlude in the Commons was all too soon obscured by the revival of the struggle over "The Question of the Oath." Arnstein's account of what followed—the unseating of Bradlaugh, his re-election and expulsion in 1881, and subsequent re-elections and exclusions in 1882, 1883, and 1884 until, after his election in 1885, he was finally permitted to take his seat in 1886—is explained in great detail. The chapters dealing with "The Great Crusade," "Gladstone as Advocate," and "Bradlaugh as Secularist and Politician" are excellent; that on Cardinal Manning is not quite as good. Manning was certainly "a politician by instinct," but he was not the villain that, I think, Arnstein implies he was in the Bradlaugh case. On the other hand, Arnstein's analysis of "The Role of the Irish Nationalists" and of the enigmatic Parnell in the case is more convincing than that of Conor Cruise O'Brien.

Arnstein's "Summing Up" of the case might well serve as a model for similar studies. This definitive work on the subject, although sometimes didactic in style, is enriched by an excellent bibliography and serviceable indexes.

*University of Mississippi*

JOSEPH O. BAYLEN

FROM THE DREADNOUGHT TO SCAPA FLOW: THE ROYAL NAVY IN THE FISHER ERA, 1904-1919. Volume II, THE WAR YEARS: TO THE EVE OF JUTLAND. By *Arthur J. Marder*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvi, 466. \$14.00.)

ARTHUR Marder's unrivaled knowledge of the Royal Navy in the Fisher era is further brilliantly placed before us in the second of the four volumes on the navy between the advent of Fisher as First Sea Lord and the scuttling at Scapa Flow in 1919 of the German fleet of his rival Tirpitz. This is by no means an over-all history of the Royal Navy at war, but rather a study concentrating upon the Admiralty and the problems of command. Actions at sea are dealt with in taut descriptions that merely sketch in their developments as background for the problems of command and the way in which the Admiralty met them. Marder sensibly states in his preface that he leaves the details to Corbett and Newbolt in their official volumes. The development of technical material is skimmed while the rise of naval aviation, which really was not effective until 1918, is put off to Volume IV. Essentially Marder is dealing with the functioning of a human mechanism or organization that had enjoyed an unchallenged existence for over a century. His work sympathetically reveals the confusions that arose from the failure to have a

war staff, from failures to explain what was desired, from misinterpretation and misunderstanding on the parts of admirals and others. Even such a pre-eminent light cruiser commodore as Goodenough could on occasion mistake a misdirected signal and break off an engagement because he was not sure what was uppermost in his admiral's mind. The confusion that occasionally developed was due in part also to the fact that the Sea Lords had never had their place in the operational hierarchy established. In general only the First Sea Lord and the occupant of the newly established post of chief of staff handled these matters. Moreover, the advent of wireless and of direction finding, which enabled Room 40 to function so efficiently in collecting and analyzing naval intelligence, for the first time enabled the Admiralty to exercise operational control over fleets at sea. But, as Marder shows, this was such a recent phenomenon that its use was not always well handled because it was not always understood. In the course of his fluid exposition, we are often given vivid pictures of the leading individuals either in their own words, in Fisher's, or in the salty prose of Marder himself.

Any reviewer given one volume of a series that is as yet incomplete is always in a difficult position. He may realize or may know what is still to come, or he may not. Under these circumstances, he is faced with the problem of deciding what criticisms he should make in the light of what he knows. In the case at hand, fortunately, it is possible to note that the third volume will be published on the fiftieth anniversary of Jutland (May 31, 1966). The fourth and final volume will appear somewhat later. Not only will it conclude the war, but it will contain reflections and bibliography. In the two volumes released so far the footnotes and bibliographical references, though kept to a respectable minimum, already provide a useful guide to official and private sources. Moreover, by the time the final volume appears, the fifty-year rule will have rolled back so that the whole of the official archives on the First World War will, if they have not been destroyed, be available. With the benefit of the Marder volumes scholars will then be able to undertake a number of useful studies on the technological development of the navy, a subject which Marder understands, but for which he has not room.

All in all, the second volume of *From the Dreadnought to Scapa Flow* follows the fine tradition established by the author's *Anatomy of British Sea Power* of 1940.

Kansas State University

ROBIN HIGHAM

ENGLISH HISTORY, 1914-1945. By *A. J. P. Taylor*. [The Oxford History of England, Volume XV.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 708. \$9.75.)

It is revealing no secret to observe that for many years Mr. Taylor has been writing history that is meant to be read. When he settles down, moreover, to do a professional job, the result can be a noteworthy achievement—well informed, critical, brilliantly written, and contentious enough to exorcise the curse of learned dullness. This study finds him in top form. It is an impressive account of a period that saw the English having to adjust their patterns of life to a world order that they only partly understood, a period that is memorable alike for their follies and futilities and for their collective heroism.

Taylor's book will, of course, take its place at once as a distinguished contribution to recent English history (though it does not make C. L. Mowat's admirable *Britain between the Wars* superfluous). Beginning on August 4, 1914, "almost at the hour, 11 p.m.," and continuing, less precisely, to the summer of 1945, he covers a span of thirty-one years, during twenty-nine of which the country was involved either in world wars or in a desperate struggle against mass unemployment. It was an age without a clear sense of direction and without leaders who could chart one. During the 1920's and up to September 1931, the themes were reconstruction, restoration, recovery; the model was the state of things in 1914, surely a mirage in the new postwar world. The heart of Britain's problem was plainly economic. And the real obstacle to recovery and the re-employment of the unemployed was simply the continued pre-eminence of the old export staples—coal, cotton, wool, and ships—which the world did not want more of, whatever the price. After 1931, the watershed of the interwar period, the magic word became "planning": a planned economy, planning for peace, and the rest. But in spite of all the talk of planning and of the measures devised by the government, these had little to do with British recovery, which, one sometimes forgets, came in the late 1930's and in 1937 carried production to an all-time high.

In the main, this is a book without heroes, though some of the figures emerge looking larger, some smaller, than one would have expected. Lloyd George, despite his deviousness and unscrupulousness, was the most inspired and creative British statesman of the twentieth century; with all his faults, MacDonald must be considered the greatest leader Labour has had; Sir John Simon, lacking "the air of puzzled rectitude which enabled a Grey or a Halifax to lapse from the highest moral standards without anybody complaining or even noticing," was simply too cool and rational to be a Foreign Secretary; and Air Marshal Dowding of the Fighter Command, whom a grateful government promptly relieved of his command and ticketed for oblivion, was the man who, operationally, was responsible for victory in the Battle of Britain. Conversely, Curzon "lacked resolution, despite his rigid appearance" (Would Indians who knew him as Viceroy agree with this judgment?), and was a born ratter; Keynes's prescription was wrong for Britain; Beveridge's plan came forty years too late, when abject poverty and unemployment had ceased to be issues; and Churchill, whom Taylor handles fairly but not idolatrously, rose to power on the failure of the Norwegian campaign, which, ironically enough, he had had more to do with planning than had Chamberlain.

Diplomatic historians, I suspect, will have their criticisms of Taylor's treatment of certain aspects of Britain's foreign affairs, and Americans their moments of unhappiness over his obvious lack of enthusiasm for American policy at some points. The domestic material—political, social, and economic—is capital, and Taylor's judgments are always challenging and, more often than not, convincing—perhaps an argument for getting the able historian away from his narrow specialty. He has an acute critical intelligence and an impulse to disagree with accepted views. Sometimes this instinct has led him into trouble. Here it has served him well. On nearly every page one encounters a revealing characterization, a provocative observation, a crackling footnote. Sometimes, to be sure, his estimates are so markedly personal as to seem deliberately wayward, as when he

finds Charlie Chaplin likely to be "remembered when England's writers, statesmen, scientists are forgotten, as timeless as Shakespeare and as great." Still, with its occasional perversities—in part, because of them—this is vintage Taylor.

*Harvard University*

DAVID OWEN

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION OF 1964. By *D. E. Butler* and *Anthony King*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 401. \$9.00.)

THE scientific study of elections—psephology—provides an instance of the extent to which the social sciences may affect the situations that they attempt to analyze. The excellent Nuffield College series on British elections, which has produced a study of each election since 1945, reflects in the most recent volume the growing importance of public opinion polls and an increasingly scientific approach to party "images" and public relations in the calculations of politicians for which such studies as these are in part responsible. The volume on the election of 1964 is more ambitious than its predecessors both in attempting to analyze the influence of these and other factors in the formation of party strategy and in placing its impressive collection of data concerning candidates, issues, mass mediums, and results against the background of a brief but competent history of developments within the three parties between 1959 and 1964. Extensive and systematic interviewing of party officials and candidates made possible an evaluation of the actual functioning of party machinery and provided as much information about the inner history of party decisions during the campaign as is likely to be available to the contemporary historian.

The authors refrain from any broad explanation of the outcome of the election; their findings serve rather to correct some erroneous impressions. The race issue, so publicized in the American press, proves to have been of negligible importance in all but one or two constituencies. An analysis of regional patterns indicates that Conservative ministers were not less popular with the voters than Conservative candidates generally. The concentration of Liberal victories along the "Celtic fringe" suggests that the Liberal revival was a result less of the emergence of a new social group than of a reassertion of traditional voting patterns. The belief that either television or expensive public relations campaigns can decisively affect the outcome of an election is regarded with skepticism, and the limitations of polls as guides to electoral success are pointed out. It would seem that the more precise our knowledge of elections and voting behavior, the more complex the process appears to be and the more difficult generalization becomes. Students of postwar British politics will be grateful, however, for the wealth of precise information that this volume provides on the political behavior of Britons in 1964.

*Notre Dame College of Staten Island*

CATHERINE ANN CLINE

ROGER BOYLE, FIRST EARL OF ORRERY. By *Kathleen M. Lynch*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 308. \$7.50.)

ONE puts down this book full of admiration for the diligence of the author in ferreting out the minutiae of the life of the first Earl of Orrery, and of regret at what can only be regarded as wasted effort. Orrery himself was not a particularly



significant political figure, save in respect to Ireland. He was the son of Strafford's great opponent, the Earl of Cork, and his family was deeply involved in the Serbonian Bog of Irish politics. Nothing would have been more welcome than a thorough account of Irish political and social history in the years of Orrery's active career, from the 1640's to the 1670's, but this Professor Lynch has not chosen to give us. What we do get is superficial coverage of Orrery's political career, with all of the difficult problems simply skimmed. For instance, after the Restoration Orrery was deeply involved in the clarification of the Irish Act of Settlement known as the Act of Explanation. It would be difficult to know, from this account, what the terms of the acts were, much less Orrery's role in the process of clarification.

Lynch's academic pursuit is English literature rather than history; so perhaps it is unkind to criticize her failure to deal with problems whose complexity has caused more heavily armed scholars to shy away. Her chapters on Orrery's literary activity are the most interesting in the book. What they show, unfortunately, is that Orrery was a literary third-rater whose ideas were derivative and whose verse at its best barely rose to the level of mediocrity. His plays gather dust, and deservedly.

The book itself could have used much more pruning and editing; we are occasionally told more than we want to know about Orrery's doings. The author's methodology does not always command confidence. Orrery's first biographer, the gossipy Thomas Morrice, is relied upon too heavily, and it is doubtful practice, at best, to quote as evidence of Orrery's standing at court in the winter of 1664-1665 a letter written by Ralph Montagu from Paris under greatly changed circumstances in 1669. In brief, this is a disappointing book, and the publisher, a university press, should not have put the footnotes in the back of the book.

*University of Illinois*

MAURICE LEE, JR.

CORRESPONDANCE DE THÉODORE DE BÈZE. Volume IV (1562-1563).

Collected by *Hippolyte Aubert*. Published by *Henri Meylan et al.* [Société du Musée historique de la Réformation. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Volume LXXIV.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 315.)

THIS volume carries one step closer to realization the formidable enterprise of a critical edition of the correspondence of Theodore Beza. The editors are again Henri Meylan and Alain Dufour, who enjoyed the able collaboration of Arnaud Tripet. Though most of the letters have been published elsewhere, available manuscripts often permit an improvement of formerly printed texts. And, as in the previous volumes of this series, the scholarly elucidations of the editors often exceed in length the text of the letters.

Volume IV centers on the first War of Religion in France. Throughout this volume Beza emerges as the indefatigable champion of "la Cause." At peace he restrains the impatient; at war he exhorts the timid. And at all times he is the defender of orthodoxy, whether against Brenz and ubiquity, on the one hand, or Castellio and the anti-Trinitarians, on the other.

It is almost vain to single out particular missives for comment. Of curious interest might be a letter of Calvin, reproaching Beza for employing arguments

from patristics in the St. Germain Colloquy on icons. Beza assured him that this was an indispensable instrument of dialogue, and the affection between the two was unabated. It is also interesting that, despite the near miracle of mobilization, a harried Beza had much to say about "the incredible procrastination" of the "stupid and sordid" among his party. Perhaps the most notable piece in the volume is a letter of Beza to Grataroli, requesting a work of the Aristotelian, Pietro Pomponazzi. This reinforces a recent suggestion that Beza may be the first Protestant Scholastic. The editors modestly solicit the verification of a specialist.

The scholarship of the editors is as thoroughgoing as it is exacting. Among their valuable appendixes, for example, they publish a list somehow found in the British Museum of the Huguenot gentlemen who rallied to the colors at Orléans in April 1562. Of the sixty-eight names, they have managed to identify all but three. Any criticisms are only bagatelles. The editors appear somewhat ambiguous in considering the cardinal of Lorraine at Saverne. Though he was "perhaps sincere," the Guises had "their heads full of bloody designs that they would execute at Vassy." The latter is, of course, a point about which much has been written, but it may be noteworthy that the late Paul F. Geisendorf, *Théodore de Bèze* (1949), himself failed to subscribe to the thesis of premeditation. These remarks are as nothing considered against the massive scholarship of this work. The editors have again produced a learned labor of love.

University of Nebraska

DONALD G. NUGENT

OPPOSITION TO LOUIS XIV: THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ORIGINS OF THE FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT. By *Lionel Rothkrug*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 533. \$12.50.)

BASED largely on fresh archival data and rarely consulted contemporary writings, Lionel Rothkrug's *Opposition to Louis XIV* is a vigorously expounded, challenging, and original work. It at once blazes its way through prevailing interpretations and adds new dimensions to our understanding of the forces for and against the mercantilist absolutism of Louis XIV.

The author's thesis, put in its simplest terms and far from doing justice to the symphonic tone of his presentation, is twofold: First, for well over a century, and going back to the late 1500's, speculative thinkers were engaged in a sharply couched intellectualist controversy; arguments pro and con over the mercantilist creed were penetrated by conflicting philosophical, religious, and scientific concepts; those concepts, involving the nature of society, the structure of the cosmos, and the characteristics of the human soul, established a fundamental dichotomy between opposing spokesmen. Second, by the 1690's and under such conditions external to the history of ideas as governmental uncertainty and breakdown, economic depression, and defeat in war, these old currents of speculation merged with newer ones and were transformed into political doctrines; widely diffused and accepted, those doctrines were used to justify both criticism and a reform movement, becoming a point of departure for the rise of purely secular ideologies characteristic of the eighteenth-century French Enlightenment.

In Part One, "Prelude to Reform, 1576-1684," Rothkrug subsumes the speculative dissent under two related headings: moral-religious protest and Christian humanist criticism. Beginning during Colbert's ministry and increasing ardently

after his death, this dissent and these many-sided protests, which he labels "aristocratic critique," were transformed first into bitter public criticism and finally into political opposition. The change, he argues in the lengthier second part, "The Movement for Reform, 1684-1700," resulted from the interjection of specific economic, social, and political grievances. While those grievances were voiced most vigorously in the ultimate stages of the movement by the merchant interests, in point of time they were concurrent with or immediately preceded by two fresh expressions of the aristocratic opposition. These expressions of Christian agrarianism and secular utilitarianism were then merged, most notably in Boisguilbert's *Détail de la France*. They also provided the bases for the powerful aristocratic reform movement of which Fénelon, Chevreuse, and Beauvillier were the leaders. Finally, though government spokesmen hit back in the domain of thought and the government itself counterattacked in the realm of policy against Fénelon, the aggrieved merchants belatedly entered the lists. Their entry decisively altered the balance of forces, the nature of the conflict, and the characteristics of the arguments. Not only did the numbers of the opposition swell outside and within the administration, but, more important, the now predominantly secular and anti-Christian doctrines were so widely diffused and accepted that Rothkrug can say that the French Enlightenment was in several respects a direct outgrowth of this final stage of the confrontation.

To comment on this bare summary of the substance of the book: On the side of shortcomings, more careful editing would have excised much needless repetition. The categories of dissent, for all the author's qualifications, tend to take on too schematic a character. Little-known figures, such as Belesbat and Lartigue, are squeezed, it seems, too hard to elicit conclusions not clearly present in the evidence itself. On occasion the meticulous analyses on several layers taxed or even overtaxed at least one reader's concentration. These shortcomings, which other readers may not be conscious of, are minor, probably little more than inverted expressions of the author's ardor. The virtues of Rothkrug's study far outweigh them. He has added to our knowledge and presented for our consideration an extraordinary body of new data. On the basis of this fresh material the meaning and the place of mercantilist and antimercantilist doctrines in seventeenth-century philosophical and religious speculation are greatly expanded and illuminated. The speculation is not only linked to what went before and projected to what came later; in its ultimate formulation the author puts the origin of the Enlightenment solidly on native political and social grounds, on broader bases than provided in some respects by Sagnac, Pagès, Hazard, and Mornet. Thus, to the already earnest disputation of scholars over the nature, extent, and depth of the opposition to Louis XIV, Rothkrug has added new aspects of the problem. This major study cannot be ignored.

New York University

LEO GERSHOF

RICHELIEU: BEHAUPTUNG DER MACHT UND KALTER KRIEG. By  
*Carl J. Burckhardt.* (Munich: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey. 1965. Pp. 499.  
 DM 29.50.)

THIS is the second volume of Carl J. Burckhardt's projected three-volume study of Cardinal Richelieu. The first volume, *Richelieu: Der Aufstieg zur Macht*, ap-

peared in 1935 and examined the many episodes and crises that beset Richelieu in his rise to power through the famous Day of Dupes. Although the earlier work was marred by digressions and inaccuracies, most of which were removed in later English translations, it had the merit of giving a dramatic account of a single major theme. In this volume Burckhardt extends his treatment both in time and space since he believes that once Richelieu gained control of both foreign and domestic policy his field of operations was Europe-wide. This requires the author to abandon the biographical framework and to treat a greater variety of subjects. After analyzing Richelieu's *Avis donné au roi après la prise de La Rochelle* (1629) as his program of action (a questionable procedure), Burckhardt examines the cardinal's handling of naval affairs, the Montmorency episode, and his personal contacts in private and governmental circles. Most of the work, however, is devoted to French relations with England and Germany, which are examined in depth through the years of the "cold war," that is, to 1635. In this way Burckhardt sets the stage for his final volume which will cover the war years, 1635-1642.

The plan has merit, but its execution falls considerably short of success. Although Burckhardt explicitly writes for a German-speaking audience, this does not explain or excuse the weaknesses of the book. Its structure is faulty in that far too much space is given to historical background of the matters discussed. In order to place Richelieu's handling of Anglo-French relations in proper perspective, Burckhardt finds it necessary to devote most of a ninety-page chapter to analyzing the growth of the two monarchies and their contacts with each other since the twelfth century. The book also contains too many thumbnail sketches of persons only remotely connected with the cardinal. Thus, Richelieu's policies and their significance are given only incidental treatment in many sections of the book. Furthermore, Burckhardt is uncritical in his use of historical evidence, quoting extensively from such an uncertain source as the Petitot edition of Richelieu's *Mémoires*, and not hesitating to draw upon such an outmoded work as Schiller's *Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* for dramatic effect. The book is therefore unreliable concerning many specifics. It is not Burckhardt's intention to present new discoveries or even new views of known materials. He concentrates, instead, upon personalities and events, and he fully succeeds in communicating the drama of many of the episodes that he describes. From this standpoint, the best portion of the work is that which analyzes Richelieu's relations with Sweden and the German states from the Treaty of Bärwalde to the collapse of anti-Habsburg forces after the Battle of Nördlingen. Broader interpretations of these and other matters are largely lacking, however, even when such are available in recent publications with which Burckhardt is familiar. The book is therefore something more than popular biography but less than a scholarly contribution. At most, readers will find it valuable because of the author's sense of the drama of history and his massive, if fragmented, picture of many phases of Richelieu's era.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

PROBLÈMES DE STRATIFICATION SOCIALE: DEUX CAHIERS DE LA NOBLESSE POUR LES ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX DE 1649-1651. By R. Mousnier et al. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de

Paris. Series "Textes et documents," Volume IX. Travaux du Centre de Recherches sur la Civilisation de l'Europe moderne, Number 3.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1965. Pp. 184. 12 fr.)

REFLECTING his continuing interest in the stratification of seventeenth-century French society, Professor Mousnier has made available two of the little-known *cahiers* of the Estates-General of the *Fronde*, an assembly initially announced by the government in 1649, postponed on several occasions, and then forgotten with the tacit approval of all parties. A number of elections were held, however, and *cahiers* prepared for the assembly that never met; these the *Centre de Recherches* hopes to publish gradually as valuable social documents, which undoubtedly they are. The first two presented herewith, each about five thousand words in length, are those of the nobility of the province of Angoumois and of the bailliage of Troyes. They are capably edited by Messrs. Labatut and Durand, who have provided background material and short biographies of the men who seemingly prepared the documents. As would be expected, the two *cahiers* mirror the dreadful economic and fiscal conditions of these years, as well as the drafters' resentment of bourgeois officeholders and the growing importance of money. The *cahier* of Troyes also contains some criticism of the high living standards of the local clergy, which one would think more representative of the Third Estate than of the second.

Mousnier's personal contribution to the volume is a wide-ranging and illuminating essay on social stratification in general. He sees society made up historically of three main groups: castes, orders (*estats*), and classes, based on religion, honor, and money, respectively. Among his sources he cites a number of the more recent American and English sociologists and social psychologists, but his interpretation of twentieth-century American society is not as magisterial as that of the old regime. Many American readers may be a little startled by his notion of a fixed US middle class, caught between a few great capitalists and powerful labor unions, who "do not have hope of ascending" and are in the process of evolving from a society of "class" to one of "order."

University of Notre Dame

LEON BERNARD

ROCHAMBEAU. By Arnold Whitridge. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. 340. \$6.95.)

AMONG the many biographies aimed at both the general reader and the scholar, Professor Arnold Whitridge's *Rochambeau* stands out as an unusual success. This is all the more noteworthy in view of his subject's reticence and lack of dramatic flair. Steadiness and devotion to duty were his virtues, rather than the more striking qualities that brought La Fayette a larger measure of fame.

Students of the American Revolution will have reservations about Whitridge's book. Rochambeau's birth is called "an incident . . . that was destined to change the course of modern history." Had his parents not been able to buy him a regiment, there "might well have been no battle at Yorktown." The limited personal materials available for a life of Rochambeau have led the author to rely upon imagination more than some readers will care for. And La Fayette is too often a foil for praising Rochambeau.

Most important is Whitridge's analysis of the role of Rochambeau in the American war. He presents the French general as the master architect of American victory and attributes to him a prescience concerning the campaign of 1781 that no one could have possessed. As a strategist superior to Washington, Rochambeau is said to have realized that victory would come in Virginia (in very much the same pattern of army and navy cooperation that it did), and he persuaded the American leader to abandon his plan of attacking New York. In giving considerable credit to Rochambeau for the winning of independence, Whitridge has a point, but a point carried too far can distort.

Whitridge's biography is based largely on printed sources, the footnote citations are insufficient, and the index is poor. But its greatest weakness—his overly generous evaluation of Rochambeau's contribution—is one that the scholarly reader can easily allow for. Whitridge's distinguished literary style, however, compensates for these reservations. Rochambeau's life scarcely warrants the extended, scholarly treatment that Louis R. Gottschalk has accorded La Fayette, and this sole modern biography of Rochambeau in English will stand for some years as a useful contribution to American revolutionary literature.

*Lehigh University*

JOHN CARY

PIERRE SAMUEL DU PONT DE NEMOURS. By *Ambrose Saricks*. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1965. Pp. 458. \$7.50.)

GRANTING the value of preserving the record of lesser historical figures, one must heartily welcome this painstaking study of Du Pont de Nemours, especially since its only recent competitor (Pierre Jolly, *Du Pont de Nemours, soldat de la liberté*) is briefer, more impressionistic, and largely lacking in scholarly apparatus.

Frequently on the periphery but never at the true focus of great events and great ideas, Du Pont de Nemours (1739–1817) remains a prime example of the optimistic, outgoing spirit of the French Enlightenment and its embodiment in the practical affairs of several tumultuous decades. Eager for the notice and the approval of posterity, Du Pont was not averse to exaggerating his own role on the historical stage, and it is one of the many considerable merits of this work that Professor Saricks observes caution in assessing the impact of that role. In the development of physiocracy Du Pont's contribution was not of great originality; nor, probably, was his influence ever of truly decisive importance in the crucial political and economic decisions of the dying old regime or of the revolutionary period. Yet his role cannot be overlooked, whether in the negotiations for the 1786 commercial treaty with England, in the era of Calonne and the Assembly of Notables, in the Constituent Assembly (especially but not exclusively in financial affairs), or in the Directory. Du Pont's fame has suffered, perhaps above all, from his moderation and his lack of dramatic color in an age of drama and of extremes.

Saricks has told his story soberly but with sympathy and insight. The story here is essentially biographical, though with brief analyses of Du Pont's writings; it can be argued that the writings, with their lack of striking originality, deserve no more. The work is a compromise between biography and intellectual history, and doubtless certain readers will question the author's strong emphasis upon the former. Others will, perhaps, question his attempted balance between scholarly

and popular appeal. The subject, as well as the thoroughness of his research, points toward a scholarly, indeed rather specialized audience, for whom some of the historical background narrative is largely redundant, especially for the earlier revolutionary period. Yet, if these be faults, they are outweighed by the high general value of this study as an illustration of an era through the life of one of its best-rounded, most incessantly active figures. The index is useful, and the bibliography lengthy, well organized, and fully up to date. Especially commendable, though not for their position at the end of the text, are the full and excellent notes.

University of Akron

HENRY VYVERBERG

FRANCE AND THE ATLANTIC REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, 1770-1799. By Jacques Godechot. Translated by Herbert H. Rowen. (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 279. \$6.95.)

As the chief spokesman in France for the "Atlantic" school in the historiography of the French Revolution, Professor Godechot has seen his ideas much discussed both in this country and in Europe. Of his many books, however, this is the first to appear in English. We owe it to the initiative of Herbert Rowen, at whose request Godechot prepared a manuscript which Rowen has translated to form the present volume but which Godechot also used as the basis for his *Les Révolutions, 1770-1799*, published in the "Nouvelle Clio" series in 1963. The resulting American and French books are similar but far from identical. *France and the Atlantic Revolution* lacks the long bibliographical and historiographical sections that form more than half of *Les Révolutions*, but the main text is considerably longer than in the French book. In dealing with the French Revolution itself, the two are the same. In *France and the Atlantic Revolution* the introductory and concluding passages, and the treatment of America and Great Britain, are more detailed.

Following Mathiez and Lefebvre, Godechot sees the Revolution as a step in the rise of the bourgeoisie. He finds it most successful where, as in France, the bourgeoisie and the peasantry could combine against a noble or privileged class. He adds a demographic interpretation, in which the growth of population is emphasized as a cause of discontent. And he adds the "Atlantic" view, finding similar causes at work with varying success in most parts of Europe and America. Not only the French Revolution, but the American Revolution, the radicalism in Britain, the revolutionary attempts in Poland and Ireland, and the changes produced in the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and other revolutionary republics are brought into an interrelated pattern.

Having made similar studies, I naturally welcome this reinforcement and agree with the general thesis presented. Sometimes, however, the thesis seems carried too far. It strains the parallel to affirm that the Polish constitution of 1791 strongly resembled the French constitution of that year, or that population pressure was a cause of unrest in the Anglo-American colonies before 1776, or that the Gordon Riots were provoked by class grievances in which anti-Catholicism was "only a pretext." It can be maintained that the British political clubs of 1792, such as the London Corresponding Society, were revolutionary in expressing views incompatible with the existing order, but it is too much to say that they formed a "true revolutionary network" and were modeled on the Jacobin Clubs

in France. The desire of Republicans in America for actual war with Britain, in the 1790's, is likewise overstated. It is to be feared that some readers, coming upon such passages, may be inclined to question the whole argument. For such readers, a translation of Godechot's *La Grande Nation: L'expansion révolutionnaire de la France* (1956) would have provided more substantial knowledge and a truer idea of Godechot's unique contributions to our understanding of the eighteenth-century revolution. Or, if *La Grande Nation* is too long for translation, someone might produce an abridged version of it in English, as has recently been done for the great work on the Paris sans-culottes by Albert Soboul.

Washington University

R. R. PALMER

THE ENRAGÉS: SOCIALISTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION? By R. B. Rose. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press on behalf of the Australian Humanities Research Council; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. 102. \$3.95.)

If the *enragés* were madmen, they were, like Hamlet, "but mad north-north-west" and knew "a hawk from a handsaw." However questionable their politics, they have attracted some sober historians, many of them sympathetic to the sans-culottes in general, if critical of the *enragés* in particular. Mathiez, J. M. Zacher, the late Russian historian, and Walter Markov of Leipzig have made valuable contributions to their study. Daniel Guérin and Albert Soboul have written of them in the course of analyzing the Parisian *menu peuple*. Perhaps it is the growing interest in the social question that has attracted historians to them. Perhaps it is the problem of revolutionary terror. Perhaps it is their dramatic end which follows inevitably like the denouement of a Greek tragedy that appeals to their biographers.

Professor R. B. Rose wrote his dissertation at the University of Manchester about a decade ago. It is this thesis compressed, polished, and largely rewritten that he has presented to the Australian Humanities Research Council. Beginning with an introductory chapter wherein he traces the bibliography and origin of the word *enragé*, Rose proceeds to narrate the political life of each of the five leaders: Jean Varlet, Jacques Roux, Théophile Leclerc, Pauline Léon, and Claire Lacombe. Each sketch is buttressed by much documentary evidence based on the dossiers in the Archives Nationales, the pertinent holdings in the Victor Cousin Library, the great collections of published sources like those of Tuetey, Ternaux, and Buchez and Roux, journals and newspapers of the Revolution, memoirs of contemporaries, and comments of modern historians. A glance at the footnotes is proof that the author has done a superb job of compressing his extensive material into the limited number of words allotted to him.

Rose answers the question raised by the title negatively. He sees the *enragés* as champions of egalitarianism and social justice rather than as early socialists. In examining them as a group, he concludes that, despite their occasional programmatic agreement, they did not compose a political party in any meaningful sense of the term. Many of their goals were shared by all militant revolutionaries. Even their struggle for the *maximum* was not confined exclusively to them. Yet, Rose admits that the *enragés* were distinguished from others by their "social radical-



ism, class-conscious terrorism, and a switch to 'anti-Jacobinism' in the autumn of 1793." This says much. The repudiation of Jacobin terror in the midst of revolution is quite a distinction. The eighteenth century, no less than our own, had its gods that failed, and the *enragés* were not slow to recognize this failure.

With the publication of this brief but excellent work there is no longer any excuse to confuse the *enragés* with the Hébertists or the Jacobins of the Left. It ought to be read by all interested in the French Revolution.

Youngstown University

MORRIS SLAVIN

L'ÉLECTION PRÉSIDENTIELLE DE LOUIS-NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE, 10 DÉCEMBRE 1848. By *André-Jean Tudesq*. [Kiosque: Les faits; la presse; l'opinion, Number 29.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 271. 8.50 fr.)

THE "Kiosque" series, which concerns the press and public opinion in France, now considers the role of the newspaper in relation to the presidential election of 1848. The title is misleading since the author discusses only one phase of the campaign and thus presents only a limited study of the political activity of Prince Louis Napoleon.

Tudesq seeks to discover how important the press was in determining the outcome of December 10. To do so he initially takes his reader back over the well-worn path of the effect of the Napoleonic legend on the mushrooming career of Louis Napoleon. It is in analyzing the editorial position taken by Parisian and provincial journals that he makes his major contribution, however. His verdict is that the newspapers, generally hostile to the Prince, had little or no influence on the outcome of the election. While long suspected, this is now statistically supported. Tudesq again affirms that Louis Napoleon's victory was one for universal suffrage, hence for the French peasantry. They knew the legend of the uncle; they could not read, or would not heed, the warnings of the editors.

The materials Tudesq uses are primarily from newspapers, which he quotes plentifully. He presents valuable statistics on the distribution of votes, as well as charts relating this to the editorial positions of the press, particularly in the departments. His list of and comments about the newspapers of France in 1848 are particularly helpful. Otherwise his interpretation is standard and valid. This is not the whole story of the candidature, and Louis Napoleon remains as elusive as ever. But Tudesq has followed his problem with skill and tenacity, and seldom has the relationship between politics and popular press been better stated.

DePauw University

JOHN J. BAUGHMAN

THE FALL OF PARIS: THE SIEGE AND THE COMMUNE 1870-71. By *Alistair Horne*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 458. \$6.95.)

THE history of Paris is compounded of glory and horror. It has been the center of European civilization and the capital of a great empire, its streets glittering with military pomp and intellectual brilliance. There have also been scenes of humiliation and, even worse, terror. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Paris has been occupied four times by the victorious armies of France's enemies. It has lived through civil war and bloody massacres. The worst humiliation was perhaps

the fall of Paris to the Prussians in 1871; the worst massacre was that following the fall of the Commune soon afterward. The two events penetrated deeply into French consciousness. Indeed, Mr. Horne traces their effects to the present.

His previous book on the Battle of Verdun in 1916 ranks first among recent works devoted to World War I. His new book on the fate of Paris in 1870 and 1871 has the same electric quality. There are a tingling excitement in the Parisian defiance of the Prussian armies; enthusiasm at the beginning of the Commune; and a noble melancholy in the last futile resistance of the Communards. Reading this book, one lives through the siege of Paris and the Commune with the participants.

Judged as a work of history, this book is not as good as its predecessor. When dealing with Verdun, Horne unfolded the story of the battle with great skill. Here, story is not enough. We need a broader perspective, and Horne presents it rather superficially. His account of gay Paris before the Franco-Prussian War is showy; he has a weakness for tired adjectives; his treatment of great men is less sympathetic than his treatment of small men. Nor does Horne understand the spirit of the Commune. The brilliant narrative, however, atones for many faults.

There can be few more dramatic stories than the Commune with its strange mixture of patriotism and working-class idealism, a mixture that no historian will ever clearly resolve. The Commune was the last explosion of Jacobinism and at the same time the precursor of the Bolshevik revolution. It had nothing to do with Communism, though Marx attempted to start the legend that it did.

Horne has a great canvas, and he has used his opportunity. He relied more than previous historians on the accounts of foreigners who were trapped in Paris during the siege. Their comments enliven the drama of the violent and bloody aftermath of the Commune, more terrible in retrospect since it foreshadowed the barbaric pattern with which Europe was soon to become familiar.

*Jackson Heights, New York*

GABRIEL GERSH

LE SOCIALISME FRANÇAIS: DE L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS À LA GRANDE GUERRE. By *Jean-Jacques Fiechter*. Preface by *Henri Guillemin*. [Études d'histoire économique, politique et sociale, Number 49.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 290. 32 fr. S.)

THE author justifies this comprehensive study of French socialism in the years from the Dreyfus affair to the First World War with the argument that the many books devoted to the subject are polemical and not scholarly and critical. Actually, the older standard works by Paul Louis and Alexandre Zévaès, the more recent volumes by Georges Lefranc and Daniel Ligou, the fine essay in synthesis and interpretation by Marcel Prélot, and the detailed interpretive monograph by the American scholar Aaron Noland (the last work is apparently unknown to the author) cover much the same ground quite adequately. It seems a little late to discover the Jules Guesde-Jean Jaurès controversy over the "deux méthodes" even if a reprinting of the famous confrontation at Lille in November 1900 as an appendix may serve a useful purpose. A familiar pattern emerges of the conflict between the two Socialist "options" of revolutionism and reformism, the crises pro-

duced by the Dreyfus affair and the Millerand "case," the precarious unity established in 1905, and the harmonizing efforts of Jaurès in trying to reconcile the opposing currents in the theoretically united party.

Fiechter's principal contribution is his intensive study of the Socialist party congresses and, even more so, of the parliamentary debates. By methodically analyzing the votes of the Socialist deputies on a large number of concrete political issues from 1902 to 1914, he successfully conveys the changing relationship of forces between the dogmatic intransigent Marxists (the "purs") led by Guesde and the flexible possibilists (the "politiques") led by Jaurès; the nuances within the two groups; and various other scattered "tendances" in the party as well. The analysis and the accompanying tables clearly demonstrate a shift from the hard line of the early years to a more conciliatory pattern in 1910-1914, for which Jaurès gets most of the credit. That the great tribune succeeded only in glossing over many fundamental differences and that he bequeathed an ambiguous legacy to his successors are somewhat ignored.

The volume has a useful chronological summary of the years 1898-1914 and the most detailed "analytical table of contents" (apart from the conventional one) a reader could ever expect to encounter. Although the author's claim that the history of French socialism illuminates the history of all modern socialism is perhaps arguable, he has not examined anything more than the French scene; but that is no small task in itself.

Duke University

JOEL COLTON

DOCUMENTS DIPLOMATIQUES FRANÇAIS (1932-1939). Second Series (1936-1939). Volume II (1<sup>er</sup> AVRIL-18 JUILLET 1936). [Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre 1939-1945.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1964. Pp. lxviii, 763.)

THE second volume of the Second Series of *Documents diplomatiques français*, compiled and edited by a commission of a score of professors and ambassadors under the presidency of Pierre Renouvin, consists of 484 diplomatic dispatches and other documents. This volume covers a fifteen-week span marked by the continuing repercussions to the German reoccupation of the Rhineland on March 7; the Italian victory in Ethiopia and the waning of League of Nations sanctions against the invader; the uneasiness in Paris and the Little Entente capitals over rumors from Vienna of an impending Habsburg restoration or *Anschluss*, the latter made the more likely by the Austro-German accord of July 11; the evidence of Polish alienation over the Franco-Soviet and Czech-Soviet alliances; the Turkish government's repudiation of the Treaty of Lausanne and its success at the Montreux Conference in winning compliance with its determination to rearm the Straits; finally, the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. The commission obtained the documents from the archives of the Quai d'Orsay, the historical sections of the army and navy, the Riom trials evidence deposited in the Archives Nationales, and private papers such as those of René Massigli, deputy director of political affairs at the *Ministère des Affaires Étrangères*.

Those devoted to the *Entente* will find these to be disturbing documents, re-

vealing as they do French and Allied indecision and impotence in the face of cumulative Nazi and Fascist diplomatic and military successes. Typical of the spirit of suicidal passivity is the *compte rendu* of the meeting on April 5, 1936, of Premier Sarraut, War Minister General Maurin, the commander in chief, General Gamelin, and several other generals, admirals, and ministers. Other documents reveal Ambassador L. C. Pineton de Chambrun's almost open admiration for Mussolini and his desire to return to the Stresa front despite *Il Duce's* embarrassing invasion of Ethiopia. And from Berlin Ambassador André François-Poncet sent back a succession of lucid, elegantly phrased analyses of the actions and policies of the Third *Reich* that remind one of a bird hypnotized by a coiled snake, but nonetheless filled with wonder at the snake's graceful convolutions. And from Warsaw Ambassador Léon Noël reported that the Polish government was gravely concerned over Czech-Soviet military collaboration. In fact, Warsaw seemed more preoccupied with Moscow than with Berlin. Such is the tenor of these documents. However depressing the reading (especially from hindsight), the documents are invaluable as primary sources.

University of California, Los Angeles

JERE CLEMENS KING

LA RECHERCHE HISTORIQUE EN FRANCE DE 1940 À 1965. [Comité français des Sciences historiques.] (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. 1965. Pp. lxiv, 518. 40 fr.)

THIS hefty volume is a tangible by-product of the Vienna historical congress, where it was distributed to eager participants by the French delegation. Specialists on France, and all those interested in the state of the profession in France, will find it an extraordinarily useful guidebook. It contains, among other things, a listing of all research and training institutes or centers, with relevant details about each; a listing of all historical periodicals currently published in France; and a classified bibliography of historical works published by French scholars since 1940. This bibliography occupies the last half of the volume and provides hard evidence, if any were needed, that French historians are a highly Francocentric breed. Only the ancient world has tempted many scholars to venture beyond the national frontiers.

Since Frenchmen have also shown little interest in the history of history, Jean Glénisson's fifty-page essay on contemporary French historiography is particularly welcome. Glénisson stresses the rising influence of Henri Berr during the first three decades of this century, and the still greater impact of the *Annales* school after 1929. The triumph of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch was clearly foreshadowed by 1939; the effect of the war was to complete the rout of the older "positivist" school of *historiens historisants*. By 1961 studies of economic and social history constituted 41 per cent of all theses in progress in modern and contemporary history, and the new VI<sup>e</sup> Section of the *École Pratique des Hautes Études*, headed first by Febvre and then by Fernand Braudel, had reinforced the *Annales* school's grip on research facilities and funds. French thought about history today, says Glénisson, is characterized by "une absence fondamentale de débat interne." Whether such total consensus is a sign of vigor or debility might in itself be an interesting subject for *débat interne*.

A chapter by Didier Ozanam outlines the character of historical training in the French universities, the types of degrees offered, the various state agencies for the encouragement of research (notably the well-heeled *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*), and the roles of the various archives and libraries. There are briefer chapters on the state of archival inventories and on current trends in the character of doctoral theses. This latter section, by Pierre Renouvin, demonstrates the phenomenal growth of the new *doctorat de troisième cycle* that is roughly equivalent to the American Ph.D. program and the excessive congestion of graduate work at the Sorbonne (where one overworked professor is currently directing some sixty *thèses principales*).

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

LETTRES MARCHANDES ÉCHANGÉES ENTRE FLORENCE ET MEDINA DEL CAMPO. By *F. Ruiz Martín*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI<sup>e</sup> Section. Centre de recherches historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Volume XXVII.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1965. Pp. cli, 484.)

HERE is another volume of letters from the archives of Simón and Cosme Ruiz, sixteenth-century merchants of Medina del Campo. The Ruiz correspondence with France, Lisbon, and Antwerp has already been carefully studied and much of it published (see *AHR*, LXII [Oct. 1956], 126; LXIV [Oct. 1958], 169; LXVI [Oct. 1960], 211; LXVIII [Oct. 1962], 124).

After the decline of Antwerp, Spanish merchants turned their attention toward Italy, especially the cities not under Spanish rule. Simón Ruiz had correspondents in several Italian cities, but this volume contains only the extant correspondence to and from his Florentine agents and connections from 1577 through 1585, with a detailed introduction by the editor. A second volume will contain the later correspondence and some statistical graphs and tables. Most of the letters are from two Spanish agents in Florence, Juan de Lago and his successor, Baltasar Suárez. More than one hundred are from the Capponi firm, which had close financial connections with the fairs of Lyons.

The letters reveal much about trade with Spain and the importance of the new port of Leghorn. Tuscany imported Spanish wool and leather, spices from Portugal, and cochineal from New Spain, that is, Mexico. The only article of importance exported from Tuscany to Spain was woollen cloth, but not enough to counterbalance the imports. Apparently Tuscany was one of the few European countries with which Spain, at this period, had a favorable balance of trade.

Occasionally the letters touch on political and social events that affected commerce, such as the plague of 1579 and rumors of war and peace that caused prices to go up or down. In addition, the letters contain some entertaining anecdotes about resident Spanish merchants and visiting Castilian grandees who were always eager to borrow but too proud to repay.

Because Simón Ruiz had become more interested in bills of exchange than in commodities, the letters deal extensively with the money market. Florence was still a banking place but only of second rank. Philip II, however, tried to use it for the purpose of freeing himself from the shackles of the Genoese bankers. He was

not successful in raising the funds he needed, although he secured substantial loans from the grand duke, Francesco de' Medici.

The introduction contains valuable background material, but is not always helpful in clarifying the meaning of difficult passages such as the exchange rates quoted at the end of almost every letter. There is a detailed analytical index. On the whole, the editor has done a conscientious job, but the full extent of his contribution cannot be assessed until the second volume appears.

*Brooklyn, New York*

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

PORTUGUESE SOCIETY IN THE TROPICS: THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILS OF GOA, MACAO, BAHIA, AND LUANDA, 1510-1800. By C. R. Boxer. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 240. \$6.00.)

THE University of Wisconsin's Knaplund Lectures for 1966 appear as four chapters, each devoted to the municipal institutions of a Portuguese city outside Europe; notes, conclusions, and an appendix of twenty-seven documents (all but one translated into English) have been added. Within this limited scope Professor Boxer has tried to show how the colonial bodies followed or diverged from their metropolitan prototypes, what they represented, and what their relations were with the home government and its officials. He shows that they used their right to correspond directly with the crown, were not easily overawed by viceroys or others in authority, defended local interests, and patronized civic societies or charities.

Much labor has gone into the work, and administrative historians will be grateful for these four sketches. The conclusions, though interesting, are of unequal importance, and scarcely enable us to perceive to what extent the *câmaras* influenced Portuguese policy or why they succeeded as representative institutions. It is pleasant to record that the author's views on Portuguese overseas policies appear to have moderated: if the "Anglo-Saxons" have not been conspicuously successful in some social matters, there seems little point in diminishing the credit due to those who may have been more so.

*University of British Columbia*

HAROLD LIVERMORE

GROEN VAN PRINSTERER: SCHRIFTELIJKE NALATENSCHAP. Volume III, BRIEFWISSELING. Part 2, 1833-1848. Prepared by C. Gerretson. Completed by J. La. van Essen. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Number 114.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1964. Pp. xvi, 1010.)

THIS correspondence, written by and addressed to Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876), constitutes the fourth in a series of publications designed to make available the principal unpublished letters and papers of this great Dutch parliamentarian and spiritual father of today's fundamentalist Protestant political parties in the Netherlands. Earlier volumes (1925, 1949, 1951) in the series contained Groen's correspondence for the years 1808-1833 and 1848-1866 and the first installment of the planned series of "papers." An additional volume of correspondence with Groen's political heir, Abraham Kuyper, was published separately by A. Goslinga in 1937.

The present volume covers the period between Groen's resignation as Secretary of the King's Cabinet in December 1833 and his election to the Second Chamber of the States-General in November 1848. During these years of study and reflection Groen won for himself a national and international reputation as a historian and political theorist with the publication of an eight-volume annotated edition of the correspondence of Prince William I of Orange, a handbook for the study of Dutch national history, and a series of lectures on the French Revolution in which he developed his antirevolutionary, Christian-historical political philosophy. In addition to these scholarly works, Groen wrote a number of polemical tracts protesting what he considered the spiritual tyranny of the latitudinarian majority in church and state over the orthodox Calvinist minority in matters of religious doctrine, church organization, and public education.

Groen's correspondence for this period is largely an outgrowth of his activity as a writer and scholar. He is said to have looked upon the publication of his correspondence as a substitute for an autobiography. Unquestionably the main value of his letters lies in what they show of Groen himself, his intellectual development, and his relations with his principal correspondents. And though one must turn to his published works for a comprehensive and systematic exposition of his counterrevolutionary, national-Calvinist views, Groen's letters add a valuable human dimension to our understanding of his thought.

Nearly fifteen hundred letters are here reproduced or summarized. The volume has been edited with meticulous care; the arrangement of the material is mostly chronological, but also systematic in that letters relating to a particular event are frequently grouped together. There is an index of persons and of newspapers and magazines, but no subject index. The book also contains a useful bibliography.

*Washington, D. C.*

B. H. WABEKE

SCANDINAVIA. By *John H. Wuorinen*. [The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. viii, 146. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

STUDENTS and specialists in public affairs, who need a handbook on the life and societies of the North European peoples in the twentieth century, will find this a helpful manual. Coverage is extensive, including data on climate and topography and on institutions—economic, social, and political. Behind this assemblage of material lies much solicitous effort, as will readily be perceived by anyone with experience in assembling copy for encyclopedia purposes. These data account for roughly half the space; the other half is devoted to historical surveys, covering the northern countries individually and then collectively. Roughly four-fifths of the historical treatment is concerned with the twentieth century, an emphasis more or less dictated by the format of the series in which the study appears. The story of the antecedent centuries is summarized effectively, for present purposes, in a single chapter, "History: Trends and Consequences," which takes the separate countries down to revolutionary and Napoleonic days. But, for the nineteenth century, the reader must look to scattered passages in later chapters. An index and three clear maps enhance the manual's usefulness.

One contention to which the author returns several times can prove troublesome. Various phrasings of it are well represented in the wording "that Finland is a charter member of the Nordic group." From this the nonspecialist might unwarrantedly infer that the Finnish people are members of the Scandinavian family in the same sense as are the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and the Icelanders. The last, incidentally, are the only group here set apart and given a chapter in their own right. Should one country need separate treatment in the context of this study it would seem rather to be Finland. To say this is in no way to call in question, on any national basis, the commitment of the Finns to the traditions of the "West" in the larger sense. That there has been in the twentieth century, notably after the world wars, a growing Finnish disposition to make this commitment articulate through much collaboration on many levels of activity with the Scandinavian neighbors is an important part of the story. Also, in turn, is the circumstance that these neighbors, with good will and cordiality, have welcomed their Finnish colleagues as affiliates and associates in the pursuit of many common endeavors. How extensive these endeavors are is evident from the copious and fulsome substantiation offered in this compact study.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

DIE KONSILIARPRAXIS DER EBERHARD-KARLS-UNIVERSITÄT UND DIE BEHANDLUNG DER EHRVERLETZUNG IN DEN TÜBINGER KONSILIEN. By *Jochen Geipel*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 4.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 156. DM 15.)

DAS ERBRECHT DER REICHSTADT ESSLINGEN. By *Jürg Arnold*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 5.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xvi, 220. DM 18.)

DIE SCHWÄBISCH-ÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDSTÄNDE UND LANDTAGE IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Nico Sapper*. [Schriften zur südwestdeutschen Landeskunde, Number 6.] (Stuttgart: Müller & Gräff. 1965. Pp. xxii, 144. DM 17.)

HERE are three monographs on southwestern Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Geipel reviews the legal opinions handed down by the University of Tübingen's faculty of laws to inferior courts in Württemberg and elsewhere. In most small German towns legal business was brought before lay courts, and when amateur judges disagreed, or were mystified by legal intricacies, or when the minority refused to accept the majority decision, they requested advice from a nearby university. Geipel examines the *Consilia Tubingensia* from 1495 through the eighteenth century and the profuse exchange of documents that accompanied them. Special reference is made to cases of defamation and injury. *Consilia* were mere opinions at first, but from about 1600 they became binding on the courts. Such a usurpation by universities of the functions of courts was rooted in the Germanic tendency to split the roles of jurist and judge. As long as the latter had to turn elsewhere for expert counsel, it seemed sensible to seek it at the highest scholarly level.

One of the many places applying to Tübingen was the imperial city of Esslingen. There, as elsewhere in Germany, Roman law entered the legal machinery



as the need for it arose. Arnold investigates this process, with special attention to the law of inheritance. His study shows that Germanic legal institutions persevered tenaciously in Esslingen. Not until the "Improved Law of Inheritance" of 1712 did Justinian provisions become dominant. Some undertakings, like marriage agreements, escaped the Roman impact altogether, but testaments were strongly influenced. Incidentally, local investigations of such limited scope as Arnold's are not as isolated as they might appear. The entire question of the Reception has been undergoing re-examination, and local studies are vital to the synthesizing historian.

South of Esslingen and Tübingen lies "Swabian Austria" by which is meant those lands, stretching from the western border of Bavaria along the Danube to the Rhine, where the Habsburgs tried to reconstitute the ancient duchy of Swabia. They failed, and their Swabian possessions never came to be more than a *Streubesitz*. Nonetheless, the region saw, early in the sixteenth century, the rise of territorial estates. As elsewhere, the great incentive for this surge was Maximilian's constant need of money and soldiers. His demands gave occasions for meetings, debates, even the organization of a rudimentary bureaucracy to collect taxes and such. But the region was too disjointed to gain any kind of coherence. Indeed, it remains uncertain whether one can speak of it as a *Land* at all. Sapper says that one can, but only in the sense of "a reflection of a territorial administration in process of formation." In any case, Maria Theresa's administrative reform of 1750 swept "Swabian Austria" away.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

**FREEDOM AND DIGNITY: THE HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT OF SCHILLER.** By *Deric Reglin*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 153. Glds. 18.)

THIS book covers Schiller's intellectual development up to Weimar and his association with Goethe. The best chapters are those dealing with his historical writings, their role in his over-all thought, and their importance in the formation of his mature aesthetic theory. Briefly, the author's thesis is: History provided Schiller "with a new technique for combatting oppression, differing from that which he had employed as a poet and playwright." Synthesizing Kant and the anti-Kantian Herder, he came to view history as a teacher "showing man, through the continuity and context of historical events, what he is in his present state, and what he may become in the future." Under the impact of the French Revolution he turned away from history in the belief that "since the task is to make clear what we are not, but are to become and should become, history has lost its instrumentality as an educator." His transition in the early 1790's from history to aesthetics grew out of his conviction that "not politics, but art is the realm in which man's totality which was lost in history, will be revived." Following Aristotle, Schiller henceforth viewed the arts as "the correctors of history."

Throughout the book, and especially in the first third, the author depends too heavily and uncritically for generalization on Meinecke, Cassirer, Silz, and Strich; whereas there is only passing mention of the important essays on Schiller, and on the period, by Georg Lukács. One wearies of the argument, for example,

that because Kant did understand Rousseau, the Storm and Stressers necessarily could not. This just is not so. Rousseau is more than the forerunner of Kant's rational will, and the author's own argument suggests that Schiller's political consciousness owes more to Rousseau than to Kant. Thus Regin asks: "Would it be rash to conjecture that Schiller gave up his fight for political freedom in historical essays, because he recognized that the general will of even an enlightened and mature nation was incompatible with ethical freedom?" Yes, I think it would be rash. This is more the view of Kierkegaard than of Schiller. It was not a question for Schiller of the incompatibility of ethical freedom and enlightenment, but of the incompatibility of ethical freedom and the bourgeois statism of enlightened France. The whole point of his aesthetic ideal of an inwardly harmonious mankind was that one day it would "guarantee reality to the political creation of reason." Again, Regin asks: "Granted that the French Revolution had turned into a kind of tyranny, could Schiller not have conceived of more practical ways to combat social and political injustices?" I think not. Ludwig Uhland, Georg Forster, and even Goethe simply attest the tragic futility of nonrevolutionary progressive political activity in Germany at this time. Germany required revolution, and revolution was out of the question. Schiller's greatness lies in his effort to save and encourage the ideal of humanity in spite of the political situation. Under the circumstances, can we wonder that art served his purpose better than history?

*Yale University*

ROBERT ANCHOR

SYBEL UND TREITSCHKE: ANTIDEMOKRATISMUS UND MILITARISMUS IM HISTORISCH-POLITISCHEN DENKEN GROSSBOURGEOISER GESCHICHTSIDEOLOGEN. By *Hans Schleier*. [Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften des Instituts für Geschichte. Series 1, Allgemeine und deutsche Geschichte, Number 23.] (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. 1965. Pp. 317. DM 28.)

HENRICH von Treitschke's disastrous influence on the intellectual life of Germany from the founding of Bismarck's empire to the end of Hitler's tyranny has been clearly recognized by present-day historians in his native land and in this country by Hans Kohn and Andreas Dorpalen, especially. Much less attention, however, has been paid to his contemporary, Heinrich von Sybel, another leading proponent of the *kleindeutsche* solution among the political historians of the nineteenth century. Sybel, founder of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, secretary of the powerful *Historische Kommission* in Munich, and, finally, director of the Prussian State Archives, was probably the most respected German historian of his day, next to his teacher, Ranke. A comparative study that would have appraised the political role of Sybel and Treitschke critically but calmly might have been of considerable benefit to students of nationalism and historical method. Unfortunately, this has not been accomplished by Hans Schleier in his present study which grew out of a dissertation accepted by the Karl Marx University in Leipzig.

The author is a pupil of Ernst Engelberg, a leading East German historian, and serves on the staff of the Historical Institute at the Academy of Sciences in East Berlin. He could have made a real contribution to the history of German historiography since he had access to the Sybel papers in the *Zentralarchiv* at

Merseburg; he seems also to have used unpublished Treitschke materials, although he rarely mentions details on this point. But he has missed his chance, for he is much more interested in violent polemics than in sober analysis. He criticizes almost all German historians, past and present. Even liberal minds like Siegfried Kaehler and Franz Schnabel are denounced as *reaktionär* and *ganz rückständig*; Friedrich Meinecke does not escape severe criticism, either. Schleier directs his most uninhibited attacks, however, against Walter Bussmann, Schnabel's successor at the University of Munich and author of the most important recent German monograph on Treitschke. That Schleier is capable of doing a more constructive job is evident from some passages dealing with Sybel's and Treitschke's negative attitude toward social reform. Here is a legitimate occasion to expose their class prejudices, and he is rather persuasive. But otherwise this dissertation confirms the notion I gained at the recent historical congress in Vienna that there is an abyss between most historians of the Bonn Republic and East Germany. How would they ever be able to work together if the iron curtain were to be lifted?

Trenton State College

FELIX E. HIRSCH

THE MERCHANT OF REVOLUTION: THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER ISRAEL HELPHAND (PARVUS), 1867-1924. By Z. A. B. Zeman and W. B. Scharlau. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 306. \$7.20.)

AMONG the personalities of European socialism in the era of the Second International, few were as extraordinary as Helphand-Parvus. His massive build, ardent revolutionary spirit, and indifference to "bourgeois" standards of probity in money matters suggest a latter-day Bakunin. To the austere socialists among whom he moved, his unabashedly Bohemian way of life and his zeal in acquiring a large personal fortune made him an object of suspicion. His friends thought of him as a figure larger than life, who "did everything on a grand scale."

Students of socialism know Helphand best as the radical journalist and Marxian theoretician who exerted a profound and lasting influence on Trotsky's revolutionary thought. More recently, the publication of secret documents from the German Foreign Ministry archives captured in 1945 revealed that he served as the Imperial German government's chief agent in its campaign to drive Russia out of the First World War through covert aid to the antiwar forces in the Russian revolutionary movement. Dr. Zeman, the British editor of these absorbing documents, has now teamed up with W. B. Scharlau, a German scholar, to produce the first biography of Helphand.

Plainly an outgrowth of Zeman's previous work, this study devotes disproportionate attention, almost half its pages, to Helphand's activities during the war years. Fresh research has been combined with the evidence of the earlier documentary collection to make this part of the volume the best account available of German efforts to undermine first the tsarist regime and then the provisional government, its successor, which elected to continue the war. Helphand provided the inspiration for these efforts, but, except for his scheme to facilitate the return of the Bolshevik leaders to Russia via Germany, the authors are uncertain as to how fruitful his activities were. They are persuaded, how-

ever, that his political life was all of a piece, that in collaborating with the diplomats Helphand did not betray, but rather thought to promote, his socialist ideals. For their fulfillment, he was "ready to employ any means: revolution in Russia, elections in Prussia, the diplomats in Berlin."

Regrettably, the first half of the book is distinctly inferior to what follows. Paucity of material may account for the thinness of the treatment of Helphand's life prior to the world war. The impression is inescapable, nevertheless, that this part of the volume was put together with indecent haste. The reader obtains an outline of the subject's career, but Helphand's interesting ideas are treated only summarily, and not infrequently to the accompaniment of banal judgments. The authors have neglected to consult the voluminous literature on the Russian Social Democratic party, with the result that their treatment of Helphand's association with it is riddled with errors.

Grinnell College

S. H. BARON

HISTOIRE DE L'ARMÉE ALLEMANDE. Volume V, LES ÉPREUVES DE FORCE, 1938. By *Benoist-Méchin*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1965. Pp. 531. 27 fr.)

SHORTLY before the start of the Second World War, M. Benoist-Méchin published a two-volume *History of the German Army since the Armistice*, which in 1940 was *couronné* by the French Academy. During the war the author held a senior position in the Vichy government and later was imprisoned for collaboration. Since his release he has been superseding his earlier work with a vaster project, bearing almost the same title, of which this volume is the fifth. As the author himself has noted, the contents of neither version are accurately reflected in the title. German military institutions and policies are indeed discussed, but at least in the more recent volumes their treatment tends to be extremely general. In the few cases where sufficient space is devoted to them the material employed is inadequate. For example, a lengthy comparison of Hitler's strategic views with those held by the army's chief of staff, Ludwig Beck, is developed on the basis of some anecdotes and catchy quotations, but does not seriously analyze Beck's position papers and historical essays. If the work is not a history of the German Army, what is it about? Whatever his original intention, the author now is writing a political and diplomatic history of the breakdown of Versailles. But even this description may be too narrow. A tendency to go very far into the background of his subject, which was noticeable from the start, has now gone out of control: one-third of the present volume is taken up by an account of Bohemian and Czechoslovak history before 1933. Intelligently written, evocative rather than informative, it rarely rises above the level of a Sunday *feuilleton*.

Nevertheless, the book is not without value. Its author is not handicapped by the anger that besets many historians when they write of the 1930's; he evaluates the pressures and counterpressures between states and within governments with a detached appreciation for power. Occasionally he permits himself an absurd construction—Beneš in the spring of 1938 playing for time because he believed the tales of such refugees as Thomas Mann and Emil Ludwig that Germany was on

the verge of revolution—or the repetition of ancient Right-wing arguments, like Gamelin's fatuous statement in March 1938 that sending additional military equipment to the Spanish Republicans would result in disarming the French forces. But he is good at analyzing the tactics of international conflict in the Nazi era, and, more than that, at permitting us to sense the decay of society, the feebleness of ideology, the blindness of the practical politician, and the inadequacy of nearly every statesman of Europe just before the war.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

PETER PARET

JOSEPH II AND BAVARIA: TWO EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ATTEMPTS AT GERMAN UNIFICATION. By *Paul P. Bernard*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1965. Pp. 227. Glds. 24.)

PROFESSOR Bernard, for some years a discriminating student of Josephinism, has turned in his interesting book to the diplomatic aspects of Joseph II's reign. He deals with the Emperor's efforts, as coregent in 1778–1779 and as ruler in his own right in 1785, to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria and thereby not only to obtain compensation for the loss of Silesia but to secure definitely Austrian supremacy in Germany. The consequences of such a policy, if successful, for the future history of the Habsburg Empire, for the German question in general, and for Balkan policies are vividly argued. Perhaps they would have been even more staggering, and the whole course of world history might have been different.

And yet, to call this study attempts at "German unification" is a misnomer. History is basically the discipline of what happened and why things happened, and not of what did not happen and what would have happened, had it happened. Joseph II failed in an expansionist policy. Primarily he did not have the unification of Germany but the strengthening of Austria in mind, although his policy, seen from a long-range point of view, might indeed have led to German unification under Austrian-Catholic auspices. It did not. In this sense we are justified in devoting much greater attention to the Silesian wars than to the Bavarian succession. Still, Bernard's story is worth telling, and he tells it well and with solid documentary implementation. The unreliability of French support for Joseph's designs seems to him as important as Frederick II's opposition and the imponderability of Russia's attitude. All this is well reasoned. Perhaps the study is, at points, too personalized. There is no question that Kaunitz was an extremely vain personality, but there is no evidence that his over-all policies were determined or decisively influenced by this trait. I do not think that Catherine II's concern with her imperial dignity in her negotiations with Joseph can be dismissed lightly. Even in the eighteenth century ceremonial questions were still symbols of very real interests of the Great Powers in international relations.

Some statements, perhaps owing to editorial oversight, are somewhat puzzling to me. A chief advantage in the acquisition of the *Innviertel* by Austria in 1779 is seen in the fact that "the district of Tyrol now became contiguous to the main body of Austrian possessions." Problematical is the reference to the "Austrians finding themselves a minority in their own country in an age of rapidly

increasing national tension and consciousness." Does this mean that the Austrians are equated with German-Austrians, and if so why? The author does not say. Yet what he does say amounts to a most penetrating and original contribution to eighteenth-century diplomatic history.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

SIGMUND FREUD: A SHORT BIOGRAPHY. By *Giovanni Costigan*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1965. Pp. xiv, 306. \$4.95.)

As Ernest Jones's three-volume biography of his master appeared (1953-57), considerable condemnation on the ground of bias tended to neutralize the praise of Freudians. Yet Jones's work, based on some 2,500 letters that "official psychoanalysis" had sealed off for a half century, was crammed with material. Philip Rieff confessed in the preface to his brilliant analysis of Freud's concepts, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralizer* (1959), that he could not "entirely believe" the Jones volumes, but found them filled with "enough raw material . . . for a dozen Oedipal offspring." He continued: "Any man with talent and daring enough can begin to write a different interpretation of Freud's life with nothing more at his elbow than Jones." One historian had already made use of Jones in a biography (Richard L. Schoenwald, *Freud: The Man and His Mind, 1856-1956* [1956]), but this book was received with disappointment as basically a mere summary of Freud's writings. In the meantime scholars in other fields were making contributions to an understanding of various aspects of Freud's career and concepts.

Now an American historian has again essayed a biography of Freud. Based mainly on Freud's published writings and letters and Jones's volumes, Costigan's book is an account of Freud's experiences and work. The author makes no attempt to cut through the protective wrappings in which the psychoanalysts have swathed their hero; he presents Freud as Freud saw himself, and as his admirers still see him. Particularly annoying are the absence of index and footnotes and the frequent use of generalizations without supporting evidence. At times Costigan fails to mention conclusions that stem from recent research; this leaves the reader uncertain whether he has dismissed them as unimportant or whether he was unaware of them. In his comments on the remarkable similarity between the concepts of Freud and Arthur Schnitzler, for example, he seems unaware of the possibility that Schnitzler might have influenced Freud rather than, as was originally assumed, the opposite. And although the author sometimes mentions the scholarly objections to Freud's excursions into fields beyond his ken, at others this is neglected, as in the case of Freud's favorite analysis, *Leonardo da Vinci: A Study in Psychosexuality*. Yet Meyer Schapiro easily destroyed the entire basis for Freud's cobweb structure ("Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVII [Apr. 1956], 147-78).

Except for such irritations the book, competently organized and smoothly written, makes pleasant reading. It is obviously intended for popular consumption, and it may seem unfair to condemn it for not achieving more than it attempts. Surely, however, no historian should be satisfied to produce a work so superficial as to be misleading in a field where objectivity is clearly needed. Perhaps Gerhard Masur's thoughtful sketch of Freud as philosopher in his *Prophets*

of Yesterday: *Studies in European Culture 1890-1914* (1961) is a forecast of what the historian's approach will eventually be.

Montgomery Junior College

MARY R. DEARING

DIE BADENISCHEN SPRACHENVERORDNUNGEN VON 1897: IHRE GENESIS UND IHRE AUSWIRKUNGEN VORNEHMLICH AUF DIE INNERÖSTERREICHISCHEN ALPENLÄNDER. Volume II. By *Berthold Sutter*. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs, Number 47.] (Graz-Köln: Verlag Hermann Böhlau. 1965. Pp. 524. DM 59.)

AFTER an intermission of five years this second volume now completes Professor Sutter's analysis of the Austrian political crisis brought about by the language ordinances of Prime Minister Count Badeni. (For a critique of the first volume, see *AHR*, LXVII [Oct. 1961], 211.) The utter precision of the book's monumental title should not frighten away even the casual reader; there is much more in these two volumes than their title would indicate. For while the first volume ranges all the way from the birth of the nationality problem in Austria under Joseph II to the beginnings of the political crisis in 1897, this second volume discusses the growing clashes between hysterical nationalists. The author detects, in fact, a direct relationship between this crisis and the mid-century "final solution" of the minority question in the Danubian era. The Badeni ordinances, which established the parity of the German and Czech languages in the administration of Bohemia, unleashed bedlam in the *Reichsrat* and throughout the country. The ordinances were never put into effect, and Francis Joseph soon dropped his Prime Minister, but the hatreds created in this period were never again stilled. Thereafter Austria had to be governed by imperial fiat. (Does not Sutter perhaps underestimate the successes of Baron von Beck and of his franchise reform in 1907?) Worst of all, the Magyars used the nearby collapse of their Austrian partners to pursue ruthlessly their policy of sabotage of the *Ausgleich*. Enjoying the support of the German Kaiser, the Magyars began to insist on their absurd concept of Austria as a foreign power. This was truly the beginning of the end of the monarchy. The author's indictment of the Hungarian liberal government is justifiably severe, from the point of view of a historian sympathetic toward the monarchy, yet he is hardly less scathing in his indictment of the aggressively imperialist Czech politicians. Nor do German nationalists on both sides of the border fare any better. The ultimate responsibility for this tragedy is laid at the feet of the bungling Prime Minister, and only the monarch and the monarchy as a whole escape blame. For the army, the administration, the conservatives, and most of the lower classes did not desert their ruler. In fact, the author insists, the Austrian half of the monarchy provided the world with an immortal, if often forgotten, example of multinational coexistence and extremely fair minority legislation.

The author's analysis is conscientious, his documentation enormous, and while one wishes that he had treated the many ridiculous incidents of the great crisis with less solemnity and more humor, the high quality of this unique contribution to Austrian history cannot be doubted.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

RECHERCHES SUR LES CONSTITUTIONS DES PEUPLES LIBRES. By J. C. L. Sismondi. Edited with an introduction by Marco Minerbi. [Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique, Number 8.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1965. Pp. 384. 36 fr. S.)

FROM 1796 through 1800, during his exile in Tuscany, Sismondi wrote a series of essays on political theory and the application of this theory to the constitutional history of medieval Italy and Spain. He was unable, however, to find a publisher willing to accept his work, and the manuscript ultimately became part of the collection of his papers in the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Pescia. In his later writings Sismondi referred but rarely to the youthful *Recherches sur les constitutions des peuples libres*. Still, if one believes De Salis, his biographer, he considered the *Recherches* to contain the essence of his political thought. In his subsequent volumes he did not alter his principles; he simply filled in the details.

Thanks to the careful editing of the *Recherches* by Marco Minerbi, Sismondi's observations can be put to the test. What we possess is indeed an introduction to that sixteen-volume hymn to the liberties of the medieval commune, the *Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge* (1807-18). Reacting against the imperialism of the Jacobin dictatorship which had driven him from Geneva, Sismondi found historical solace through analyses of the "free" urban institutions of northern Italy and Aragon of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In his view vigorous parliamentary governments, representative in their fashion, were responsible for the vitality of the peoples governed by them. As the regimes turned oligarchic or dictatorial, the moral fiber of the citizenry weakened correspondingly. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the pursuit of wealth replaced interest in politics, contributing yet further to the decline of public morality.

The publication of the *Recherches* may not resolve the issue of whether Sismondi should be labeled the last of the Enlightenment historians or the first of the romantics. Nor does it appear that economic theory had as yet assumed a major place in his historical thought. Nevertheless, Minerbi has performed a service in making available this document: which shows that while still in his twenties Sismondi ranged from Plato to John Adams in his reading. It is noteworthy that, for all his misgivings about the *Contrat social*, Sismondi insisted upon being considered a disciple of his illustrious compatriot, of whom he said in the *Recherches*: "Nous différons plutôt dans les mots que dans les choses."

University of Oregon

RAYMOND BIRN

SOZIALER UND KULTURELLER WANDEL IN EINEM LÄNDLICHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET: (ZÜRCHER OBERLAND) UNTER EINWIRKUNG DES MASCHINEN- UND FABRIKWESENS IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By Rudolf Braun (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag. 1965. Pp. 368. DM 26.)

DR. BRAUN'S study of industrialization in the Swiss canton of Zurich in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is the second volume of a set; the first was devoted to industrial activity in the Zurich highlands during the eighteenth century.

Switzerland became one of the most highly industrialized areas of Western



Europe in the last century, but, rather than describe the history of its industrialization, the author has confined himself to a sociological study of the effects of industrialization on *Volk* culture. More specifically, he has contrasted the sociology of early industrialization in the Zurich textile industry in the period 1815-1850 with that of the 1860's, 1870's, and 1880's. There is little concern with actual historical description. Much space is devoted to an excessive use of the jargon of contemporary German sociology and to repetitious statements referring to themes allegedly to be developed in subsequent chapters, but hardly further discussed than in terms of the jargon used at first reference.

Despite these faults, the author presents some stimulating ideas, thus rescuing the excellence of his research, and, in the end, compelling one to respect the high caliber of his interpretation. Conservative in his use of historical terminology, Braun refuses, for example, to follow English and American usage of the term "industrial revolution," preferring the simpler term "industrialization." The latter turns out to be a social process inextricably linked to the "machine-factory system" of production, itself a revolutionary cultural force. The less adaptable domestic workers, unemployed spinners, and rural riffraff of the Zurich highlands were drawn into the factories when they first opened, there to be subject to crippling work loads, low pay, poor housing, and a generally barren way of life. During the nineteenth century, philanthropists, intellectuals, and the petty bourgeoisie became concerned with the "social question" posed by the ills of factory culture. The works of leading philanthropists, government reports on working conditions, newspapers and records of clubs, and factory ordinances have all been thoroughly studied and brought to bear on the sociological analysis. Archives of business firms were not, however, sufficiently available.

Most interesting, and somewhat novel, is Braun's contention that by the end of the century the worker had become a lively individual, highly stimulated by the technology of machine production, not alienated from his work, but devoted to it and the culture it had created. Consumers' goods industries and the culture of the modern consumer also arose as the factory system spread, and this feature of working-class culture penetrated to other classes in the twentieth century. By the end of the first century of its existence, the owners of the factory system had also become less tyrannical, even patriarchal and paternalist, in their views.

It would seem as if the consumer culture that developed with the factory system is more important than the working-class movement, which is also described, but which appears to the author to be a by-product of factory culture and the social question rather than a cultural achievement. For him, Swiss social welfare and a Swiss consumer culture do represent such an achievement.

*University of Alberta*

HELEN P. LIEBEL

HENRY DUNANT: PROPHET OF PEACE. By *Violet Kelway Libby*. (New York: Pageant Press. 1964. Pp. 377. \$6.95.)

THE general origins of the International Red Cross are familiar to students of nineteenth-century history, and the role of its principal founder, Henri Dunant, is known to those concerned with the development of internationalism and the peace movement. The present biography supplements its predecessors in providing

new information gleaned from the Dunant archives at Geneva, reports and documents of the International Committee of the Red Cross, contemporary newspapers, consular reports in the National Archives, and interviews with family members and surviving acquaintances.

Violet Libby provides a useful background for understanding the place of Dunant and his family in the evangelical circles of Geneva and in its financial and business community. The isolated and religious upbringing of Dunant helps explain his social sensitivity, his lively enthusiasms for good works, and his credulity, overoptimism, and naïveté, qualities that figured in his many failures, whether in his efforts to promote the agricultural and industrial development of Algiers, to secure the neutralization of Palestine, or to launch the institution for which he is best known. Dunant was, to be sure, not without a marked practical, promotional talent. This was evident in what he did for the World Evangelical Alliance, the YMCA, and, above all, for publicizing the excellent reporting he did of the Battle of Solferino in his most important book, *Un souvenir de Solferino* (1862). The international conference at Geneva in 1863, in which he took a leading part, paved the way for the diplomatic conference of 1864, which submitted to the governments of the world the Geneva convention, to be subsequently accepted and amplified with the well-known result of the neutralization of ambulances, military hospitals, and their personnel. In the third edition of his influential book Dunant proposed the use of the national Red Cross societies for humanitarian work in peacetime disasters, a proposal that Clara Barton first implemented in the United States.

In emphasizing the supremacy of humanitarian considerations over national and racial commitments Dunant was a significant nineteenth-century figure in the growth of internationalism, but until his death in 1910 he suffered virtual exile from his native city and precarious poverty; ill-health added to his plight. The belated recognition of his pioneer work, to which the Nobel Peace Prize contributed, only partly compensated for his near defeat in the conflict with oblivion.

This biography presents, in addition to the story of Dunant, a panorama of well-known figures with whom he had more than casual contacts. It would be unfair to say that the author does not try to relate Dunant to those who helped him realize his main objective and to currents of humanitarianism and internationalism, but these efforts do not entirely succeed. What does clearly emerge, however, is the way in which a middle-class humanitarian businessman and evangelical reformer, advocating class collaboration and distrusting both socialism and democracy, found it necessary to court the favor of royal families and of highly placed figures in the military and diplomatic world. Despite the book's lack of analysis and annotation, it is likely to be useful for a long time.

University of Wisconsin

MERLE CURTI

STUDI SULLA FORTUNA DEL MACHIAVELLI. By *Giuliano Procacci*. [Studi di storia moderna e contemporanea.] (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1965. Pp. xi, 468.)

In the heavily worked mine of Machiavellian research the author has discovered an almost unexplored vein. This book is not another study of the role of Machi-

avellism and anti-Machiavellism in political thought but a history of Machiavellian scholarship from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. The author investigates those writers who made acknowledged or unacknowledged use of Machiavelli's works. He reveals the story behind the discovery and publication of hidden or forgotten Machiavellian material, and he explains the development that led to the publication of the first complete editions of Machiavelli's works at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The author's research is impressive, but despite the rich detail the main thread of thought in the single chapters never gets lost, and each chapter holds the attention of the reader.

The first half of the book will be read as single chapters rather than as continuous narrative. This results from the nature of the subject under investigation. During the sixteenth century when Machiavelli's works had been placed on the Index the study of Machiavelli required intellectual courage and adventurousness. During this period the history of Machiavellian scholarship cannot be clearly separated from the history of Machiavellism. Thus, in the earlier parts of the book the author can provide only additions to previously explored facts. It seems to me that in these chapters the author does not always avoid the danger of finding a direct influence of Machiavelli in passages that might be explained as reflecting general trends of thought.

When Procacci's presentation has reached the middle of the seventeenth century, the character of the book changes: it becomes a connected whole that makes fascinating reading. In the Protestant north—England, Germany, and the Netherlands—the concept of Machiavelli the Republican was developed, and this notion gradually infiltrated Italy and reawakened interest in Machiavelli among Italian *eruditi*. They explored archives and family papers for new information about the *Segretario Fiorentino*, but, confronted with the opposition of the Church, they were prevented from reporting publicly about their findings except in disguised form. Nevertheless, at the end of the eighteenth century comprehensive editions of Machiavelli's works were published in Italy, and in the Florence of Pietro Leopoldo the Machiavelli monument in Santa Croce was erected. But hardly had Machiavelli gained recognition as a protagonist of freedom when the views about him changed again. In the intellectual climate of the Restoration, the condemnation of his works by the Church acquired new significance, and scholars who had been instrumental in rehabilitating Machiavelli now sent apologetic letters to the Pope. Moreover, the greater knowledge of Machiavelli's life, which the researches of the eighteenth century had produced, undermined the view of Machiavelli as defender of freedom, which originally had stimulated interest in him. Machiavelli's famous letter to Vettori about the composition of the *Prince* showed that this treatise could not be interpreted as a warning against the Medici tyranny. In a time of rising nationalism, nevertheless, Machiavelli remained an admired thinker as an early advocate of Italian national unity. The book ends with chapters on Machiavelli and the *Risorgimento* and with an analysis of Francesco de Sanctis' interpretation of Machiavelli. It seems regrettable that the author failed to pursue his researches a few decades further to the origin of the classical biographies of Machiavelli by Villari and Tommasini, which in my opinion would have formed the logical conclusion of his work. But the author's heart is in the eighteenth rather than in the nineteenth century, and the most im-

portant and lasting contributions of this erudite work are its insights into the intellectual and cultural history of the *settecento*.

*Institute for Advanced Study*

FELIX GILBERT

PENSIERO POLITICO E VITA CULTURALE A NAPOLI NELLA SECONDA METÀ DEL SEICENTO. By *Salvo Mastellone*. [Biblioteca di cultura contemporanea, Number 88.] (Florence: Casa Editrice G. D'Anna, 1965. Pp. 244. L. 1,800.)

IN this valuable survey of the Neapolitan reception of new ideas from Northern Europe during the last half of the seventeenth century we can observe the careers and the writings of that substantial group of literati and professional men composing the mobile and mixed middling group between the humanist that was and the Enlightenment scientist to be.

The author, a close scholar of the numerous manuscript collections housed in the relatively uncharted archives of Naples, rightly refuses to subordinate the intellectual history of the city to the coming of its most formidable philosopher: Giovanni Battista Vico. He believes that the many Neapolitan writers so open to currents from the north are deserving of a separate and ample discussion. Therefore he first describes the confrontation between feudal doctrine and the new jurisprudence. In unforeseen ways such a figure as Grotius comes to buttress the arguments of lawyers of Naples seeking to make the "public good" prevail over archaic but still strong baronial privilege. Similarly, we observe the need of the southern Italian writers to contrast the theories of Descartes and Gassendi with those of the time-honored Scholastics. There is also that little-studied contest between Catholic historiography and Protestant scholarship. Especially unattractive to Neapolitan writers are papal theocratic claims, and of course the Inquisition. Here disaffection is supported by sources as wide ranging as Erasmus and Spinoza. Soon, however, we observe that the interaction between northern ideas and southern discontents is generalized. The eagerness with which the new was received and the intensity with which it was given form lead to what the author describes as "la grande rivoluzione spirituale napoletana." Borrowings from such groups as the Dutch philologists and historians of philosophy included a threefold division of Greek thought into the heroic, mythic or theological, and philosophical ages. Such delineations were to be rendered meaningful beyond the most immodest expectations by Vico whose early years were spent in the receptive milieu so aptly described, if not deeply analyzed, by the author.

*University of Rochester*

MARVIN B. BECKER

OIL SILK AND ENLIGHTENMENT: ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY NAPLES. By *Patrick Chorley*. [Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, Number 18.] (Naples: the Istituto, 1965. Pp. 282. L. 3,500.)

IN a forceful if often speculative study, Patrick Chorley examines the economics of producing olive oil and raw silk in the kingdom of Naples at the end of the eighteenth century, especially between 1780 and 1806. Using merchants' letter books,

the acts of communes, and the manuscripts of the Finance Ministry in the *Archivio di Stato*, the author shows that exports of olive oil doubled in the generation before the revolutionary wars, in response to North Sea and Baltic markets and to the profit of foreign merchants. Two southern provinces, Otranto and Calabria Ultra, accounted for over two-thirds of the exports. Prices were subject to wide seasonal variations. Chorley conclusively demonstrates that the *voce* or fixed price was set at rates favorable to Neapolitan merchants, who also benefited from the device of the *contratto alla voce*, a short-term cash loan advanced to the producer before the harvest and reimbursed by shipments of oil at the fixed price. Not only was urban monopoly of rural credit one of the structural factors limiting the expansion and profitability of agricultural commerce; it was also a cause of class antagonism between olive grower and merchant. A further burden upon agrarian productivity was the policy of taxation upon purely fiscal grounds, also designed to provision the Neapolitan poor. In a lengthy chapter on the silk industry the author suggests that adverse price movements, the lack of credit, and excessive taxation produced a decaying industry, in full recession after 1792.

"Enlightenment" is limited to economic reform and is presented in the memorandums of such state servants as Palmieri and Grimaldi. There is no attempt to define the limits of enlightened despotism, although its failure to reform thoroughly the oil *voce* in 1788 and the silk duties in 1790 is described as typical. The *illuministi* saw the domination of the provinces by Naples and deplored the administrative inheritance of the Bourbon regime, but mostly failed to see the importance of the rural credit system for the national economy.

Chorley has seriously and thoughtfully penetrated into uncharted territory. His findings on price history and the institution of credit are especially valuable. Although the graphs of price movements are useful, one regrets the absence of maps, bibliography, and a glossary. No quotations are translated, leaving one-tenth of the text in the original Italian. The interweaving of economic practice and reforming ideas is occasionally "repetitive and overlapping," as the author himself acknowledges.

University of Pennsylvania

PERRY VILES

L'UNIFICAZIONE POLITICA E AMMINISTRATIVA NELLE "PROVINCIE DELL'EMILIA" (1859-60). By *Isabella Zanni Rosiello*. [Ricerche sull'Italia moderna, Number 5.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1965. Pp. viii, 272. L. 2,200.)

ITALY'S *Risorgimento* was a phenomenon rich enough to allow a variety of interpretations, but surely its clearest achievement was the administrative unification of Italy. It seems remarkable, therefore, that Italy's administrative history has been a subject of intense historical interest only since the Second World War. Miss Zanni Rosiello's book, an intelligent and informed addition to this growing understanding, treats a time and place particularly significant in the formation of the Italian kingdom. The end of the war in July 1859 left the provinces of central Italy in a peculiar position. For eight months, until annexed by Piedmont, they were neither ruled from outside nor independent states. During this period Luigi Carlo Farini became "dictator" of a new province, containing the former

duchies of Modena and Parma and the richest part of the Papal States. Even in this book the "Province of Emilia" appears in quotation marks; yet the administrative decisions made in Emilia set the pattern for the administrative union of most of Italy.

The largest section of this book is devoted to an account of Farini's administration. The clearest and best-informed account we have, it offers instances and insights important to the interpretation of the *Risorgimento* as a whole. Though great tact was exercised in assimilating Parma to Modena so that neither would feel subordinate to the other, no such tact restrained the rapid application of Piedmontese codes and procedures. Old employees, even intendants, were retained, but Sardinian law was adopted quite independent of its merit. The commission supposed to consider alternative legal codes and local needs was largely ignored. Yet in other ways the provisional government was subjected to impressive localism. Indeed, local doubts, despite their seriousness, found no national echo in parliament.

A final section of the book deals with the new province of "Emilia" immediately after annexation. Rather quickly disillusioned, the moderates came to see that acceptance of the Piedmontese codes had not been so essential to unification after all; yet, as the author notes, the alternatives had never really been developed or even clearly discussed.

At this point, I think, the major weakness of the book becomes most apparent. It sticks too narrowly to descriptions of how particular administrative decisions were made or what the contemporary criticisms were. But the significance of the topic is rather that it lies at the center of a complex interrelationship between general political programs and local social structure, between policies and their social and economic effects. When the author delves into these matters, she says interesting things. The case for decentralization, she suggests, was gravely weakened with Garibaldi's success in the south. No one thought that a local autonomy permissible in the north could safely be permitted in the Mezzogiorno. The moderates, she notes, were more concerned to save something of the legislative and administrative authority of the former states of central Italy than they were to preserve the quality of communal life. They cared more about administrative codes than legal ones. And in centralization they sought protection against the "politicization" of local life, a life in which priests and democrats might claim too large a share. Such points suggest how much can be done with this topic. Careful analysis of the history of local administration could tell us far more than we now know about the tensions between visions of progress and social habit, about the specific changes national unification brought with it, and, more simply still, about who was hurt and who benefited by Italy's *Risorgimento*.

*University of Michigan*

RAYMOND GREW

#### ITALY AND THE GREAT WAR: POLITICS AND CULTURE, 1870-1915.

By *John A. Thayer*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. x, 463. \$10.00.)

THIS is an essay on the parallel development of political events and what might be called political culture in the Liberal Italy of the Crispi and Giolitti periods: 1888 to 1915. Professor Thayer maintains that a wise and pragmatic premier,

Giolitti, who presided over the Italian government during much of this period, was leading Italy toward effective democracy, broadening down from reform to reform. Unfortunately the cultured classes of the nation failed to understand or appreciate Giolitti and went astray after myths of Roman greatness and current European fashions of elite rule. In the war crisis of 1914-1915, Thayer holds, Giolitti fell because an alliance of the discontented and frustrated intelligentsia of Right and Left found support among highly placed reactionary politicians, and the nation pursued a mirage of imperial renewal.

In spite of the author's enviable knowledge of Italian political writing of the Liberal period, the fundamental thesis of this book is oversimple and largely mistaken. Giolitti was far more monarchy-minded and contemptuous of the electorate than Thayer realizes, and the Premier operated at the center of a web of financial, industrial, and journalistic interests that often influenced or guided what he did. On the parliamentary, administrative, and electoral plane, Giolitti was operating a machine, and Giolittian corruption was not a myth, as Thayer maintains, but a well-authenticated, systematically applied method of government. Thayer does not refute the Salvemini and Einaudi reformist case against Giolitti; he merely brushes it aside, disregarding both the political and the economic evidence that has accumulated since then. He unfortunately failed to use Giolitti's published correspondence, which, even after pruning, significantly illuminates the less creditable side of the Premier's political life: in particular, Thayer's treatment of the *Banca Romana* scandal amounts to a whitewash that existing evidence does not warrant. In short, the main value of Thayer's work along these lines is to show the negative and destructive motivation behind much of the opposition to Giolitti, but it must be said that he takes the easiest targets to shoot down.

Thayer's treatment of literary figures, like D'Annunzio and Oriani, also confuses me. These men remain bloodless bearers of ideas, with little individuality and personal development. He also loses several good opportunities to discuss the growth in Italy of a curious and special sort of Latin racism, which offers interesting parallels to developments in other European nations. Prevalent concepts of quasi-biological, quasi-historical decadence and regeneration could have been grasped and illustrated.

It is a pleasure to turn to the most positive and instructive part of the book: its concluding account of the 1915 crisis. The author makes many good points about the antiparliamentary and essentially reactionary events of May 1915, and his departure from the orthodoxies of Italian democratic history is refreshing and amply justifiable. It is unfortunate that throughout the work the editing and proofreading were done in a slipshod manner; in general, Thayer has not been well served by his publisher.

University of California, Berkeley

R. A. WEBSTER

ATTI DEL XLI CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (TRENTO, 9-13 OTTOBRE 1963). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano. Biblioteca Scientifica, Atti dei Congressi, Volume IX.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1965. Pp. 499.)

MEETING appropriately in Trent, the Forty-first Congress on the History of the *Risorgimento* had for its theme "Italy and the First World War." The texts of the

communications and discussion are published in this large volume which will be useful to all who are interested in a better understanding of Italy's role in that war.

Luigi Salvatorelli initiated the proceedings with a short paper, "Neutralism and Interventionism." It consisted chiefly of recollections of his editorial work for a little-known weekly newspaper of Giolittian coloration, *Italia nostra*, that favored "conditional neutralism" in 1914-1915.

A more important communication, "Political Parties and Public Opinion during the Great War," presented by the late Vittorio De Caprariis, stressed the heterogeneous nature of both the neutralists and the interventionists. De Caprariis proceeded to make a brilliant analysis of the impact of the war upon the various Italian political currents. The outbreak of hostilities hastened the breakup of the Giolittian political system and strengthened both the Socialists and Catholics. The Socialists, however, found themselves increasingly cut off psychologically from the rest of the population, and the Catholics moved toward a more autonomous position, renouncing the temptation to collaborate with the Liberals. For their part, the Liberals suffered bitter schisms, while the traditional forces of democracy came to be intoxicated by new poisons. Thus the old Cavourian and Mazzinian ideals emerged from the war greatly distorted and unable to withstand the new ideologies of the twentieth century. Also of interest was De Caprariis' insistence that Mussolini's switch to interventionism was motivated by the hope that war would open the way for the kind of revolutionary change in Italy that had been frustrated in the "red week" of 1914. Not until after Caporetto did Mussolini cease to be a revolutionary and turn to reactionary nationalism.

Nondomestic aspects of the war years provided the theme for three other well-researched papers: "The Idea of Nationality and the War of 1914-1918," by Angelo Tamborra; "The Final Crisis of the Austro-Hungarian Empire," by Austrian-born Adam Wandruszka; and "The Italian War in the Framework of the European Conflict," by Maurice Baumont. Taking up the subject of Italy's military and political relationship with the Western Allies during the war, Baumont observed that the latter were much annoyed by Italy's reluctance to launch an offensive against Austria in the summer of 1918. It was this consideration, he declared, that largely explained the Big Three's subsequent cavalier treatment of Italy at Versailles.

The congress ended with a long paper by Luigi Mondini, "The Military Conduct of the Italian War, 1915-1918," and a penetrating communication by economic historian Epicarmo Corbino, "The Italian Economy during the War, 1915-1918."

*Vanderbilt University*

CHARLES F. DELZELL

LA POLITICA DELL'ITALIA IN ALBANIA NELLE TESTIMONIANZE  
DEL LUOGOTENENTE DEL RE FRANCESCO JACOMONI DI SAN  
SAVINO. [Testimoni per la storia del nostro tempo, Collana di memorie  
diari e documenti, Number 39.] ([Bologna:] Cappelli Editore. [1965.] Pp.  
380. L. 3,200.)



THE author was at the center of the stage in Albania from 1936 to 1943, first as Italian minister and then as viceroy. He contributes information on Mussolini's Albanian policy and on events and personalities in Albania during these crucial years. The book, however, has its limitations: it presents largely the Italian side of the story, and it leaves many questions unanswered.

After coming to power in 1924 with Yugoslav support, the future King Zog turned to Italy for assistance in building up his country. In the next few years the traditional ties between Italians and Albanians became even closer. Jacomoni was in Albania twice during this period of good relations, first as secretary of legation in 1926 and again in 1929 when he accompanied Foreign Minister Dino Grandi on an official visit. When the author returned as Italian minister in 1936, he found friction increasing between his government and King Zog. There was much hostility in Italy toward Zog, and much opposition to the idea of treating Albania as an equal. On the other hand, Zog was alarmed by Italy's peaceful penetration and increasingly suspicious of Italy's ultimate aims. Zog was delaying vital reforms and becoming more and more unpopular with his people.

In 1938 Foreign Minister Galeazzo Ciano considered partitioning Albania between Yugoslavia and Italy lest Germany establish a decisive influence in the country. By 1939 Italy feared the German desire for Albanian oil. In response Italy sought a closer alliance with King Zog involving the stationing of Italian soldiers in Albania and the use of Albanian airfields, ports, and communications. Zog rejected the Italian proposals, Jacomoni believes, because of English influence. When Zog opened the jails in Tirana in April 1939 and fled, the Albanians, according to the author, welcomed the Italians with enthusiasm.

Jacomoni became viceroy in 1939. He describes himself as a staunch defender of Albanian interests and insists that Italian investments and institutions were moving the country forward. He indicates, however, that Italy did not respect Albania's rights as a sovereign state and that his government offended the Albanians in many small ways, such as adding Italian emblems to the Albanian flag. Too many Italians regarded Albania as virtually an Italian colony. Mussolini sought to counterbalance dissatisfaction with Italy by encouraging Albania's irredentist ambitions, especially in the Ciameria region.

The Greek war stopped progress in Albania. Mussolini moved against Greece with the dual purpose of blocking Hitler's pressure on the eastern Mediterranean and of preventing Greece from becoming a base for English offensive operations against Italy. Italy had a more limited plan than complete military occupation of Greece; it involved the cession of the Ciameria region to Albania and a political agreement between Greece and Italy. On October 15, 1940, however, the decision was made to conquer Greece. Jacomoni boasts that he was the only important Italian to raise doubts and have reservations about the invasion of Greece, but his advice appears to have been too cautious to have carried much weight.

The author describes his efforts to help Jews from Yugoslavia escape the Germans. He also worked to secure greater Italian respect for Albanian wishes and feelings. Even before he ended his services in Albania in March 1943, Jacomoni detected growing Russian influence. Russia was the only power willing to guarantee the Albanian boundaries of 1913.

Among several important documents in the appendixes is the decision of Italy's

highest court on March 6, 1948, clearing Jacomoni of all crimes and thus restoring him to service with Italy's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Colgate University

WILLIAM C. ASKEW

HISTORICA: HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. Volumes VI-X. (Prague: Publishing House of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. 1963; 1963; 1964; 1964; 1965. Pp. 303; 233; 272; 291; 305. Kčs 41; Kčs 34.50; Kčs 41.50; Kčs 41.50; Kčs 42.)

THE Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences seeks to inform the Western world of the works of its historians through its semiannual publication, *Historica*. Articles and monographs that have appeared in Czechoslovakia have been translated into English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish. The language chosen for an article appears related to the special interests of the particular Western audience, as judged by Czech scholars. English is reserved primarily for studies of recent economic and political affairs, German for inquiries into the nationality struggle from early medieval times to the recent past. *Historica* gives evidence that Czechoslovak historians, while staying within the over-all Marxist frame of reference, have moved from the primarily polemic approach to a more scholarly one marked by painstaking documentation, including the utilization of Western sources. The traditional Czech national orientation has determined the direction of research in most of the periods covered by these volumes.

Limitations of space permit mentioning only the categories into which the *Historica* articles fall and singling out the more important selections. Medieval Central European research is represented by Josef Dobíáš, "Seit wann bilden die natürlichen Grenzen von Böhmen auch seine politische Landesgrenze?" in Volume VI; Vladimír Vavřínek, "Die Christianisierung und Kirchenorganisation Grossmährens," in Volume VII; František Graus, "Die Entstehung der mittelalterlichen Staaten in Mitteleuropa," in Volume X. Economic and social history is dealt with in Jaroslav Purš, "The Situation of the Working Class in the Czech Lands in the Phase of the Expansion and Completion of the Industrial Revolution (1849-1873)," in Volume VI; Pavla Horská, "Contribution au problème de la deuxième révolution industrielle," in Volume VII; Bohumil Bad'ura, "Apuntes sobre los orígenes del comercio vidriero entre Bohemia y México (1787-1839)," in Volume IX. Recent history largely centers on Czechoslovakia's nationality problems. Two articles dealing with the German minority are especially interesting: Jaroslav César's and Bohumil Černý's coverage of "The Policy of German Activist Parties in Czechoslovakia 1918-1938," in Volume VI, demonstrates the fact that Czechs recovered the ability to recognize diverse political attitudes among the Germans of Czechoslovakia in the interwar period. Those Germans who refused to cooperate with Konrad Henlein's Sudeten-German party are given their proper due. Antonín Šnejdár's "The Beginnings of the Sudeten Organizations in Western Germany after 1945," in Volume VIII, provides a long-overdue account of the activities that one cannot ignore if he is to comprehend some of West Germany's internal and foreign policies. Gertruda Albrechtová, in her "Zur Frage der deutschen antifaschistischen Emigrationsliteratur im tschechoslowakischen Asyl," in Volume VIII, makes an important contribution to the growing literature on

German refugees from Nazism for many of whom Prague became the center of their activities in the 1930's. Volumes VII and IX contain annotated bibliographies of works published in Czechoslovakia on the theory and history of the fine arts. A bibliography of Czechoslovak history that includes books published in 1961 and 1962 is included in Volume IX.

University of Connecticut

CURT F. BECK

BOHEMIA: JAHRBUCH DES COLLEGIUM CAROLINUM. Volume V.  
(Munich: Verlag Robert Lerche. 1964. Pp. 539. DM 40.)

THIS fifth annual volume of articles, notes, and reviews to be published by the *Collegium Carolinum*, a Sudeten-German research center devoted to the study of the Bohemian lands, again focuses most of its interest on nationality problems. In contrast to previous issues, however, the authors rarely lose their historical objectivity and appear to make a sincere effort to consider all aspects of Czech-German relations.

The essays, differing in length and quality, cover a wide range of topics reaching from the Middle Ages to the present. By far the best contribution is the introductory essay by Karl Bosl dealing with German and Slav national ideologies. In a treatment distinguished by balance and absence of partiality and passion, the author analyzes the historical argumentation employed by Germany and its Slav neighbors to support their political aspirations. He shows that the romantic-liberal German view of history in its Pan-German form and the romantic-national Slavic legend stem from Herder and view German-Slav relations as a constant struggle. A critical comparison of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism leads Bosl to the study of nineteenth-century conceptions of German and Slavic national character. He concludes that the myth of the peace-loving Slav has the same roots as the legend of the heroic German. He stresses, furthermore, that both myths still dominate the present political scene and prevent any regeneration of friendly relations between the two nations.

Of special importance is the contribution by Rudolf Hilf, based mainly on Communist documents, treating the policies of the Communist party of Czechoslovakia toward the Sudeten Germans. His analysis of the early period (1918-1935) clarifies the relations between the Comintern and Czech-Sudeten-German Communist leadership. The latter only gradually came to accept the Comintern line, which advocated the right of self-determination for the Sudeten Germans, including the right to secede from the Czechoslovak Republic. The final portion of the article, describing the policies leading to the transfer of the Sudeten Germans, unfortunately suffers from national bias. The concise study by Eugen Lemberg competently examines the recent revival of Marxist philosophy in East Central Europe. Of the remainder, Josef Werlin's article on Prague Bible literature of the fourteenth century stands out. The first statistical surveys of Bohemian industry and trade (1756, 1766, and 1788) collected by Gustav Otruba are also interesting.

Although a certain lack of unity is almost unavoidable in a composite volume of this type, the essays are arranged topically and chronologically to form a readable whole. The book is well done and will be read with benefit by anyone interested in Bohemian history. It is to be hoped that in the future the *Collegium*

*Carolinum* will include among its contributors a still broader circle of scholars (particularly of Czech and Slovak origin) in order to increase its scope.

*Detroit, Michigan*

RADOMIR V. LUZA

WOJSKO POLSKIE, 1936-1939: PRÓBY MODERNIZACJI I ROZBUDOWY [Polish Armed Forces, 1936-1939: Attempts in Modernization and Expansion]. By *Eugeniusz Kozłowski*. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej. 1964. Pp. 344. Zł. 60.)

SINCE September 1939 military historians have been trying to find out why the Polish Army was defeated by Germany in a period of a few weeks. Colonel Kozłowski's book is the latest attempt to investigate this problem. He concentrates on the last four years of the Second Polish Republic, and, more specifically, on the endeavors to modernize the Polish armed forces when Hitler's aggressive intentions became apparent. After evaluating the situation of the armed forces as generally poor, Kozłowski proceeds to discuss the various branches, such as infantry, cavalry, artillery, and so forth. The discussion of these services is thorough and well documented by heretofore unused documents, and Kozłowski's conclusions seem to be correct.

It seems doubtful, however, that Kozłowski presents the whole story. He does not discuss the logistics system and fails to look into the situation of non-commissioned officers. The weakest point of the book is the generalizations. The author accuses Polish *émigré* historians of trying to defend the "bourgeois-landlord government" of the Second Republic through overemphasis on the economic and financial difficulties of Poland, ignoring facts and even falsifying the truth. Even if this were true, Kozłowski is guilty of identical sins. He misrepresents or does not mention the hostile attitude of the Soviet Union toward Poland that was demonstrated in the Russian-Polish War of 1919-1921, in the Hitler-Stalin conspiracy to partition Poland, and finally in Soviet attempts to exterminate the Polish intelligentsia.

It is, indeed, regrettable that Kozłowski's enormous and otherwise useful work had to be spoiled by his evident negative attitude toward prewar Polish leadership. One of the few things he praises is the new plan of mobilization (Plan "W"), yet he gives no credit to General Stachiewicz who was solely responsible for this plan as well as for the plan of modernization of the armed forces. Furthermore, the author's thesis—that the main cause of Poland's defeat was, above all, its social and economic system (capitalistic)—is questionable.

Kozłowski's book, very important as a source of information about the condition of the Polish armed forces that opposed Hitler in 1939, has, unfortunately, little value as a historical synthesis.

*State University College, Buffalo*

W. M. DRZEWIENIECKI

LITHUANIA UNDER THE SOVIETS: PORTRAIT OF A NATION, 1940-65. Edited by *V. Stanley Vardys*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. ix, 299. \$7.00.)

THIS book contains eleven articles written by Lithuanian authors in exile, experts in various fields. Three of the articles provide historical introduction. Vardys'

work on independent Lithuania is by far the best article in English ever written on this topic. Sužiedelis' article on "Lithuania from Medieval to Modern Times" is too short, omitting many important facts and containing some misinterpretations. Ivinskis' article on Lithuania during World War II presents valuable information but not a complete picture. The editor's article on the partisan movement in Lithuania after World War II is an interesting addition to Tauras' *Guerilla Warfare on the Amber Coast*.

Six interesting articles of uneven quality are devoted to the administrative, economic, and educational system and the cultural and religious life of Lithuania under the Soviet regime since 1945. Zunde contradicts himself in his discussion of the industrialization of Lithuania by claiming that only a small portion of its industrial production is intended for domestic use and that production of agricultural machinery, mineral fertilizers, and electric energy is underdeveloped, revealing later in the text that the Soviets have built an enormous thermodynamic power plant and huge fertilizer and machine factories. More criticisms can be made, but they are minor in comparison with the value of the book as a source of information on a somewhat neglected but historically and politically interesting area in Europe.

The book shows a glaring paradox in this great age of liberation and emancipation of scores of nations often rising from a primitive and semiprimitive stage to independent statehood, where the highly developed Baltic nations have not only been deprived of their statehood, but have not even been allowed to exist as satellites. The authors actually reveal grave dangers to the very survival of these nations. The Baltic States lost their independence as a result of the sinister pact between Stalin and Hitler in 1939 which subjected them to Stalin's terror. The new Soviet regime has eased their situation, has assisted them in their spectacular achievements in industry and science, which benefit the Soviet Union, but has badly damaged their agriculture, has reduced the Baltic nations to a bare majority in their countries, and certainly does not intend to restore their independence. The authors point out, however, that independence is what the Baltic nations want above all else.

The book is equipped with footnotes, a list of periodicals, a selected bibliography, and an index. Further detailed study of the strategically important area is badly needed.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

STALIN'S RUSSIA: AN HISTORICAL RECONSIDERATION. By *Francis B. Randall*. [Historical Reconsiderations Series.] (New York: Free Press. 1965. Pp. 328. \$6.95.)

ESSENTIALLY, this book is a brief summary of the history of the Soviet Union between 1924 and 1953, but it also provides a brief biography of Joseph Stalin. Mr. Randall must do this because he believes that Soviet history can only be explained in terms of the beliefs and personality of Stalin. Stalin, he says, was probably the most important man who ever lived—and one of the two or three worst men. The content of this well-organized summary is not novel. The author discusses institutions such as the secret police and policies in both domestic and foreign affairs in familiar terms. There is some element of novelty, however, in the organization of

material and the literary style. The organization is topical rather than chronological; the style is usually matter of fact and realistic, with occasional traces of brashness.

It should be said in praise of Randall that, in addition to summarizing the works of Merle Fainsod and other basic authors, he peppers his text with extremely interesting bits of data. The critical reader will question some of Randall's assertions. Sometimes highly significant statements, such as that concerning Stalin's alleged offer to resign in the early 1930's, are not documented.

Up to a point this book is a useful compendium of knowledge. At times the reader gets new insights into the nature of Stalin's political strategy. These are, however, minor notes in a generally bland and undifferentiated descriptive account. To be sure, such an account may be useful to the student or general reader unfamiliar with the vast literature now available on Soviet affairs. Randall is objective in the use of his sources, and he is also reasonably inclusive. However, although he frequently refers to the problem of whether or not Stalin was a paranoiac, he fails to make use of the valuable insights of Robert C. Tucker on this question. Along the same lines, he seems to be unaware of the important contributions made by Boris I. Nicolaevsky to the analysis of Soviet domestic and foreign politics. Perhaps because of the omission of Nicolaevsky's writings from his sources, Randall underestimates the degree of internal tension in the Soviet Union in the early 1930's.

Though this book may indeed be a good introduction to its gigantic subject, its impact will be limited for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most important is its lack of clear and firm positions on major issues. In spite of its defects, however, the book is quite useful. It is factual, objective, and honest. Also, in spite of its lack of interpretive depth and its generally unexciting style, it is instructive. It could, however, have been far more valuable if both author and publisher had been more painstaking. One senses that Randall is a promising scholar who could have produced a much better book if he had taken more time to prune and to polish, to meditate and to revise. As for the publishers, more careful editing would have eliminated annoying repetitiveness.

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

## Near East

JEAN SAUVAGET'S INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE MUSLIM EAST: A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE. Based on the second edition as recast by *Claude Cahen*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xxi, 252. \$6.95.)

SINCE its original appearance in 1943, Jean Sauvaget's *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Orient musulman: Éléments de bibliographie* has been the primary vade mecum for the serious beginning student of premodern Islamic history, especially in so far as the central Muslim world is concerned. Not only that, but it is safe to say that, despite the original author's modest, "Ce livre s'adresse aux étudiants des

écoles françaises, et non aux érudits," this is surely the first book to which most scholars turn when seeking bibliographical aid in a field outside their immediate specialty. The success of and need for this work are demonstrated by the fact that it was reissued three years after publication with a brief supplement, and that, following Sauvaget's tragic death in 1950, a thoroughly revised edition (1961) was brought out by Professor Claude Cahen. This volume was prepared under the aegis of the Near Eastern Center at UCLA with Cahen's active participation and, as he says in the preface, "is much more than a translation; it is a new and corrected edition."

The basic format, unchanged, divides the subject matter into three categories: "The Sources of Muslim History," "Tools of Research and General Works," and "Historical Bibliography." Each of these is, in turn, subdivided into a total of twenty-five chapters. The Cahen revision of the logic of the original Sauvaget subdivisions represents, incidentally, not the least of the improvements. One of the peculiar charms of the work, in all versions, has been the coupling of sharp critical insight with a light Gallic approach throughout the text.

Inevitably, no one will be fully satisfied with someone else's choice in a work of this scope, and, inevitably, there will be some flaws. Each specialist will look most sharply in the area of his immediate interest in judging the book. In the case of the Arabian Peninsula there are noticeable omissions. In addition, a rather large number of petty errors of various types could also be listed; one could ask for indexes other than one merely listing authors' names; some objection to the underplaying of scholarship in Arabic might be raised; and some criticism of the English style would not be unjustified. On balance, however, the work represents a cumulative achievement of great value, and it will continue to fill a vital need.

New York University

R. BAXLY WINDER

OBSERVATIONS SUR L'ÉTAT ACTUEL DE L'EMPIRE OTTOMAN. By Henry Grenville. Edited by Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 110. \$6.00.)

PROFESSOR Ehrenkreutz' introduction is perhaps the high light of this small volume. In it he gives a brief account of Grenville's career, the origin of his report on the Ottoman Empire, his methods of research, his methods of presenting his findings, and the historical significance of his contribution.

Henry Grenville apparently knew little or nothing about the Ottoman Empire when he went to Constantinople as British ambassador in February 1762. From his arrival until his departure in October 1765 his principal concerns seem to have been to do what was required of him and to get back to England as soon as possible. He seems to have been generally unsympathetic toward Turkish things and to have been prompted to his investigations more by official requirements than by natural interest and curiosity.

The information in Grenville's report relates mostly to Turkish military and naval strength, the Empire's sources of revenue and expenses, the nature and condition of commerce in various parts of the Empire, Britain's commercial position in Turkey compared to that of other nations (especially France), and the manufactures and population of the Empire. Obviously, these topics cannot be too

well treated in seventy-four printed pages. Grenville ventured to correct the accounts of Rycaut and Marsigli (his two principal written sources) on minor points, but he added little to their work. Nor does one find in his account anything to alter the general picture of the Empire left by such authors as Habesci. The report is interesting, however, for the insight it offers on Britain's attitudes toward commerce before it became the industrial leader of the world.

The editor did not attempt any "emendation of French language flaws," but he could have simplified things for the reader by eliminating Grenville's (or the copyist's) now-unnecessary capitalization. The notes sometimes explain the obvious and leave the less obvious unexplained. In places proofreading could have been more exact. However, a good index and a topical summary in English aid the reader in using Grenville's report.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh

ROBERT CARLTON DELK

REVOLUTIONS AND MILITARY RULE IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE NORTHERN TIER. By *George M. Haddad*. (New York: Robert Speller and Sons. 1965. Pp. 251. \$6.00.)

Books and articles on the military in the Middle East are multiplying. Professor Haddad has embarked on what might be a valuable comparative study. This volume, covering Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, is to have a sequel on Arab countries. Unfortunately the attempt in the first volume does not quite come off. This may be because the study is not clearly focused. Is the aim to examine primarily military *coups d'état*, military regimes, the officer class, revolutions of all sorts, or reforming regimes generally? All these are discussed here, but none is studied in sufficient depth to furnish much new information or analysis or the sort of provocative insight that marks some of Dankwart Rustow's work on the Turkish military. The specialist will be disappointed.

Much reliable information is, however, included. After a short chapter on pre-nineteenth-century developments, a long one covers 1789-1918. Its most detailed and original section is a rather sympathetic, yet critical, picture of Arabi's movement. The Ottoman revolutions of 1876 and 1908, the Persian revolution of 1906, and some of the reform efforts in Egypt, Turkey, and Iran are also discussed. Other chapters consider the Kemalist movement and the Turkish revolution of 1960; Reza Khan's *coup* of 1921, the Zahedi *coup* of 1953, and the present Shah's reforms; Amanullah's reforms in Afghanistan and the 1929 *coups*; and the two *coups* of 1958 in Pakistan and Ayub Khan's "conditional democracy." Haddad gives considerable praise to the Turks, to Mohammed Reza Shah, and to Ayub for their efforts toward democracy, progress, and stability.

Some of the comparative aspects of the study obviously await Volume II, but enough pointed remarks occur here to indicate that Haddad considers military *coups* and regimes in Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan more effective in the interests of the people than most of those in Arab lands. Some of his comparative generalizations are sensible but obvious; "Revolutions and coups d'état were thus caused either by external forces and the threat of foreign domination, or by internal conditions in which a despotic or corrupt and incompetent government held power. Sometimes they were caused by both. . . ." Some of his conclusions may be impor-



tant, for example, that the only lasting reforms by military leaders are those that a popular majority accepts. This does not, however, rest on any detailed examination of the evidence.

Thirty good photographs of individuals are included. Typographical errors riddle the book.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

MODERN IRAN. By *Peter Avery*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xvi, 527. \$11.00.)

WESTERN historians have not paid much attention to modern Iran. Since Sir Percy Sykes published the second volume of his *History of Persia* fifty years ago, there have appeared in English only monographs on more or less specialized topics such as the Persian Gulf, oil, the defense of India, or Anglo-Soviet relations in Iran. As far as I know there are no general histories of modern Iran in French, German, or Italian, while in Russian M. S. Ivanov's *Ocherk istorii Irana* is important primarily as an example of Soviet historiography of the Stalin era.

Peter Avery's attempt to survey the history of Persia in the last hundred years is a major undertaking. After rapidly sketching the background in the first four chapters, he tells in considerable detail the story of Persia's decline, of the encroachment of Western imperialism, of the failure of the revolution (1906-1911), of the chaos caused by the First World War, of the rise and fall of Reza Shah, and of the developments since the end of the Second World War.

The first half of the book is the weaker. The sociological speculations on the origin of the Babi movement are not convincing. The evaluation of such political figures as Mirza Hoseyn Khan Moshir od-Dowleh and Mirza Malkam Khan is of dubious validity, while the analysis of the causes of the Revolution leaves much to be desired.

The second half, dealing with the events after World War I, is much stronger. The author presents a detailed and generally fair picture of Reza Shah's reign. Undoubtedly his personal experience of the Mosaddeq and post-Mosaddeq periods has contributed much to his understanding of the most recent past. His sympathy for the Persians, knowledge of their language, and admiration for their culture are evident, though he is never uncritical of them. Avery strives to be objective in his evaluation of British policies as well. The measure of his success can be gauged by a quick comparison of his views with those of his compatriot Sykes.

The greatest weakness of the book lies in its inadequate treatment of Russia's role. Avery does not use Russian sources, not even the indispensable *Mezh-dunarodnye otnosheniia v epokhu imperializma*, nor the *Sbornik diplomaticheskikh dokumentov kasaiushchikhsia sobytii v Persii s kontsa 1906 g. po iul' 1909 g.*, though these collections have been available for many years. As a result of neglecting Russia, which was the single most important factor in Persian history between 1804 and 1915, the entire work is strangely misshapen.

Yet in spite of its considerable shortcomings, the book is valuable. It is a pioneering attempt at synthesis. It constructs for the first time a continuous narrative and provides many striking insights into the character of modern Persian society and of its leading personalities.

Yale University

F. KAZEMZADEH

LEBANON: IMPROBABLE NATION. A STUDY IN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *Leila M. T. Meo*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 246. \$6.50.)

THROUGHOUT 1958 the Arab countries from Algeria to Iraq were almost continuously the center of world interest. A series of dramatic developments initiated by the merger of Egypt and Syria into the United Arab Republic led to the violent overthrow of the Iraqi monarchy and insurrection in Lebanon. The Lebanese crisis was particularly interesting because it directly involved both the United Nations and the United States. The former held debates and sent observers, while the latter dispatched troops at the request of Lebanese President Camille Chamoun.

Although the republic of Lebanon was established only forty-five years ago by French occupation forces, its characteristics were well defined hundreds of years before by its geography, religious composition, and socioeconomic situation. The 1958 crisis was compounded of traditional ingredients plus some new elements introduced by the cold war and the neutralist policies actively promoted by UAR President Nasser. Lebanon refused to break off relations with Britain and France during the Suez crisis of 1956 and was the only Arab state to accept the Eisenhower Doctrine and open alignment with the West. The fear of forcible integration of Lebanon into the UAR mingled with the desire to retain office impelled Chamoun to indicate that he contemplated securing an amendment to the constitution to enable him to assume a second term. The leaders and rank and file of the opposition and indeed some members of the President's own party objected very strongly to this deviation (although not unprecedented) from Lebanese tradition.

The author's purpose in this book was to explain Chamoun's actions and the reactions they elicited. Both stemmed from long-established practices and customs. Miss Meo skillfully demonstrates the continuity of Lebanese political behavior and institutions under feudalism, Turkish hegemony, European colonialism, French mandate, and present-day republic. Her book is a lucid study in depth of the politics of a modern democratic Arab state, with little attention paid, however, to economic and social factors. The author systematically exploited a variety of English, French, and Arab sources. In addition, she gained valuable insight into the motivation of many of the leaders in the constitutional struggle, including Chamoun, by interviewing them less than two years later.

Meo also presents a sharply critical analysis of the Eisenhower Doctrine and the US Marine landing that logically flowed from it. She does not treat the complex legal aspects of the action, nor does she discuss UN involvement in detail, for these apparently were matters falling outside the scope of the task she set for herself.

*Middle East Institute*

SIDNEY GLAZER

## Africa

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF AFRICA. Edited by *Rupert Emerson* and *Martin Kilson*. [The Global History Series. Spectrum Book.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1965. Pp. x, 175. Cloth \$4.95, paper \$1.95.)

THIS volume assembles a wide selection of excerpts from the speeches and writings of the best-known African leaders who, characteristically, are in search of a political identity that will command a distinctive place for independent Africa within contemporary world society. The excerpts are well chosen from sources not commonly quoted nor easily available, yet they are important not only for the thinking of their authors but also for the groups the latter represent or seek to lead. The text that introduces the book and links together its four sections, entitled, rather overambitiously, "Reactions to Colonialism: Self-Identity in African Development," "Ideas and Context of African Nationalism," "Policies and Methods of African Political Parties," and "Inter-African Problems and Pan-Africanism," highlights the issues that the excerpts illustrate and provides a running commentary that in itself is a useful summary of developments in African thought, action, and achievements. This work contributes to our resources for enlarging the understanding of Africa and Africans and will undoubtedly be widely used in introductory courses on Africa both in contemporary history and the social sciences.

To present African thought and aspirations through the words of African leaders has some major advantages. The concepts that are emphasized are those most meaningful for the Africans themselves. In no other way, moreover, could the contrast have been so sharply etched between the earlier aim of educated Africans to be accepted by the dominant group within the colonial situation and the contemporary one of asserting not only the right to govern themselves but also their pride in being distinctively themselves. A further contrast is that between the attitudes of African leaders from French- and English-speaking Africa, important both in understanding the relations of each to their former metropolitan power and the associations they now seek within Africa itself.

Despite all the above advantages the quotations necessarily fail to provide a rounded picture of the political processes at work in African countries. No political leader anywhere voices his less reputable ambitions or openly describes his political tactics. Part of the reason why there has been so much disillusionment with contemporary Africa is that so much publicity has been given to the high-sounding aspirations and moral tone with which African leaders have voiced their long-range objectives and not enough to the overwhelming problems they face and the impact of the dangerous international milieu within which they operate. Thus their efforts to mold divergent ethnic groups into a cohesive national unity are often condemned as violating their own self-affirmed goals—as indeed they do—without an understanding of the unpublicized but serious tensions they face and the needs that drive them to methods that are often accepted, however unwisely, as unavoidable in mature states, but censured in new ones.

Thus a book such as this should be used with some caution. Handled in context for the purpose of presenting the changing modes of thought and far-reaching aims of African leaders, it can perform a most useful function. But no one who hopes to understand modern politics in Africa should forget that the political process is an immensely difficult one and that the gulf between hopes and aspirations on the one hand and the implementation of policy on the other is necessarily a wide one. African leaders have been unusually vocal about their objectives, and it is important for us to be fully aware of them, but to understand political realities in Africa today requires another type of analysis, which the

editors of this book and other scholars increasingly bring us in works that should be used side by side with this one.

*Northwestern University*

GWENDOLEN M. CARTER

THE PENETRATION OF AFRICA: EUROPEAN EXPLORATION IN NORTH AND WEST AFRICA TO 1815. By *Robin Hallett*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1965. Pp. xxii, 458. \$10.50.)

RECENT growth of historical knowledge about Africa has had an interesting consequence for the history of European activities on that continent. Formerly, this was the only widely known form of African history. Now, in the light of new knowledge about African societies, even this is found to be in need of revision, and Robin Hallett's work on the history of exploration is frankly revisionist in this sense. He does not venture far into the inner workings of African societies, but he re-examines the history of European travel with a consciousness that African societies had inner workings.

This volume follows Hallett's earlier contributions to the field through his editorial work with the records of the African Association and the journals of the Lander brothers. He now returns with a broader approach in the first of a projected two-volume history of exploration in North and West Africa up to 1830. The style is popular, the book being clearly designed for a nonprofessional audience, but it is far more than another review of explorers' journals. It is both an original synthesis and a new contribution based in part on new research. Hallett unearths, for example, many important but half-forgotten explorers like Paul Isert, U. J. Seetzen, and Heinrich Röntgen. He also examines the European setting to show why explorers were sent out, rather than merely dealing with their discoveries overseas. As might be expected, he is especially at home with Sir Joseph Banks and the African Association, and his own contribution is most impressive in the sections dealing with their work.

But this strength may also be the cause of a counterbalancing weakness. More than half the book is devoted to the period 1788-1815, and much of this is given over to the work of the African Association. Readers should know, therefore, that the work falls short of being the general history of African exploration implied by the title. At some points the basis of selectivity is obscure: Hallett sometimes seems to emphasize the movement along unfamiliar routes at the expense of important additions to European knowledge. The great ethnographic field work of Thomas Winterbottom, for example, is not mentioned, though his published work appears in the bibliography, and Winterbottom is mentioned in the text in connection with his brother, who traveled inland from Sierra Leone to Timbo. Apparently the brother who stayed in one place and conducted really important research is passed over in favor of the one who made one short exploration into the interior. Far more serious, if a general history of exploration was intended, are Hallett's unfamiliarity with the wealth of French Africanist research and a marked neglect of the French explorers. The book remains, however, the most authoritative history so far of British exploration in North and West Africa up to 1815.

*University of Wisconsin*

PHILIP D. CURTIN

URBANIZATION AND MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA. Edited by *Hilda Kuper*. [Published under the auspices of the African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 227. \$6.95.)

DURING much of the period of imperial rule, political frontiers meant little to West Africans, who moved from one colony to another without difficulty. Today's rulers have the task of stabilizing new states by strengthening the weak framework created by European partition. Contact with the wider world developed labor markets of large geographical scope; thus "changes in the price of peanuts in Senegal . . . have some effect on the supply of labor to the Ivory Coast. . . ." The complex interaction between migration and political and economic development is therefore one of the key processes in modern West African history.

The essays in this book originated at an interdisciplinary seminar at the African Studies Center at Los Angeles in the fall of 1962. Selected scholars in the fields of geography, history, linguistics, anthropology, political sociology, and economics were asked to contribute and to deal explicitly with methodological issues. Careful seminar planning and first-rate editorial work lift this collection above the general level of interdisciplinary projects which have marked the mushrooming of African studies. An excellent introduction by the editor sets each contribution in perspective and incorporates the main points of the seminar discussion. Occasionally the individual contribution disappoints after such masterly condensation. The geographical and political essays are somewhat thin. Some contributors, too, have been overtaken by the publication of major works since completing their essays. Michael Banton's study of Freetown elegantly reworks the material he published in the 1950's without reference to Fyfe's and Porter's important books. But despite such double bad luck, he earns his keep with illuminating insights into the general problems of group identification and African nationalism.

John D. Fage, as the historian in the group, ingeniously uses oral tradition and the clues provided by material culture to suggest the processes of traditional urban settlement. He is as methodologically self-conscious as any of the other contributors and well aware of the risks inherent in such "conjectural history." It is significant of the trend of African studies in general, and African history in particular, that many historians, outside the ranks of specialists in African history, will find the essays by anthropologists closer to their notion of historical orthodoxy than Fage's bold speculations. Elliott P. Skinner's examination of Mossi labor migration, William B. Schwab's account of the Yoruba city of Oshogbo, and Horace M. Miner's analysis of urban influences on rural Hausa demonstrate how much imaginative social history is contained in anthropological studies of cultural change. Joseph H. Greenberg on language and Elliot J. Berg on economics provide wide-ranging and imaginative surveys.

All of this book is written in serviceable and comprehensible prose. Should the going get tough, however, the reader can always turn back to the splendid introduction for refreshment and illumination.

*University of York*

H. S. WILSON

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN CENTRAL AFRICA: THE MAKING OF MALAWI AND ZAMBIA, 1873-1964. By *Robert I. Rotberg*. [Written

under the auspices of the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 362. \$8.75.)

PROFESSOR Rotberg has given students of African history a detailed and thoroughly documented study of the creation of Malawi and Zambia and much information on the formation and collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No other scholar has written so full and reliable an account of this recent and complex history. Rotberg had access to hitherto unused official archives and to private correspondence, sources that he supplemented by interviews with many of the European and African participants in the events of the last decades of a century of history.

No one can read this story without being impressed by the dizzy speed of change in Africa. African grievances were the standard ones: taxation, loss of land, discrimination, high prices, economic exploitation, poor working conditions, interference with religion, and outright brutality. The inability of the white settlers and Africans to understand each other was almost absolute. Complaints by Africans accomplished nothing; thus they felt compelled to organize themselves for defense, at first in religious groups, separatist churches, and welfare societies, and, finally, in colony-wide political parties seeking the power to redress their grievances. Those in power learned that by giving nothing they lost virtually everything.

This is a study of an explosion, so rapid are the changes described, so dynamic are the forces that operate. One cannot help asking what will happen when independence puts the brake on rapid change to frustrate hopes for an immediate utopia. A postscript on events during 1964-1965 in Malawi is part of the answer to that question.

This book is necessary reading for those who associate colonial maladministration in Africa with Germany and Belgium, about whose policies much was understandably written in the early years of the century. It will shock some critics of German and Belgian colonial rule to see that Britons were guilty of many of the same acts of maladministration as those for which Germany ostensibly lost its colonies and for which Belgium came close to losing the Congo. The book makes it clear that racist discrimination and economic exploitation are inherent in all colonial systems and that people in the metropole lack the understanding needed to effect reforms. The total disregard of African wishes and interests at the time of the creation of the Central African Federation makes exceedingly sorry reading.

I cannot escape the thought that Rotberg was somewhat hurried in preparing the book for publication. The care exercised in gathering evidence is not apparent in the final presentation with one serious misspelling and frequent inattention to the precise meaning of words.

*Yale University*

HARRY R. RUDIN

ETHIOPIA: A NEW POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Richard Greenfield*. [Praeger Library of African Affairs.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965. Pp. viii, 515. \$10.00.)

Not since the appearance in 1948 of Margery Perham's *The Government of Ethiopia* has a book been published that adequately relates the Ethiopian past to a

detailed, truthful, and openly critical analysis of contemporary politics in Ethiopia. Either the words of earlier writers have been thoughtlessly rehashed, the more lurid aspects of Ethiopian life and legend have been unduly emphasized, or the unpleasant realities of Ethiopian society and politics have been glossed over. There have been only two important exceptions to this pattern: Donald Levine's *Wax and Gold* (1965), a sociological study of the Amhara, and this book by Greenfield. These two authors have given highly relevant analyses that should go far to replace the myths that predominate in writings about Ethiopia and much information that has not appeared in print and has until now been available only to politically active Ethiopians and to a handful of competent and objective Amharic-speaking foreigners who have lived in Ethiopia in recent years.

After surveying the course of Ethiopian history from its pre-Christian Axumite glory to the decay and disintegration of the early nineteenth century and the resurgence of a vigorous empire under Tewodros, Yohannes IV, and Menelik II, Greenfield devotes most of the book to the rise of Tafari Makonnen, his reign as Haile Selassie I, and the unsuccessful *coup d'état* of 1960. Throughout the historical narrative, references to contemporary Ethiopia are interspersed, always with relevance and often with great insight. In his treatment of Ethiopian resistance during the Italian occupation he prepares the way for the reinterpretation of Ethiopian history that must take place after the death of Haile Selassie.

Greenfield has displayed the greatest ingenuity in his deft handling of the Borgialike tales of scandal and illegitimacy that are such an important part of Ethiopian political life. Unlike most writers, who use such scandalmongering as the basis for supposedly factual accounts of Ethiopia, he demonstrates its importance not for fact finding but for understanding the climate of Ethiopian politics and court intrigue. Thus scandal is revealed to be indicative of a mood and style of politics rather than a reflection of reality. Even more revealing is his interpretation of the part played by Haile Selassie.

Lastly, Greenfield is a superb reporter and analyst of recent events. Always mindful of both the heavy hand of the Ethiopian past and the pressures for change among the modernizing elements in the military, the bureaucracy, and the university, he gives a brilliant analysis of the 1960 *coup* based on a knowledge of Amharic sources, familiarity with Ethiopia's underground press, and personal observations of which the validity is corroborated by other foreigners who have had the opportunity to investigate politics in Ethiopia. If the names of Girmame and Mengistu Neway, leaders of the *coup*, and their vision of a different Ethiopia become more widely known, it will be largely because this book describes so well the conservatism of the old order and the stirrings within Ethiopia of a movement more in keeping with modernizing trends elsewhere in Africa.

University of Illinois, Chicago

ROBERT L. HESS

HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA. Volume II. Edited by Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver. Assisted by Alison Smith. With an introduction by Margery Perham. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. li, 766. \$13.45.)

WHEN the *History of East Africa* project was originally organized nearly eight years ago, interested scholars confidently expected that it would produce a

definitive treatment of an important region. They also hoped that the methods employed to rewrite the history of this area and the very manner of its presentation—the editors of the first volume indeed promised a radical reassessment of the precolonial and colonial past—would provide a paradigm worthy of imitation in other African contexts.

Volume I (1963) proved a great disappointment. Its diverse chapters not only failed to examine or to take account of the then available sources of information; they offered nothing very radical, and largely approached their separate subjects along unexciting paths. It was, moreover, badly arranged and poorly written.

Like the first, the recently published second volume falls far short of the original promise. It is in no sense definitive, or even comprehensive. If generally accurate, there are some serious omissions. Among the contributors are a few who have done virtually no research among the apposite original sources. Furthermore, in only a few cases has the subject matter been approached freshly. For the most part, this volume, which covers the period 1885–1945, adds surprisingly little to our understanding of the recent history of East Africa.

Fortunately, Volume II includes several contributions that redeem an otherwise workmanlike but uninspiring collection: Christopher Wrigley's essay on the pattern of economic life in Kenya; Cyril Ehrlich's critical examination of economic behavior in Uganda; and Anthony Low's account of the conquest and early administration of Kenya and Uganda. Margery Perham distinguishes between the principle of Indirect Rule as Lord Lugard designed it and indirect rule as introduced into and practiced in East Africa; Cranford Pratt writes on Uganda from 1919 to 1945; George Bennett summarizes his already published work on the settlers in Kenya; and Keith Sorrenson's appendix on Kenya land policy is also interesting.

The least satisfactory chapters, by W. O. Henderson and O. F. Raum, deal with German East Africa. For the period before 1898 they add little to the chapter by G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville in Volume I. Raum uses outmoded sources and epitomizes an approach that is as misleading as it is "quaint."

Frequently repetitious within themselves, the chapters in the present volume also often repeat or contradict matter contained in companion chapters. The bibliography includes only a select list of printed articles and books, but is otherwise full, useful, and much better arranged than the bibliography in the first volume. The index is reasonably complete, if in some cases fairly uninformative.

*Harvard University*

ROBERT I. ROTBERG

CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES AND THE CREATION OF NORTHERN RHODESIA, 1880–1924. By *Robert I. Rotberg*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 240. \$6.50.)

THE best thing about this monograph is its bibliography, which would support a meaty, analytical study in depth of missionary activity in Northern Rhodesia. It is not needed for this arid listing of who established what, where, and when, nor for the superficial narration of the strange story of how certain men carved out little theocracies for themselves, the "elect," whose righteousness permitted them to "punish" African "sin" by flogging, and which underlay their attitude that even



in the bonds of Christ there was more than a "shade of difference" between His white and black believers. Such missionary behavior requires an immediate explanation, not put into an appendix, showing that the men who practiced this *baaskap* were fulfilling a deep psychological need for ego compensation after consistent rejection by conventional religious bodies (including the well-fed, older Nonconformist groups) and the social strata they served in late nineteenth-century Britain. Why this key should be an afterthought in an appendix is incomprehensible. Such men naturally resented poaching on "their" land by missionaries from these more solid religious groups, whose representatives, however tolerant they might be of African culture, significantly accepted religious apartheid once a European settler element had appeared in the territory.

Equally incomprehensible is the lack of any discussion of relations between missions and the British South Africa Chartered Company, although the title of the book commits the author to make such an investigation. Admittedly, BSA records are not readily available, but surely in the vast amount of missionary archival material carried in the bibliography there must be some information about this crucial matter. Did the theocrats welcome or dislike company territorial authority? Did traditional missionary hostility toward European settlement operate in Northern Rhodesia or not? Colonial Office records, which are open, would give some information, but the author has ignored them. What was the attitude of mission groups, both in the field and "at home," toward the replacement of company by crown colony administration? Again, the title of the work gives the reader the right to find these things, but he does not. Instead, he encounters a welter of cataloguing with rare flashes of insight into the problems of cultural divergency, typified by missionary attitudes about polygamy. But these insights are too few and the intervals between them too long to rescue this monograph from futility.

*University of Southern California*

COLIN RHYS LOVELL

BRITISH SUPREMACY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 1899-1907. By G. H. L. Le May.  
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. 229. \$4.00.)

IN spite of his title, Le May's chief concern is the interplay of political and military necessities during the Boer War. He pillories the harsh military measures of the British commanders, Lords Roberts and Kitchener, measures too often pursued without adequate concern for long-term political consequences. Here, while details and nuances are new, much familiar ground is traversed: farm burning, the "concentration camps," and the Milner-Kitchener contest about peace negotiations. His most original contributions concern the rebellions in Cape Colony and the clash of martial law with civil government. A thirty-seven-page first chapter says nothing new about the origins and causes of the Boer War. In the closing two chapters Le May reviews Milner's well-known political failures during the reconstruction era in the Transvaal and presents some new information on the Liberal grant of self-government to this troubled colony in 1906-1907. In general, Le May shows that Milner brought on the Boer War, harassed the military with advice, demanded unconditional surrender, and exercised arbitrary powers in the reconstruction—all in a quest for "British Supremacy." To Milner, supremacy re-

quired, besides Anglicizing the Boers, submerging all Afrikaners beneath a loyal English-speaking majority not only in the Transvaal (as Le May shows) but in South Africa as a whole. Milner's critics denounced this illiberal view of "British Supremacy" as attempting to stand imperial interests in South Africa upon one leg; hence their concern with minimizing the hurt of rebellion and war and with reconciliation. Le May seems content to query the Liberals and to criticize Milner along familiar lines. South Africa is shown set upon a tragic course for which he suggests no alternatives. In his conclusion he asserts that a cruel war and commando discipline, the emergence of vigorous young leaders, and Milner's Anglicizing policy were decisive in the development of Afrikaner nationalism. This side-steps the problem of explaining Afrikaner disunity from 1910 to 1948.

Looking at the book as a whole, one also finds important facets of the subject omitted entirely. Since there is no bibliography or discussion of sources, the range of Le May's research must be judged from his footnotes. Unhappily he often fails to give a full citation. Apparently Le May made a thorough search of the Milner and Chamberlain papers. The Salisbury, Bryce, and Courtney papers also appear in many notes. Some volumes from the Colonial Office Archives are cited showing limited use of this vast resource, but the Kitchener, Roberts, and War Office papers, also available in the Public Record Office, are neglected. More surprising, in a book by a Witwatersrand University professor, private papers and government archives in South Africa seem virtually ignored. Some well-known secondary books that should be mentioned are not. Le May has skimmed his subject without fully developing or probing all the materials relating to it. It is unfortunate that he did not try to do something more definitive because his ability is evident. He mobilizes evidence skillfully and holds the reader's interest by commendably lucid narrative.

*California State College, Long Beach*

RICHARD H. WILDE

## Asia and the East

LE MARXISME ET L'ASIE, 1853-1964. Texts translated and presented by *Stuart Schram* and *Hélène Carrère d'Encausse*. [Collection U, Series "Idées politiques."] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1965. Pp. 493. 18 fr.)

A LITTLE more than a century ago Karl Marx, then engaged in elaborating his socialist ideas, turned his attention to the theoretical problems posed by the Taiping rebellion in China. Despite the fact that China's society and economy raised numerous fundamental and intriguing problems for socialist theoreticians, both Marx and his disciples remained for years thereafter European-centered in their outlook and concerns. But after the Bolshevik revolution, when Marxist-Leninist thought and influence seeped into the East, especially China, the nagging philosophical issues previously skirted by Marxists emerged as paramount challenges to the theory and practice of world socialist revolution. In our own day Marxism has increasingly become Asia-centered, and the inherent "contradictions" between theory and practice have been limned more sharply than ever before. The evolution of Marxism from its original European orientation to its more recent Asian, that is, Chinese, manifestation is the subject of this volume.

Schram and D'Encausse, distinguished specialists on the history of Communism, divide their study into two parts. The first is a long interpretive essay examining the development of Marxism from its former exclusive concerns with Western European capitalist society to the more recent and overriding preoccupation with Chinese agrarianism, from Marxism to Maoism. For students of the history of world Communism the course pursued by the authors is generally familiar, and though the conclusions are not strikingly new, the issues are presented sharply and cogently. The dilemma of Marxist-based revolutionaries, struggling to apply theory to "objective" conditions and, conversely, to tailor interpretations of practical situations to conform to preconceived doctrines, is excellently illuminated. So too are the "contradictions" between the imperatives of revolution and the compulsions of revolutionaries.

The second and larger part of the volume is a carefully selected, well-integrated collection of documents drawn from the vast corpus of Marxist-Leninist literature. It sets forth the pronouncements of Marxist luminaries of the past century on Chinese problems and affairs and such correlated questions as nationalism, colonialism, and the significance of peasant matters for socialist revolution. It is noteworthy that the spokesmen on these issues have with increasing frequency been leaders of the Chinese Communist camp, whose apodictic statements on Marxist theory have long since replaced their earlier obiter dicta. Nothing more than these documents underscores the progressive extension of the spectrum of "Marxist" concerns during the past forty or fifty years. They also furnish invaluable perspectives on the growth of the Sino-Soviet split of the last decade.

*Brooklyn College*

HYMAN KUBLIN

AFTER IMPERIALISM: THE SEARCH FOR A NEW ORDER IN THE FAR EAST, 1921-1931. By *Akira Iriye*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 22.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 375. \$9.50.) ✓

JAPAN's Foreign Office archives, opened in 1945, have given diplomatic historians unparalleled opportunities for clarifying vast areas of that complex and wide-ranging interplay of national interests that led to World War II. The results of their efforts, however, have been rather disappointing. Faced with the formidable task of exploiting large amounts of material in a somewhat esoteric language, and affected by an almost compulsive preoccupation with Japanese expansionism, Western scholars have not moved much beyond the investigation of specific incidents and movements related directly to the outbreak of the war. Akira Iriye, however, grapples with the whole of international relations in the Far East. Although his analysis has a Japanese focus and is limited to the transitional period between 1921 and 1931, he helps us to see, far more clearly, those amazing changes that made the allies of World War I into enemies during World War II.

The author's developmental structure is shaped by the conclusion that the pre-World War I system of imperialist diplomacy was undermined and transformed in two fundamentally different ways: by Japan's unilateral efforts to strengthen its position in China, and by the support that three other rapidly growing countries (the United States, the Soviet Union, and China) gave to the nationalist aspirations of the colonial and semicolonial nations of Asia. The force for change exerted by

the US was epitomized in such slogans as "national sovereignty" and "self-determination," and that emanating from the Soviet Union was named "a world-wide struggle against Imperialism." China's role was more dynamic, for it involved a "self-conscious assertion of nationalism." In analyzing the interaction between these forces the author sees three distinct phases in the ten-year breakdown of the "old order," and each phase is made the subject of a separate part of the book.

Part One, "The Soviet Initiative," is centered on the fairly well-known story of how Soviet diplomacy and Comintern activity resulted in a strong Chinese movement against the treaty powers, especially after an alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was launched in January 1924. Part Two, "The Japanese Initiative," is the most valuable section of the book. Its theme is that from March 1927 (at the time of the split between the Kuomintang and the Communists) to June 1928 (when Chang Tso-lin was assassinated by Japanese soldiers) the most crucial factor in the diplomatic situation was the effort of the Japanese to establish a mutually satisfactory relationship with Chiang Kai-shek. Part Three, "The Chinese Initiative," argues that after the Chang incident Chinese diplomatic measures, such as the issue of a manifesto abrogating all unequal treaties, constituted the dominant strain in Asian affairs. In the face of this Chinese initiative, the Japanese were divided over the question of whether to strive for an independent Manchuria or to make the best of an inevitable union of Manchuria with Nationalist China. But military officers in Manchuria gradually drew the country—often through actions not authorized by Tokyo—toward the use of military might for establishing Manchuria as a separate state.

This book broadens our interest from details and incidents to questions about interactions between basic forces. In attempting a "systematic method of analysis," however, the author seems not to have looked deep enough or far enough. He keeps his eyes mainly on diplomatic and military actions without much exploration of pressures and motives behind these actions, and he looks primarily at East Asian international diplomacy with little attention devoted to how this was linked with the policies and interests of the European powers. And yet the book adds depth to our understanding of the current crisis in the Far East and will surely raise the study of Asian diplomatic history to a more creative level.

*University of California, Berkeley*

DELMER M. BROWN

MONEY AND MONETARY POLICY IN CHINA, 1845-1895. By *Frank H. H. King*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 19.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 330. \$8.95.)

THIS monograph undertakes to refute or to question some of the customary generalizations about traditional Chinese institutions and their role in the process of change in modern China. Was the traditional domestic monetary system a large factor in China's failure to develop? The answer arrived at here is "No." The first half of this study provides a careful and sophisticated analysis of that system as it existed in theory and practice in the early nineteenth century. This system, which foreigners regarded as a peculiarly Chinese cross section of chaos, the author views simply as a characteristic metallic monetary system in essence like the mone-

tary systems prevalent in medieval and early modern Europe. The second part of the book, "Studies in Monetary History," opens with a chapter on Ch'ing monetary institutions and policy, which analyzes the role of various government organs and in a number of ways illuminates the relationship between the central government and the provincial authorities. There follow discussions of several episodes in Chinese monetary history during the critical period 1845-1895 when China's doors were being opened and change was under way: the inflation of the Hsien-feng period, a risky enterprise that saved the dynasty from defeat by the Taiping rebels, but seriously weakened the old currency system; problems connected with the use of Spanish and Mexican dollars in treaty port trade; a case study of the Haikwan tael, that "imaginary money" devised as a unit of account for payment of customs duties; a treatment of monetary reform and of the establishment of the first modern mints. In an interesting concluding chapter King questions the validity of the institutional approach to the study of change and development and urges the production of monographs on other aspects of the Chinese economy in the hope that the accumulation of such studies may bring us closer to an understanding of why, in China, with institutions not necessarily more unfavorable to development than those of preindustrial Europe, change did not take place.

This very competent and thoughtful study is soundly based on Chinese and Western sources and includes a useful bibliography, a glossary, and an index.

Mount Holyoke College

MERIBETH E. CAMERON

CHINA'S WARTIME FINANCE AND INFLATION, 1937-1945. By *Arthur N. Young*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 20.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xviii, 421. \$10.00.)

DR. Young's study complements his earlier *China and the Helping Hand, 1937-1945* (1963), which dealt primarily with the role of foreign aid in wartime China. This volume is somewhat more technical in character than its predecessor and includes in the text and appendixes valuable statistical data, illustrative of the argument in both volumes, which he obtained as financial adviser to the Chinese government. The book's three parts treat in turn receipts, expenditures, and fiscal policy; debt and foreign aid; and currency, monetary management, and inflation. Part Three takes up nearly two-thirds of the volume.

Young is often perceptive in his appraisals of the Kuomintang's wartime financial policies. His summary passages, for example, criticize the decision to refrain from increasing the level of taxation early in the war, the parallel failure to find ways to make the well to do—civil and military officials, speculators, and hoarders—bear an equitable share of the financial burden, and the absence of adequate fiscal control over both military and civilian expenditure of readily available printing press money. The Kuomintang government, he implies, was too weak to execute the necessary restraint and control. He unfortunately gives little space to the domestic political context that apparently made it impossible for the government to act decisively for the reform of gross abuses. On the other hand, this detailed insider's account pays elaborate attention to the problem of preserving the value of Chinese currency in terms of foreign exchange at Shanghai prior to December 1941. In retrospect this policy, with which Young himself was closely

identified, and which symbolically oriented China more to maintaining its foreign alliances than to tidying its own house, was probably a mistaken one.

The author confirms the analysis of other writers that China's wartime inflation "was caused chiefly by monetary excesses"; the scarcity of goods and other nonmonetary causes on the supply side were of secondary importance. Reliance on the printing press and an ever-increasing rate of note turnover, which reflected declining confidence in the currency, had, by 1945, brought the price level to a point 2,500 times higher than 1937. China was on the verge of the runaway hyperinflation of 1947-1949, which contributed materially to the final Kuomintang debacle. While Young's account ends with 1945, what it reveals of government finance is relevant also for the even darker years of 1946-1949. Ineffectual government policies were continued and worked even less well in the postwar period. And the differential effects of the inflation on the Chinese population, already manifest before the end of the war, alienated the critical support that the Kuomintang needed in order to survive in its contest with the Chinese Communists after 1945.

*University of Michigan*

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

THE COMMUNIST CONQUEST OF CHINA: A HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR, 1945-1949. By *Lionel Max Chassin*. Translated from the French by *Timothy Osato* and *Louis Gelas*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 264. \$5.95.)

FIRST published in 1952 under the title of *La conquête de la Chine par Mao Tse-tung*, this small volume remains a convenient play-by-play account of the struggle between the Chinese Communists and the Nationalists from 1945 to 1949, which ended in disaster for the latter despite their supposed initial military superiority, the Soviet Union's nominal neutrality, and extensive assistance from the United States. General Chassin was vice-chief of the French general staff during three of these four years, and he states that he based his study largely on dispatches to the general staff's intelligence bureau and on conversations with officers experienced in Chinese affairs. The general himself never served in China during the Civil War. Probably for security reasons, his account is undocumented except for references to standard published materials identified by the translators. Because Chinese statistics are so traditionally inaccurate, one often wishes to know the sources for Chassin's figures.

Chassin stresses that the Communists followed a "horizontal" strategy to cut the vital north-south Nationalist communication lines by winning control of a strip of territory from Shantung to Shensi. Like others, the general attributes the Communists' victory to their superior morale, discipline, integrity of leadership, and agrarian program which brought them popular acceptance as the only alternative to the divided, corrupt, and increasingly reactionary Kuomintang. Far from blaming the State Department for the "loss" of China, Chassin commends Americans for their warnings to the prestige-minded Chiang Kai-shek to refrain from committing his crack units to northern points which the Nationalists were unable to supply adequately. The Frenchman believes that the Nationalists in 1945 should have first organized their sources of strength in China's southern provinces before rushing to occupy isolated cities in northern China and Manchuria.

Chassin is an able and correctly reticent officer without deep concern for the politics of modern Chinese militarism. He is aware that there were old schisms within both Nationalist and Communist ranks, but the Chinese appear often in the general's text without the background elucidation essential to understand their behavior. Nor does he analyze the debates within the Chinese councils or the ill-fated reorganization of the Nationalist defense machinery after World War II. He asserts too sweepingly that the Chinese peasantry before the Communists had "known only oppression or, at best, governmental neglect. . . ." His book's chief merit lies in its professional yet simple treatment of the complicated battles and campaigns during four crucial years of Chinese history.

*University of Texas*

WILLIAM R. BRAISTED

PARTY AND ARMY: PROFESSIONALISM AND POLITICAL CONTROL IN THE CHINESE OFFICER CORPS, 1949-1964. By *Ellis Joffe*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 19.] (Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1965. Pp. xii, 198. \$3.25.)

Mr. Joffe has examined, probably as thoroughly as the available sources permit, the relationship between the professionally oriented officers of the Chinese armed forces and the Chinese Communist party (CCP) in the first fifteen years of the People's Republic of China. His thesis is that the post-1949 conversion of the guerrilla army, which brought Mao Tse-tung to power, into a modernized, complex, differentiated military force created an officer corps which, to a considerable extent, was more oriented to the technical requirements of its professional role than to the CCP's insistence that men and politics, rather than weaponry, remain the decisive factors in warfare. This study, by analyzing the CCP leadership's criticisms of the professional military-technical viewpoint, offers a convincing account of how tensions between the party and the officer corps arose in 1953-1954, increased in 1956 and 1957, reached a peak in 1958, and were gradually dissipated after 1959 with the consequence, however, of an almost complete victory for the CCP position. In the Chinese Communist armed forces today, politics are in command, party control is consolidated, and on the surface at least a remarkable harmony has prevailed in party-army relations in recent years. But at the same time a sweeping technological and organizational transformation has been accomplished, and with the development of Chinese independent nuclear power the professionals have probably now been accorded much of what they wanted.

In passing, this volume contains interesting commentary on Sino-Soviet military relations, the problem of the dismissal of P'eng Te-huai, and the effect of the "great leap forward" on the armed forces of China.

*University of Michigan*

ALBERT FEUERWERKER

THE SHAN STATES AND THE BRITISH ANNEXATION. By *Sao Saimong Mangrai*. [Data Paper, Number 57.] (Ithaca, N. Y.: Southeast Asia Program, Department of Asian Studies, Cornell University. 1965. Pp. x, 319, lxxxiii. \$4.00.)

FOLLOWING its conquest of Upper Burma in 1885 Britain had to deal with the special problem of the Shan States. These, though part of Burma, lay in the hilly

region to the east bordering on China, Laos, and Siam, and were mostly under the personal rule of their own hereditary chiefs. They had been in turmoil for some time, and many had already broken away from the nominal control of the Burmese monarchy. But, compared with the pacification of Burma proper, extension of control over the Shans was an easy task for Britain.

But there were more difficult problems involved: those of frontier relations with neighboring countries. The frontier between the Shan States and China was undefined, and Britain was extremely anxious to avoid any dispute with China. It was even more anxious to avoid having a common frontier with the French in Indochina. For a time Britain seriously considered making the Salween River the eastern border of Burma, thus leaving some of the Shan States that lay further to the east to be absorbed by China and Siam so that they should serve as a buffer region between Burma and Indochina. But that idea was abandoned by the beginning of 1890, and the Mekong River became the common frontier between Burma and Laos.

Quoting copiously from unpublished material in the India Office archives and from official publications and contemporary writings, Sao Saimong Mangrai tells in detail the story of Britain's dealings with the Shan States and the problems involved in assuming control between 1886 and 1900. As the son of a former sawbwa or chief of one of the Shan States, the author conveys an impression of almost personal involvement. His writing is discursive, some of his comments are naïve, and his book lacks an index, but he has made a worth-while contribution to the study of his country's history.

*University of Hong Kong*

BRIAN HARRISON

EDUCATION IN TOKUGAWA JAPAN. By R. P. Dore. [Publication of the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 346. \$6.00.)

THIS careful and important study of the development of the varied types of education in the last two and a half centuries of feudalism in Japan under the Tokugawa dictatorship (1600-1868) is more than a history of premodern education. It is also an intellectual history and a history of the educational philosophy of the writers of that period. Basing his work on extensive Japanese primary sources, the author has selected and organized his material well; thus his study fills an important gap in our knowledge of Japanese history. For those interested in the role of education in the modernization process, this book serves as an important background and supplementary volume to Herbert Passin's *Society and Education in Japan* (1965).

Following a short survey of society in the Tokugawa period, this study analyzes the divergent aims of education for the warrior class and describes the dominant features of the schools supported by the Tokugawa government and of those in the separate fiefs. The traditional curriculum based on Chinese classics, the training methods used, and the significant differences among the various institutions are dealt with in detail. Numerous quotations make it clear that some contemporary Japanese writers argued that the purpose of education was to train the



ruling warrior class to become better rulers through increased knowledge. On the other hand, the overwhelming majority emphasized that the task of education "was primarily to develop moral character, both as an absolute human duty and also in order the better to fulfill the samurai's function in society." The remainder of the volume is devoted to: the gradual innovations that were adopted in the schools in the nineteenth century largely as a result of growing interest in Japanese, as opposed to Chinese, studies and in Western medicine and science; the rapid increase in the number of special schools established for the commoner, the "popular schools" (*terakoya*) and "writing schools" (*tenarai sho*); and, finally, the legacy that this multivarious education bequeathed to the modern period.

Despite its diversity the results of education in Japan from the early seventeenth century to the Restoration in 1868 were impressive. At the beginning the ruling warrior class was largely illiterate; at the end practically all the warriors were literate and probably 40 per cent of the total male population and 10 per cent of the female population could read and write. This was an important base on which to begin building a modern, militarily powerful industrial state. The extent of the role that this Chinese classics-oriented education played in enabling the leaders of the new Japan to succeed in this modernization is hard to assess. The author's argument, in the final chapter, concerning the special importance in this modernization process of the Confucian type of training seems to be partially weakened by the fact that many of the members of the select group of new leaders in the Restoration were also influenced by "Dutch" or Western studies. This is an excellent work, which provides new information on Japanese society in the Tokugawa period, on the forces that helped mold modern Japan, and on the role of diversified education in premodern societies.

*Haverford College*

HUGH BORTON

THE STATE AND ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE IN JAPAN: ESSAYS IN THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GROWTH. By *M. Bronfenbrenner et al.* Edited by *William W. Lockwood*. [Studies in the Modernization of Japan, Number 2.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 753. \$12.50.)

Most of these fifteen papers were submitted to the Conference on Modern Japan at Estes Park, Colorado, in 1963. Nine are devoted to studies of the prewar industrialization process (Parts I and II), and others discuss post-World War II problems, emphasizing the so-called "second industrial revolution" from 1955 on.

E. S. Crawcour's "The Tokugawa Heritage" empirically explores factors that accumulated in traditional Japan and contributed later to industrialization. K. Ohkawa's and H. Rosovsky's "A Century of Japanese Economic Growth" analyzes a century of rapid development by setting up identifiable and relatively unified phases of growth, mostly in line with Kuznets' minimum requirements for a "stage theory." D. S. Landes in his "Japan and Europe: Contrasts in Industrialization" presents the longest paper, in which he finds differences as well as resemblances between the two areas.

In the earlier industrialization of Japan, entrepreneurship played a large role, and on this problem there are two articles: Y. Horie's "Modern Entrepreneurship

in Meiji Japan" and J. Hirschmeier's "Shibusawa Eiichi: Industrial Pioneer." Hirschmeier, particularly, succeeds in making clear Shibusawa's wide influence in the early development of various industries and the Japanese type of business entrepreneurship that is closely tied up with nationalism and Confucianism.

S. Sawada's "Innovation in Japanese Agriculture, 1880-1935," explores in detail the long-term technological and productivity development of agriculture. J. I. Nakamura's "Growth of Japanese Agriculture, 1875-1920," is the most provocative paper; in it he contradicts Ohkawa's estimates, emphasizing possible undervaluation in early official statistics on agricultural products, particularly rice. H. T. Oshima in his "Meiji Fiscal Policy and Economic Progress" constructs a framework in which the government account is part of the national income account, and he analyzes the productivity and incidence of the Meiji land tax, the relation between military and civil expenditures, the productivity of military expenditure, and the roles of administrative and educational outlays. A. H. Gleason's "Economic Growth and Consumption in Japan" takes up the achievement of the long-term growth—the rise of consumption per capita. The data used, however, are not an independent estimate, but a residual between national income and other expenditures.

Part III opens with an article by W. W. Lockwood, "Japan's 'New Capitalism,'" containing political and economic analyses. M. Bronfenbrenner's "Economic Miracles and Japan's Income-Doubling Plan" and H. T. Patrick's "Cyclical Instability and Fiscal-Monetary Policy in Postwar Japan" explore the problems of growth and cycles in the postwar economy. S. Okita's "Regional Planning in Japan Today" is a good sketch and may be useful for foreign readers. S. B. Levine's "Labor Markets and Collective Bargaining in Japan" explains in an excellent way the features of the Japanese labor market and wage differentials, focusing on the "life-time commitment," the "length of service" systems, and the development of collective bargaining in the big enterprise sector. Lastly, R. A. Scalapino's "Labor and Politics in Postwar Japan" presents a detailed analysis of the history of the Japanese labor movement, which has been greatly influenced by trade-union political activity and has swung between "left extremism" and "political realism." His survey on political attitudes of union leaders is particularly interesting.

It is impossible in this brief space to criticize each of the articles properly. But though some important problems are not dealt with at all, we may say that most of the articles included should be welcomed as important contributions to the elucidation of the process of Japan's modernization and industrialization.

*Hitotsubashi University*

MIYOHEI SHINOHARA

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN JAPAN. By *Kurt Steiner*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 564. \$10.00.)

THIS book of many parts is not a companion but an unerring guide; it cannot be read in "one sitting," but rather it must be studied; it does not merely contribute intelligence to a single subject, but reveals the larger purpose of reorganizing an entire field. Indeed, Steiner has written a most unusual book on Japanese politics, for he has delivered far more than his modest title promises. That alone would qualify it as a scholarly event of considerable magnitude, but there is more.

Even though it is his declared intention to provide an "introduction" to the workings of local autonomy in Japan, especially during the post-World War II period, Steiner never loses sight of the larger problem silently informing his efforts: the arrangement and operation of political power in Japan as a total process. To reach his goal he analyzes the structure, function, and dynamics of the political machinery at the local level, not as an isolated or random phenomenon trimmed to meet the requirements of some specialized interest, but rather as an integral and integrated element in a much larger system. The points of intersection between "local" and "national" politics in Japan are so numerous and well known to Steiner that it is virtually impossible for him to deal intelligibly with one level without constant reference to the other.

Any attempt to survey Steiner's achievement will necessarily do him a disservice because it will make his book appear as a massive inventory. Coverage is merely his way of getting at two complex questions of fundamental importance about the purpose of politics in Japan: "How much local autonomy actually exists in Japan today?" and "What is the relationship between local autonomy and democracy?" The first section of the book is historical and seeks to locate the character of local autonomy in the years before World War II; in the second part Steiner uses a constitutional analysis of the kind that stresses the tension between legal expectations and the actualities of achievement; the third portion of the book, owing to its concern with "local entities," their structure and purpose, and the vast machinery of financial relations between governmental levels, employs a descriptive legal-institutional framework; and the final chapters, dealing with the dynamics of neighborhood associations and citizen participation, fall into a sociological-behavioral slot.

Steiner's conclusions consistently return to the general questions he set out to examine. World War II destroyed, through the expedience of centralization, the system of local autonomy inaugurated by the Meiji reformers. Caught between the constitutional ideal of local autonomy and the dour promises of reality, occupation authorities launched their political reforms with a built-in ambiguity. Institutional reforms remained woefully incomplete, especially in the area of functions and finances. Moreover, traditional attitudes, the persistent power of outlawed associations, and the widespread disregard for the new legal process in solving intergovernmental problems all conspired to inhibit local entities from realizing whatever roles and hopes were intended by the reforms. In view of the "muddle of functions" and the dynamic reassertion of "recessive" attitudes and behavior, Steiner argues that local autonomy in Japan did not fail because it was never fully established.

These were crucial developments because they did interact with the operation of national politics, and the failure or success of local autonomy would necessarily affect the ultimate achievement of democracy in Japan. It might be that Steiner hopes for too much too soon, but he knows that local entities in Japan or elsewhere must serve, not as instruments of central control, but as insulation between individual and state. He also knows that local autonomy must always make decisive accommodations to political reality if it is to continue providing its democratizing service. This allows Steiner to expose local autonomy in Japan for all its weaknesses, yet not abandon it despairingly to the paradox of ideality and

reality. If it is unfashionable today to describe a book as definitive, then it can be said that Steiner has written a book for many seasons.

*University of Rochester*

H. D. HAROOTUNIAN

THE POLITICS OF KOREAN NATIONALISM. By *Chong-Sik Lee*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 342. \$6.50.)

ONE pattern of Korean history is that of repeated foreign invasions followed by alien domination. The Japanese rule of Korea (1910-1945) is a case in point. Korean nationalists responded to this rule by organizing and maintaining an independence movement that receives its first scholarly treatment in this work. Though its title sounds ahistorical, one may be assured that the monograph is a sound historical work. It is divided into five chronological parts: the legacy of Yi Korea impinging upon the independence movement; the fall of the Yi dynasty, 1876-1910; the March First movement of 1919, 1910-1919; the independence movement by the exiled abroad, 1919-1945; and the same movement in Korea, 1919-1945. Probably the most original portions of the work are Parts IV and V. Here we find that factionalism always plagued the movement. Lee attributes factionalism to provincialism, personal ties, the difference of opinion concerning the strategy to be pursued, lack of funds, and the appearance of the Korean Communists. Since 1931 the acute financial problem was solved by Chinese support, but this was more than offset by the growing bipolarization of the nationalists into Right Wing and Left Wing. The outcome was a further intensification of factional struggles.

In addition to narrating the independence movement, Lee has attempted to show the broadening process of Korean nationalism from the elite to the masses. According to the author, the movement, up to 1910, was still in the category of "traditional nationalism," and at the same time there were evidences of "modern nationalism." "Positive nationalism," an undefined term, can be traced back to late seventeenth-century scholars, but took firm hold after the March First movement. Social science has not as yet developed a more satisfactory scheme than qualitative description for analyzing such intriguing subjects as national character and nationalism, and Lee's book reflects something of this in its second aim.

The independence movement is one that no Korean can study without emotion. As the author shows, however, it was not as glorious as Koreans tend to think it was; nor was Japanese rule entirely negative. Perhaps with these realities in mind Lee offers to his fellow Koreans an apologia for being impartial in his account. To the general reader, on the other hand, he says he is not free from bias. But he has achieved a high degree of objectivity, and that is the beauty of his work. It is a truly significant contribution to the sparse literature on modern Korean history.

*University of Florida*

RICHARD T. CHANG

THE MUTINY OUTBREAK AT MEERUT IN 1857. By *J. A. B. Palmer*. [Cambridge South Asian Studies.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1966. Pp. xi, 175. \$7.50.)

THE author seeks to provide a definitive narrative of the rising at Meerut on the evening of May 10, 1857, and the morning after at Delhi. Within these modest

limits, it is very successful, a real, if small, addition to the literature on the Indian Mutiny—which threatens to rival in bulk that on the French Revolution or the American Civil War. Some unpublished information from Sir John Kaye's papers is used as well as the unpublished diary of William Waterfield, but for the most part the sources are printed. Does one imagine that the style sometimes owes more to hobson-jobson than the *Oxford English Dictionary*?

Mr. Palmer fills in much precise fact about the outbreak at Meerut, but our theoretical knowledge of the Mutiny is not changed. He is certain that the rising at Meerut was premeditated, but we are still puzzled about the actual plotters and whether or not it was part of some larger conspiracy. In other words, the author comes to an orthodox conclusion, that the revolt of 1857 at Meerut was a combined manifestation of various grievances including those of dispossessed landlords, disbanded native troops, and overassessed peasants, united by a fear that their religion was threatened by greased cartridges.

There are fascinating sketches of Major General William Henry Hewitt, commander of the Meerut Division; Brigadier Archdale Wilson, the station commander; and Lieutenant Colonel George Monro Carmichael-Smyth, who gave the order that was the occasion to refuse cartridges and led to court-martial and mutiny. Wilson, who later wound up with honors and an article in the *DNB*, appears as the least attractive figure in the story. As a sort of bonus, one is afforded an incidental glimpse of mid-Victorian "European" social life in a north Indian cantonment town. We learn of the importance of family connection in the Indian services, the regularity of churchgoing habits, muzzy officers being shaved in bed before arising, and the taste of the soldiers for bottled "pop."

On balance, this little volume is a good thing. No large library or smaller library specializing in a related field should fail to acquire it.

*California State College, Dominguez Hills*

MARK NAIDIS

RENAISSANCE, NATIONALISM AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN MODERN INDIA. By *Kalīkīṅkar Datta*. (Calcutta: Bookland Private. 1965. Pp. vi, 144, vi. Rs. 12.)

ANYONE who is at all familiar with the often told story of the Indian nationalist movement will find little, if anything, new in this very brief account by a senior Indian historian. It presents a clear narrative, with little commentary, of the national struggle from the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 to independence in 1947. There is an old-fashioned flavor about it, which is both charming and frustrating.

Even though most recent studies of Indian nationalism trace the roots of the nationalist movement well before 1885, Professor Datta gives only passing attention to this longer background. He makes only a few brief references to Raja Rammohun Roy, often referred to as "the Father of Indian Nationalism," and he fails to consider the impact of the "Mutiny" of 1857 on the emergence of a national consciousness.

The central theme of this slim volume is that "the political development of modern India has been an aspect of a general renaissance pervading different

spheres of life." This is a good point, but hardly an original one. A. R. Desai, for example, made it nearly twenty years ago in his *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1948), and Charles H. Heimsath has recently published a sophisticated study of *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (1964).

The final chapter, which is much longer than any of the others, is entitled "Changes in the Structure of Indian Society." This is a reprint of an article that was originally published in the *Journal of World History* in 1960. It has some interesting comments on the improved status of women, child marriage, caste and untouchability, and the Indian labor movement, but it has little relation to the rest of the chapters, and it provides a strange conclusion for a descriptive account of the national movement. A concluding chapter on the nature and significance of the movement and its contribution to independent India and to modern nationalism would have been more appropriate and more useful.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

QUIET DECISION: A STUDY OF GEORGE FOSTER PEARCE. By *Peter Heydon*. ([Carlton:] Melbourne University Press; distrib. by Cambridge University Press, New York. 1965. Pp. xviii, 271. \$12.50.)

IN his introduction to this book Sir Robert Menzies mentions the possibility of eventually writing his own memoirs. It is to be hoped that the recently retired Prime Minister soon will employ his sense of history and his mastery of English to provide Australians with a new, higher standard of political autobiography. Too frequently in the past such works have followed the safely inoffensive pattern illustrated by Sir George Pearce's superficial, anecdotal *Carpenter to Cabinet* (1951).

The general quality of Australian political biography, on the other hand, has been fairly high in recent years, although the quantity of such studies is still limited. This knowledgeable, well-researched assessment of the career of a man who represented Western Australia in the Senate for the first thirty-seven years of the Commonwealth, and served in both Labor (until the split of 1916) and anti-Labor cabinets for twenty-four of those years, is a welcome and superior addition to the collection. Peter Heydon served as Pearce's private secretary in 1936-1937. His subsequent career in the public service has included ambassadorial posts and the top civil service office in the Department of Immigration. He is, therefore, at his best in his discussion of Pearce's achievements in the cabinet and as political head of a department, fields where Pearce excelled. His discussion of Pearce's relations with colleagues and chiefs, particularly with W. M. Hughes and S. M. Bruce, and his briefer references to his later service on the States' Grants Commission and on the Defence Board of Business Administration are also commendable.

In the other themes explored—Pearce's pride in and affection for the Senate as a legislative body; his strong early nationalism which placed "the Empire very much second," but which later mellowed into an advocacy of imperial solidarity in *Carpenter to Cabinet*; the process by which a labor leader becomes a conservative; and his alienation from Western Australian popular opinion—the author reveals less sympathetic insight. Although he attempts to treat these complex

problems, they represent intellectual pilgrimages on which adequate data apparently were not available.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

K. A. MacKIRDY

AUSTRALIAN POLICIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARD CHINA. By *Henry S. Albinski*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 511. \$12.50.)

PROFESSOR Albinski realizes his three purposes in writing this well-documented book, which also has an extensive bibliography. He points out "the nature and strength of Australia's interpretation of China as a power in her own right and as an influence on the course of Asian developments of special concern to Australia"; traces and appraises Australia's China policy and attitudes, paying some attention to policies toward Nationalist as well as mainland China and to the limits set on Australian policy by the need to maintain friendly relations with the United States; and finally shows the "imprint left by the Chinese problem on politics, and the manner in which politics have affected the tone of debate and policy direction on China."

The author starts with an appraisal of the China problem as it presented itself to the Labor government which lost office after the elections of December 10, 1949. He then analyzes the effect of the Korean War on Australian policies and attitudes. Australian security problems, as affected by fear of China and aversion to Communism, are appraised in the two chapters dealing with developments in Southeast Asia after 1954. Here the author deals with the Indonesian take-over of West Irian and the attempt to destroy Malaysia. Albinski then turns to trade, showing the extent of direct and indirect government involvement in the development of trade relations with mainland China. Australia's passport policy and the growing movement of Australians to China for trade promotion are then discussed. Finally, after an appraisal of Australia's diplomatic policy toward China, from the viewpoint of its flexibility, of the "American factor," and of Chinese diplomatic policy and domestic politics, the volume concludes with consideration of the relevance to Australia of the China problem. In this setting of balancing and weighing alternative positions, Australia has not escaped the inevitable internal debate about what should be done, and how, in particular circumstances. The area of agreement, however, has always been "that there is a China problem, that it intimately affects Australia, and that it needs to be reckoned with seriously."

*Cincinnati, Ohio*

HAROLD M. VINACKE

WILLIAM PEMBER REEVES: NEW ZEALAND FABIAN. By *Keith Sinclair*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 356. \$6.75.)

WILLIAM Pember Reeves left his mark on New Zealand, on England, and to some extent on Greece. He was a leader in the struggle against the power of the great landowners. As Minister of Education and also of Labour in the first Liberal-Labour cabinets (1891-1896), he was the intellectual leader of the more advanced socialist wing of the party. The land legislation aimed at breaking the great estates was primarily the work of men who believed in small-scale freehold farm-

ing. Reeves's share in it was not great. His code of labor legislation was fought bitterly over several years, but finally the arbitration system, by which he is best known, went easily, almost derisively, through a skeptical Parliament.

In New Zealand itself he was a controversial figure, literate, and indeed a minor poet, but alienated from the dominant landowning, banking, and commercial class from which he had emerged. In 1896 he went to London as agent-general (later High Commissioner) and lived in England until his death. For many years he cherished the hope of returning to New Zealand politics, but the opportunity never came. He flirted with the notion of entering British politics as a Liberal-Imperialist, but lacked the income necessary to do so.

His life in London was at first closely associated with the Fabians and especially with Sidney and Beatrice Webb, but among his many contradictory emotions was a puritanical attitude to sex, and he was outraged by the notoriety of H. G. Wells's affair with his brilliant and beautiful daughter. Sidney Webb persuaded him to resign the High Commissioner's office to become the third director of the London School of Economics. Though he was a careful administrator, he did not escape the conflicts that beset the school for years, and the time came when Webb had to tell him that he must resign.

During his stay at LSE he was also chairman of the National Bank of New Zealand and, despite his radical views, a conservative and successful financier. In his frustrations he turned to writing an account of the Liberal-Labour experiments. It was largely through his voice and pen that New Zealand gained the reputation of being the most experimental country in the world. A brilliant and readable account of its history published as *The Long White Cloud* supplemented the more technical studies and still is a classic. His last years were largely devoted to advocating the Venizelist claims to Greek expansion, but these too collapsed. The death of his only son in the war was the last heavy blow from which he never really recovered.

Keith Sinclair was the right person to write his life and weave it skillfully into the political history of New Zealand. At the same time he has caught with sympathy and insight the aspirations and frustrations of a too sensitive and finally embittered personality, torn between two worlds—indeed many worlds. Reeves was an expatriate. He was fascinated both with literature and politics and thought of himself as a bold revolutionary while retaining almost primitive taboos. It is a considerable feat to produce a work of scholarship, fully documented, and at the same time a fascinating study of such a troubled personality. Sinclair is to be congratulated on a book that highly illuminates the events he describes and the actors who shaped them.

Stanford Research Institute

J. B. CONDLIFFE

## Americas

KEEPERS OF THE PAST. Edited by *Clifford L. Lord*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1965. Pp. 241. \$6.00.)

SIXTEEN contributors have created an interesting anthology. Their eighteen chapters on keepers of the American past concern five who worked with historical



societies (Jeremy Belknap, John Pintard, Lyman C. Draper, Reuben G. Thwaites, and Dixon Ryan Fox), three with public archives (John Franklin Jameson, Thomas McA. Owen, and Robert D. W. Connor), three with historical museums (George Brown Goode, Edgar Lee Hewett, and George Francis Dow), two with special collections (Henry E. Huntington and Bella C. Landauer), and five with historic sites (Ann Pamela Cunningham, Adina De Zavala, William Sumner Appleton, Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.).

The volume, happy in conception, is equally attractive in achievement. The rich scholarship of the authors is modestly suggested by brief, discreetly placed footnotes. The form of the book, with an introduction but no index, is unpretentious, graceful, and attractive. It might be suggested reading for graduate students, trustees of historical societies, amateur collectors, librarians, curators, and archivists as an inspiration, and for a wider audience as a source of armchair pleasure.

*Ohio University*

HARRY R. STEVENS

CATHOLICS IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *John Tracy Ellis*. [Benedictine Studies, Number 8.] (Baltimore: Helicon. 1965. Pp. 486. \$10.00.)

THIS is an inclusive survey of Roman Catholic missions within the present boundaries of the continental United States down through the colonial period. The preface intimates that the author himself has had some doubts as to whether such a book was really needed, but he has justified it in his own mind by noting that there has been no scholarly treatment of the subject for more than two generations. There is indeed a real problem with a topic of this kind. The book assumes as the territorial definition of its scope the national boundaries of the US as finally established in the mid-nineteenth century, but the chronological definition of its scope is restricted to an earlier period when different territorial arrangements prevailed. In other words, the structure of the book does not conform to the essential coherence of the material with which it deals. This would be of minor consequence if it meant no more than that the book breaks down into three discrete sections, devoted respectively to the Spanish, the French, and the English missions. The more serious problem is that in the first two of these sections, at least, the book deals with the scattered representatives of missionary enterprises whose bases of operations lay outside the defined scope of the work.

The story of these dispersed missionaries needs to be related to the story of the organism of which they were remote representatives if it is to have a focus that takes it out of the category of antiquarianism. One suspects, therefore, that this volume will be consulted for particular chapters by scholars at work on related topics, rather than read through from cover to cover in its own terms.

*Harvard Divinity School*

CONRAD WRIGHT

THE CROSS IN THE SAND: THE EARLY CATHOLIC CHURCH IN FLORIDA, 1513-1870. By *Michael V. Gannon*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 210. \$5.00.)

STUDENTS of American religious history who are acquainted with Father Gannon's

*Rebel Bishop: The Life and Era of Augustin Verot* (1964) will have reason to expect both an attractive style and a high standard of professional competence in his new book, and they will not be disappointed. In handsome dress and adorned by twenty pages of illustrations, this solid narrative recounts the Spaniards' heartbreaking disappointments and hardships experienced for well over a century after their initial effort of 1513 to settle Florida and to plant the Catholic faith among its Indian tribes. But succeed they finally did, and with the exception of twenty years (1763-1783) the peninsula remained under Spanish rule until July 1821, when the American commissioner arrived to assume authority.

At this point two-thirds of the story has been told, but the author extends it through two more chapters and an epilogue to the establishment of the diocese of Saint Augustine by the Holy See in March 1870 with a few sentences on each of the bishops who followed Augustin Verot. The story has been told before, but the author has uncovered new evidence from hitherto unpublished sources, which enables him to speak with certainty where others have dealt in generalities, and to speak with richer detail on already familiar movements and situations. Previous historians had spoken only vaguely of the ordinations performed in August 1674 at Saint Augustine by Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, bishop of Santiago de Cuba. Now we are told specifically that those ordained on August 24 of that year were "seven young priests, sons of the best families in St. Augustine—the first positively authenticated instance of ordinations to the priesthood to take place within what is now the United States." This precedes by 119 years the ordination of Stephen T. Badin by Bishop John Carroll on May 25, 1793, hitherto thought to be the first of its kind. A clearer picture also emerges of the operations of the *patronato real* and its offspring, the so-called church wardens.

A few criticisms may be entered on several minor points. For example, while serious readers will appreciate the essay on sources, it should not replace footnotes, a feature that is missed more than once. The book is, however, virtually free of typographical errors and inconsistencies. The diocese of Saint Augustine may well be proud of this volume commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the first Catholic parish on the soil of the future United States. The history of Catholicism in this country would be far the richer if every diocese, every religious congregation and order, and every institution of whatever kind could boast a comparable work to mark a significant milestone in its life.

University of San Francisco

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

A COLONY ON THE MOVE: GASPAR CASTAÑO DE SOSA'S JOURNAL, 1590-1591. By *Albert H. Schroeder* and *Dan S. Matson*. ([Santa Fe, N. Mex.: School of American Research.] 1965. Pp. xi, 196. \$6.50 postpaid.)

BETWEEN the explorations of Espejo in 1582-1583 and Oñate's *entrada* of 1598, the 170-man force led into New Mexico by Gaspar Castaño de Sosa produced the most historically significant activity in that region. Castaño, lieutenant governor and captain general of Nuevo León, began his northward trek late in July 1590, without the requisite royal approval. Eight months later, after an astounding demonstration of energy, courage, and curiosity, Castaño's arrest in mid-March 1591 dis-

solved the expedition that had known but meager prospect of becoming a new settlement. The only known eyewitness account of this expedition, presumably from the pen of Andrés Pérez de Verlanga, appears in the present work, translated and edited.

D. S. Matson's sensitive and precise translation affords us the first complete English version of a document that heretofore has been available in complete text only in Spanish. Editor A. H. Schroeder's efforts to establish the itinerary, identify pueblos, and so forth show him to be abreast of southwestern bibliography.

The introduction establishes perspective for the reader in fine fashion, as do the numerous maps in reference to the text. For two unnecessary reasons Schroeder's notes tend to overwhelm the document: they often repeat its content; and, being in larger type face, they tend to dominate rather than support the document. The editor's speculations, coming thick and fast at times, are those of a disciplined researcher. For almost 25 per cent of the expedition's personnel, an appendix increases our awareness of individuals.

The School of American Research has again affirmed the indissoluble alliance of geography, ethnology, archaeology, and history in the study of the American Southwest.

*Southern Illinois University*

C. HARVEY GARDINER

NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER: PURITANS AND INDIANS, 1620-1675. By  
*Alden T. Vaughan.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. xvii,  
430. \$7.50.)

HISTORY is revision no less than narration and exposition. This refreshing new look at Puritan-Indian relations will cause many historians to revise their thinking on the early settlement of New England. Vaughan's lucid and literate study debunks former popular conceptions that the pious Pilgrims fell first on their knees and then on the natives or pilfered their hunting grounds for a handful of worthless trinkets. In reality, practically from the day the Pilgrims landed and began exploring the countryside, they sought out the Indians in a spirit of peace. Their first parley with Massasoit resulted in a pact that even today remains a model of its kind. Each side agreed to refrain from harming the other and promised mutual assistance if attacked. Both parties in the main lived up to this and to successive treaties.

The author details how the early Pilgrims (he does not differentiate between Pilgrim and Puritan) with no previous experience depended on improvisation, innovation, and versatility to establish their successful policy of peace through strength tempered by justice. This favorable precedent was later followed by the Massachusetts Bay colonists. Believing that the Indian was a potential convert and not an implacable enemy, the Puritans extended to him the benefits of religion and education. In most instances Indians voluntarily placed themselves under the white man's laws expecting and receiving justice. Puritans who sinned against Indians were equally punished, and Indians occasionally served as jurors. However, because of the very nature of the widely divergent patterns of living—political, economic, religious, and social—it was inevitable that friction developed

between the two cultures. One was unified, visionary, disciplined, and dynamic while the other was divided, self-satisfied, undisciplined, and static.

Motivations and events leading to the clash of these two interdependent ethnic groups are perceptively delineated. Except for isolated instances the author does not single out particular episodes or personalities for special dramatization. Rather, the collective achievements of several generations of New Englanders are in themselves sufficiently emphatic to record the unique period of Puritan-Indian relationships and the evolution of a "Yankee" identity.

Basing his work on wide-ranging research, yet never pedantic, Vaughan describes how the civilized Gospel-centered (but not bigoted) Puritan society inexorably expanded and finally controlled the Neolithic world of the Indians. The narration moves like the advancing frontier it describes, marshaling widely separate facts into a documented story that seldom loses impetus. The author dispels many misconceptions, legends, and half-truths expounded by Palfrey over a hundred years ago and adopted by others. He recognizes that one must judge the actions of the Puritans toward a minority race in the context of their world, not ours. He also concedes that histories are written by the victors and that the colonization accounts are from the white man's point of view. Well written, illustrated, indexed, and with appendixes, notes, and bibliography, Professor Vaughan's objective study now takes its place as the standard authority on Puritan-Indian relations from the landing of the *Mayflower* through King Philip's War.

*Army and Air Force Exchange Service*

WILLIAM C. KIESSEL

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SLAVERY: STUDIES IN THE ECONOMY AND SOCIETY OF THE SLAVE SOUTH. By *Eugene D. Genovese*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965. Pp. xiv, 304. \$6.95.)

FIFTEEN or twenty years ago it was not unusual for men like W. J. Cash or Rollin Osterweis to write books that assumed that the civilization of the ante bellum South was different in kind from that of the North. Since then, however, the scholarly tendency has been to view the South as different only in degree. This book seeks, through the economy, to bring us back to the earlier view. As is indicated by the title of this collection of essays, more than half of which have appeared in print before, the study is an examination of much more than simply the economics of slavery. The essential point is that the South's dependence upon slavery kept it a "pre-modern" society—that is, precapitalistic, with all the social and political differences from the North that the phrase implies. This is, of course, a quite consistent and sophisticated, if unnamed, Marxian approach, which sees a necessary connection between the forms of labor and production on the one hand and the social structure and culture on the other. Although the logic of his position requires him to dispute most of the studies of slavery and southern society written in the last thirty years, Mr. Genovese does not shrink from the obligation. He critically re-examines Craven on soil exhaustion, Ramsdell on the natural limits of slavery expansion, Conrad and Meyer on the profitability of slavery, Russel on the economic effects of slavery, Owsley on southern social structure, and Stamp on the capitalistic character of plantation operation.

The remarkable thing is the success with which he exposes the hidden assump-

tions and the flaws in the logic or the evidence of these earlier studies. His strictures are always modestly stated, and his knowledge of the sources and the secondary literature on southern slave society is impressive. His book, in short, is one that every student of the ante bellum South will have to grapple with. And when he has, he will have a difficult time believing that the South was just another West that happened to use slave labor and grow cotton. Not everything that we know about ante bellum society, of course, fits into Genovese's analysis, though one would not discover that from this single-minded book. Yet, aside from a tendency to exaggerate the universality of his own findings while narrowing the applicability of others', the author makes a strong case. He emphasizes, for example, the lack of a wide market for industrial production because of the large number of slaves, the poor quality of livestock, and the ineffectiveness of the agricultural reform movement. He also comes close to saying that slavery as a coercive system overpopulated the South. But if that were true—as I suspect it was—then slavery was not the direct, but only the indirect cause of the South's inability to advance economically and socially.

A conclusion that the South was overpopulated by slavery, moreover, would also call into question one of the book's cardinal assumptions, which is also, for still other reasons, its weakest element. This assumption is that the South was not only politically, economically, and socially dominated by the planter class, but that the planters as a group were conscious of their class interests and acted to realize them. Hence they are alleged deliberately to have kept the South backward through their economic and political power and to have resisted successfully the class hostility of nonslaveholders. This assertion of class consciousness in the ante bellum South is difficult to accept in light of present knowledge, and Genovese, other than by assertion or inference, does little to inform us to the contrary. That lower-class whites, for example, might voluntarily support slavery because it effectively controlled a feared black man is an idea that does not enter Genovese's social analysis.

But one does not have to accept Genovese's assumption of class consciousness in the South or the Marxian philosophy from which he starts to profit from his cogent and well-supported argument for seeing ante bellum southern society as enduringly underdeveloped and therefore fundamentally different from that of the North.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

WRITING SOUTHERN HISTORY: ESSAYS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN HONOR OF FLETCHER M. GREEN. Edited by *Arthur S. Link* and *Rembert W. Patrick*. ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 502. \$12.00.)

Few *Festschriften* enjoy the usefulness and importance that this one will undoubtedly achieve. In honoring their teacher, the former students of Fletcher Green have also performed a valuable service for the profession. They have written seventeen original essays surveying the published literature of southern history; each of the chapters begins with the earliest writings for the period and comes down to those of the 1960's. (Since the chapters were written at various

times, some of the authors bring their surveys through 1961 only; most, however, carry their discussions through 1963.)

The value of the volume resides in several things. For one, it is amazingly comprehensive, covering not only the principal books and articles, but important unpublished doctoral dissertations and masters' essays as well. I noted the omission of only two clearly important works: Kenneth S. Lynn's *Mark Twain and Southwestern Humor* and Eugene Lerner's several articles in the *Journal of Political Economy* and *Agricultural History* on the Confederate economy; on the other hand, I learned about many with which I was not familiar. Thanks to the careful editors, there is remarkably little repetition of titles that are discussed, despite the unavoidable overlapping of some periods and topics. The book is, moreover, furnished with a full index, which lists every work that is mentioned or cited.

Each author's handling of his mass of literature has clearly been left to him. Some approach their task topically, others within a framework of trends in general American historiography. Charles Sellers, for example, so arranges his treatment of the literature on the Revolution that he can argue that there was no self-conscious South during the eighteenth century, while Ernest Lander, Jr., in discussing the critical period, reaches the opposite conclusion; Malcolm McMillan's survey of the early nineteenth century follows the traditional view that 1820 saw the beginning of the South. Some writers are very critical of the literature they survey, while others are largely content to summarize briefly the works they treat. Paul Gaston, in discussing the late nineteenth century, is the only one who, by tracing the idea of the New South in the periodical literature of the time, goes beyond an appraisal of the secondary sources. Several of the chapters specifically point out opportunities for further research in their periods. The volume appropriately concludes with a bibliography of the numerous published writings of Green.

Vassar College

CARL N. DEGLER

PHILANTHROPY IN THE SHAPING OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION. By *Roderick Nash* and *Merle Curti*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. vi, 340. \$8.50.)

THE financial history of higher education in the United States began with the decision of the Massachusetts Bay Colony to charter and support the institution that became Harvard College. The future financial history of higher education in the United States unquestionably will be a story of increasingly massive action and support by state and federal governments. In the intervening centuries, however, philanthropy has played a major role in the life of the American college and university: this role is the subject undertaken here.

Private benefaction began in the colonial colleges and aided the expansion of colleges in the nineteenth century, particularly institutions that chose to serve some new purpose, such as technology, or some new clientele, such as women and Negroes. The university idea, in search of financial support, found a band of mighty millionaires in the late nineteenth century, and the giant philanthropic foundations, alumni, and business corporations have come to the support of higher education.

Professors Curti and Nash are perhaps at their best when they see the university movement as a happy union between an old idea in search of support and new money in search of justification. Henceforth every general history of American higher education will be indebted to their convincing insistence that private wealth has made a significant contribution to the history of higher education: conceivably, someday this obvious fact may seem like news.

Not everyone will find his favorite philanthropist or institution included or perhaps adequately considered in this sweeping survey of the men and women who have provided many of the creative dollars in American higher education, although the catalogue of benefactions and institutions covered is large. Something in the tone of the book is not right, however; something about its methodology is self-defeating.

This is myopic history, which, in looking too closely at a selected aspect of the financial history of higher education, distorts what it sees. As the authors occasionally point out, higher education in the United States has also been supported by state grants and state-authorized lotteries, and by tuition fees, but they are altogether silent on the meaning of faculty exploitation and of favorable tax treatment for the support of higher education. A history of philanthropy ignores these things, however, at the expense of credibility and reliability, particularly since one consequence of such a method is to attach an aura of magic to philanthropy in the history of higher education.

A book that proposes to say very much about philanthropy in the shaping of American higher education cannot really succeed unless it soberly and deeply considers other creative forces that have shaped the American experience with education. State universities and land-grant institutions fall outside the purview of this volume; students, professors, and presidents are largely in the wings, waiting to be called into action by some stroke of philanthropic generosity. The questions one brings to such a study remain unanswered at the end: Did philanthropy play a role in giving a conservative direction to higher education? What has been the role of philanthropy in defining the needs and directions of higher education? Were philanthropists more important than the college and university presidents who bent their ears or the professors who gave their lives instead of their money to higher education? If so, in what ways? What were the social and economic conditions that supported philanthropy? What were the philosophical and practical considerations that encouraged it? When were benefactors being innovative; when merely supportive; and when significantly stimulating? There is an occasional thrust in the direction of some of these questions, but is it possible that the book suffers from a common error of intellectual history: does it attempt a history where there cannot really be one?

*Williams College*

FREDERICK RUDOLPH

#### THE BIG BOARD: A HISTORY OF THE NEW YORK STOCK MARKET.

By *Robert Sobel*. Foreword by *Broadus Mitchell*. (New York: Press Press 1965. Pp. xiii, 395. \$7.95.)

"As far as I know this is the first history of the New York Stock Market to be attempted," says the author. All the others have been specialized or period studies.

Such a study is overdue, Broadus Mitchell implies in the foreword, since "no political, diplomatic or cultural organization of peoples . . . is as sensitive to human threats or promises as the money market." To grasp what affects the stock market and what it in turn reflects, its historian should be well informed on many subjects. Dr. Sobel does amazingly well when describing Wall Street reactions and events, but he makes some startling slips when discussing other financial institutions.

The book consists of sixteen chapters accompanied by many brief but helpful tables, a six-page bibliography, and a good index. The opening chapter sets the tone by describing Holland's tulip speculation and the South Sea and Mississippi Bubbles as European background. The next four chapters, through the Civil War, tell of the rise of the New York Stock Exchange, its rivalry with the Philadelphia one, the importance of European, especially British, capital before 1837, the significance of railroad investments, and financing the Civil War. Sobel also provides vignettes of some speculators. Glamour securities shifted from banks to turnpikes to canals to textiles to railroads. Financing greater railroad expansion, robber baron exploits, the rise of investment banking, and the major panics are particularly important. Again he introduces a variety of colorful if not always admirable persons. With J. P. Morgan's death in 1913 another era ended. Three lengthy chapters describe the genealogy, triumph, and death of the "Great Bull," and the final three chapters discuss the depression and accompanying New Deal reforms, most notably the SEC, the late boom of 1947-1960, and the more institutionalized market of today. The book closes with the market break of May 1962.

A definitive history of the New York stock market remains to be written, but until it is this book will go far toward filling the need. Sobel writes like a financial journalist, and he enjoys a dramatic story even at the risk of self-contradiction. Although he quotes from many worthy authorities, he also draws rather indiscriminately on college texts and journalistic writings. There are also omissions in his sources and some errors in his presentation. Yet the book has great appeal.

*University of Illinois*

DONALD L. KEMMERER

**POOR RICHARD'S POLITICKS: BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND HIS NEW AMERICAN ORDER.** By *Paul W. Conner*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 285. \$6.50.)

Dr. Conner's pleasure in writing about Benjamin Franklin appears on every page of his book, and the feeling is catching. Although this is a specialist's monograph, derived from a dissertation, the author takes the kind of broad views which are usually reserved for a general writer. In the literature about Franklin as a thinker, Conner humorously states at the outset, scholars have either broken Franklin's ideas into so many fragments as to lose the pattern, or they have placed them on a biographical line so long that the truer relationships among them fail to come into unified view.

Establishing the logical and ethical design became a task in two ways sympathetic to Conner: he began and ended liking Franklin for his orderliness, his sense, and his imagination; and, himself a political theorist, he enjoyed giving



Franklin his own very methodical treatment. In order to put the pieces together, the author was obliged to consider the economist in Franklin together with the political scientist, the Newtonian with the man of affairs, the absorber (via James Logan) of Greek and Roman ideas with the reviser of the classical curriculum in Philadelphia academy and college. All this, and much else, is assembled, and the Franklin who emerges as political thinker is more completely a nationalist as to economic, political, and cultural development, and is more benevolent—even prophetic and visionary—than previous estimations have shown.

History-minded readers may reasonably cavil at Conner's way of disregarding the time factor. Franklin's thought and expression over half a century, from the 1730's to the 1780's, are analyzed, a little repetitively, backward and forward. Had the author cared more for tracing the development of a mind in the course of changing times, he might well have been more forceful than he is about some of his interpretations. To illustrate, Franklin's reading ancient classics in the James Logan library occurred early in his life; Conner's account of influences and analogies between classical thought and Franklin's thought comes near the end of the book. A different arrangement might possibly have made the Logan library experience seem more influential than the present argument suggests.

This essay is illuminating. It probably tells more than any other study we have had in eighteenth-century American intellectual history since Perry Miller's *Jonathan Edwards*.

*Johns Hopkins University*

CHARLES A. BARKER

GEORGE WASHINGTON: THE FORGE OF EXPERIENCE (1732-1775).

By *James Thomas Flexner*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. x, 390. \$7.95.)

Mr. Flexner's is the first volume of an intended trilogy. The subject has already been extensively covered by another Washington scholar, Bernhard Knollenberg, as recently as 1964. Do we need another treatment, and at such length? On the matter of length, Flexner is probably right to claim that it is impossible to produce an adequate narrative biography of Washington within the covers of one volume. On other grounds he manages to make his enterprise seem worth while. In the nature of the subject there is little opportunity to disclose startling new facts or theories. The problem becomes one of selection and emphasis. Knollenberg's researches on Washington have been ingenious and welcomingly astringent. But he has confined himself to particular themes and episodes. Flexner's forte is narration. One who, like myself, has traversed the same route, though in pursuit of somewhat different evidence, can testify to his thoroughness and his sense of what is significant. He is a fluent writer, capable of vivid touches, and yet precise and economical.

Perhaps inevitably the dearth of reliable material on Washington's early life leads Flexner into the biographer's bane—a sprinkling of "might haves" and "must haves." But once he is on firmer ground he has a sure touch. His previous writings on American art enable him to comment shrewdly on the architecture of Mount Vernon and on the portraits of Washington, Martha Custis, and Sally Fair-

fax (though one may disagree with his opinion that John Wollaston's wooden rendering of Martha reveals her as "an extremely pretty woman"). Flexner is sound on Washington's early military career, on his passion for land, his love of finery, his planter's pleasure in hunting and card playing, his steady moral growth, and his involvement in the protests that culminated in the Revolution. The situations in which young Washington acted vaingloriously or even disingenuously are not glossed over. If Flexner is inclined to give his hero the benefit of the doubt, he is far removed in tone from panegyrists of the old school. This promises to be the biography of Washington that will best serve our generation: full but not clogged with detail, and striking an acceptable balance between adulation and debunking.

*University of Sussex*

MARCUS CUNLIFFE

DAVID RAMSAY, 1749-1815: SELECTIONS FROM HIS WRITINGS.

Edited with introduction and notes by *Robert L. Brunhouse*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LV, Part 4.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1965. Pp. 250. \$6.00.)

THIS work should encourage the current modest revival of interest in David Ramsay. Since, apparently, there is no body of Ramsay's papers extant, Robert L. Brunhouse has compiled this volume mainly from Ramsay's letters found in other collections. All but a few of the three hundred letters printed here are from, rather than to, Ramsay; more than a third of them to Benjamin Rush, John Eliot, and Jedidiah Morse. The volume also contains four short pieces by Ramsay, a bibliography of his writings, and an introductory sketch and assessment of the man.

In his letters Ramsay comes less alive than one would wish, except momentarily in a couple of affectionate passages to his third wife, Martha Laurens. Generally he seems a little remote, dispassionate about public matters, reticent about himself except for an occasional note of mild complaint. His letters are wholly without humor, save for the unintentional humor of some of his medical opinions: "Have you tried Opium in venereal disease?" he asks Rush; or, with much satisfaction, "I bled more people everyday last August than I formerly used to do in six months practice." For all this, Ramsay shows himself an authentic man of the Enlightenment—curious, optimistic, rational, and sometimes more judicious than greater men of the age. "I admire your generous indignation at slavery," he wrote Jefferson, "but think you have depressed the negroes too low."

His letters support the view that Ramsay's frequent plagiarism in his histories is, to some degree, explained by his view of history as a body of simple and agreed fact, a kind of text, on which the historian makes his personal comment and draws moral lessons, much as a preacher bases his sermons on a Biblical text.

Considering his fragmentary and dispersed sources, the editor has done a skillful job of giving coherence to this volume. The annotation is accurate, usually helpful, but sometimes overdone. It is not really necessary, for example, to identify Louis XIV as "one of the dominating monarchs of Europe," or to say of Hume that he was a Scot who "wrote much on philosophy."

*University of Toronto*

W. H. NELSON

THE DIARY OF COLONEL LANDON CARTER OF SABINE HALL, 1752-1778. In two volumes. Edited with an introduction by *Jack P. Greene*. [Virginia Historical Society Documents, Volumes IV and V.] (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for the Society. 1965. Pp. xvi, 586; 587-1204. \$25.00 the set.)

IN a figure of popular speech, Landon Carter was born to the purple. Son of "King" Carter, the baby Landon opened his eyes on a Virginia just coming of age, but not yet free of the ragged slough of adolescence. When he finally closed them, his country had reached radiant maturity, cut the bond with Britain, and was fighting for independence. In the intervening seven decades Carter had been active and successful in every pursuit—his education, endowment, marriages, plantation management, and politics—but somehow he had failed to qualify as a man of mark. He left behind an impressive literary legacy, more complete than those of his more important contemporaries. These tempting materials, a biographer's dream, have not, however, lured his editor into a "life and times" to rescue Carter from unwarranted oblivion. Rather they have given him an editorial opportunity: to put in useful form for readers the informative diaries in which the principal speaks of his times and even more illuminatingly of himself.

Professor Greene has assembled two major and two minor sets of diurnal writings. The first runs from 1752 to 1758 and includes the unique legislative journal of the House of Burgesses for the years 1752-1755. The second, kept in assorted booklets, picks up in 1770 and continues until 1778, the year of Carter's death. Between these two larger diaries Carter made sketchier records. Finally Greene has prefixed a useful introduction consisting of a vita and a thoughtful analysis of Carter's personal psychology. The richness of the diary fully justifies the editor's careful preparation of this edition.

The diary is more than mere daily incident, valuable as that is. At another level the reader discovers a secret Landon Carter, perhaps one suspected by his contemporaries in their intuitive way, with an insecurity syndrome that eternally prevented easy adjustment to his world. Landon Carter makes John Randolph of Roanoke easier to believe.

*University of Maryland*

AUBREY C. LAND

THE RISE OF THE WEST, 1754-1830. By *Francis S. Philbrick*. [The New American Nation Series.] (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. xvii, 398. \$6.00.)

THIS volume is traditional in its subject matter and general organization. The author discusses at chapter length the topics readers would expect, including British rule in the West, 1763-1774, the region's role in the War of Independence, its settlement, and the establishment of government and land policy there during the Confederation and early national period. Then the author bifurcates the region, Northwest and Southwest, to deal with diplomatic relations over boundaries, Indians, and navigation. After discussing the acquisition of Louisiana and the Floridas, and the Burr conspiracy, he considers such subjects as Indian removal,

disposal of the public lands, the Great Migration, the evolution of western economy, and concludes with a critical appraisal of frontier society.

Quite wisely, no attempt is made to discuss these subjects at length or in depth. Instead the author has elected to make a commentary on well-known events, negotiations, documents, and individuals that are, in his judgment, misunderstood. Because he is a lawyer, Professor Philbrick has a predilection for treaty negotiations and legislation, which leads to an emphasis on these subjects. As a result, he illuminates such subjects as the Proclamation Line of 1763, various Indian treaties, the status of western land claims and companies, and diplomatic intrigues, especially in the Southwest. His views on legal affairs are succinct. Knowledgeable historians would welcome an opportunity to debate the author's interpretations and vigorous opinions expressed in every chapter.

Philbrick asserts that he has minimized the romance of the West as a sacrifice to truth. Even so, the most striking pages of the book are those in which he is dealing with controversial, romantic western leaders like William Blount, James Wilkinson, and Aaron Burr. In my opinion, the discussion of social and economic affairs in the chapters on the Great Migration and the establishment of agriculture, industry, and trade in the trans-Appalachian West is exceptionally well balanced and objective, yet with enough romance to excite the reader's imagination.

The West is pictured as a region characterized by optimism and individualism, less rigid social and economic stratification, less culture, and more illiteracy and rude manners. A primary reason for the democracy of the frontier was that Englishmen had acquired a devotion to self-government before going there. Nationalism was also developed in the area east of the mountains, but the West possessed a strong national feeling contrary to the views of romantic, prejudiced, and repetitive writers who have suggested it was disloyal or separatist in inclination. Nor is there evidence that the West exhibited more lawlessness, violence, or turbulence than any other section of the country.

Admirers of Frederick Jackson Turner will be disappointed to read that the interaction of the pioneer and wilderness did not alter any important institution. Turner's suggestion that "the evolution of American political institutions was dependent on the advance of the frontier" is dismissed as an absurdity. His treatment of western ideals is as unsatisfactory to Philbrick as that of institutions. The regenerative influence of the frontier is deemed irrational. In place of Turner's "fabulous tribute" to the frontier's influence, the author admittedly submits a "dull substitute" emphasizing the great isolation, self-dependence, and dreary work of the frontiersman. Above all else, the frontier satisfied the hope of millions for cheap land at a time when land was the surest means of guaranteeing family security.

This is an important book that should be examined carefully by all historians interested either in the period or the region. The author has read widely in the scattered monographic literature, and historians will be indebted to him for summarizing the interpretive literature on countless subjects. More important, the book is thought provoking, even argumentative, and will doubtless lure many younger historians into debate. Perhaps as a final comment it should be noted that both the title page and cover of the book advertise that the period

under review runs from 1754 to 1830, but the author's account begins in 1763.  
*University of California, Davis* W. TURRENTINE JACKSON

THE GOVERNORS OF CALIFORNIA: PETER H. BURNETT TO EDMUND G. BROWN. By *H. Brett Melendy* and *Benjamin F. Gilbert*. (Georgetown, Calif.: Talisman Press. 1965. Pp. 482. \$15.00.)

For the study of California's past it is difficult to think of a more needed book than a history of its neglected governors. Though seldom great men, they have long deserved attention. The authors begin with an over-all chapter covering the Spanish, Mexican, and United States military governors in California's prestatehood period from 1769 to 1849. Although this is an initial disappointment, thereafter each of the thirty-two American civilian governors rates a chapter. A "calendar of events" is furnished for each governor's biographical sketch, along with a bibliography. No footnotes are included; nor are they required.

Most of these later governors came from modest origins; few were highly educated. Fewer of them, like Hiram Johnson or Earl Warren, became national figures. No governor of California has gone on to become President of the United States, although two became vice-presidential candidates and one became Chief Justice of the US Supreme Court. Because of their disparity in background it is difficult to compare them, or even to rate their sometimes obscure administrations. As a result, most California historians have simply omitted mention of the state's governors from their writings.

A reviewer should not prescribe a different book than that which he reviews. A better-integrated volume would have resulted, however, had the authors decided to write more than a series of independent sketches. Comparative over-all analyses of education, economic status, leadership, and degrees of talent would have made this a totally different, if more involved, effort. Actually, a bit of such analysis occurs in certain of the sketches, including that of the current governor, Edmund G. Brown, and in a two-page epilogue. Although limited in power, California's strongest governors have managed to exercise a pervasive influence in areas beyond politics. Even though the authors did not write a more ambitious book, the study of history proceeds one step at a time. It must have been difficult to reconstruct the careers of the more obscure governors. Furthermore, numerous inaccuracies had to be corrected, and interpretations of each career made. This volume provides students of the state with an undeniably handy compendium. As it stands, it becomes the only volume devoted exclusively to California's governors.

*Occidental College*

ANDREW ROLLE

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA. By *Jackson Turner Main*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 330. \$6.50.)

READERS of this book will discover that "the social structure of Revolutionary America" consisted of lower, middle, and upper strata; that American society was less rigidly stratified than European society but by no means "democratic"

(that is, egalitarian); that social mobility was probably higher in America than in Europe, especially since distinction was more a matter of achievement than of ascription, but that it was easier to gain access to the middle range of affluence than to the top; and that most eighteenth-century Americans received no formal education and did not have a rich cultural life but that the wealthy were better off in this regard than the poor. These conclusions, subdivided, elaborated, and qualified in a variety of ways, are presented with a formidable array of documentation and quantification. There is no doubt that they are correct.

That they are also platitudinous should not keep one from noting that this is the only attempt that has been made to prove, statistically, rather than merely illustrate, their truth. No one previously has attempted to state in terms of percentages of the distribution of wealth what these assumptions might mean. Professor Main has worked diligently, especially in the local archives, to establish this fresh statistical information. In successive chapters he discusses, largely in quantitative terms, "the economic class structure of the North," emphasizing regional variations in degrees of economic stratification (the frontier, he finds, was more "democratic" than the towns or the commercial farm areas), stratification in the South, the income and expenses of different occupational groups, economic mobility (greatest on the frontier), contemporary estimates of occupational prestige, and "culture patterns" (that is, differential availability of schools, reading materials, music, and so forth). His research in a wide array of archives has also produced much useful miscellaneous data, incidental to his main theme, concerning, particularly, earnings and expenses.

But Main did not set out simply to prove and particularize familiar assumptions or to assemble a variety of social data. That the book lacks a greater importance is in part the result of an exaggerated insistence on quantification which weakens rather than strengthens one's confidence in the conclusions reached and limits the subtlety of both the questions asked and the answers given. On certain occasions, when comprehensive figures are missing, individual cases that happen to permit quantification are selected and are used without apparent justification as models of the whole. The citations of sources for certain of the summary statistics are at times vague or nonexistent. Broad generalizations are built up at certain points by passing lightly over the inadequacies of the preliminary data. Occasionally figures are used even when they are inappropriate to the questions asked or unreliable by virtue of the incompleteness of the data or because of reasonable suspicion of built-in biases.

But in greater part the limitations of the book derive from its central definitions and underlying conceptions. Main's primary objective in analyzing "the class structure of early America" was, he writes, to settle a disagreement he had observed between historians who stress "economic classes" and class conflict and those who stress "an 'economic democracy' in which 'the people were much of a piece'"—a formulation that leads him directly into the question of the definition of "class." There are two kinds of classes, he explains: economic, determined by the distribution of property, and social, determined by different degrees of prestige as expressed in public opinion. Were there, he asks, "classes" in these two senses? Were there, in other words, differences among people measured in terms of property and differences measured in terms of prestige? Yes, the answer is, there were.

But given the documentation available and the massive literature on social stratification that now exists, this is a limiting question. It is limiting, first, because it approaches the complex problems of stratification through a simple and rigid definition of "class" rather than in an open-ended, flexible way that would allow the peculiarities of the situation to emerge; second, because it takes its shape from an anomaly in historians' interpretations rather than in the historical data themselves; and third, because it does not permit answers in terms of trends and development so crucial to historical understanding. Working within a narrow concept of stratification and concentrating his attention on a brief span of years, Main is kept from thinking his way into the complexity of the subject and from examining change, even as it affected the revolutionary generation.

Yet Main has worked assiduously with some of the most unyielding kind of documents. Despite its limitations his book brings more information to bear on the question of economic and social differences in the revolutionary period than has been mobilized before, and it points to the excellent possibilities of research in the materials he has chosen.

*Harvard University*

BERNARD BAILYN

DAVID HOSACK: CITIZEN OF NEW YORK. By *Christine Chapman Robbins*. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume LXII.] (Philadelphia: the Society, 1964. Pp. vii, 246. \$3.50.)

DAVID Hosack (1769-1835) was much admired in his own time. His salons were at the center of the intellectual life of New York City in the early nineteenth century, and, through his active participation, he gave direction to many of the learned and professional societies of his city. Beyond this, although his own scientific efforts were grander in conception than in accomplishment, he was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society and in the Royal Society of London. Unfortunately, esteem of his contemporaries has given way to a vague recollection that it was Hosack who attended Alexander Hamilton after the duel with Burr. Mrs. Robbins, in this first full-scale biography, has more than compensated for the modern neglect of her subject.

She treats his roles as a physician and as a medical educator particularly well. In the former capacity, Hosack had the prime practice of his city, due perhaps to his moderation when compared with the heroic measures prescribed by his great Philadelphia contemporary, Benjamin Rush. Theoretically, Hosack was committed to humoralism, which, although it was old-fashioned, may have contributed to his own common-sense practice. As an educator, Hosack was frequently embroiled in controversy. He served on the faculties of Columbia College, of the College of Physicians, and of the abortive Rutgers Medical College. The author does not minimize the part played by Hosack's own contentious nature and his self-interest in the stormy affairs of medical education in New York, but she does find him generally on the side of high standards. In part, the Rutgers episode, of which Hosack was prime mover, was a reaction to an effort to "democratize" the College of Physicians, an effort that cost Hosack and his associates control of the college.

Robbins is most concerned with Hosack's activities in botany and horticulture. In England Hosack studied with such Linnaeans as William Curtis and James

Edward Smith, and he, in turn, influenced such American figures as Amos Eaton and John Torrey. His major effort in the science, the Elgin Botanic Garden, which he established on the site of what is now Rockefeller Center, was short lived. He was nearly bankrupted by the project even though he transferred it to the state of New York which permitted it to languish.

This work is, in the main, admirable. It has a fine bibliography, an adequate index, and a useful list of Hosack family portraits. I object only mildly to the genealogical material which is not, unfortunately, confined to an appendix.

*University of Delaware*

GEORGE F. FRICK

THE KING'S FRIENDS: THE COMPOSITION AND MOTIVES OF THE AMERICAN LOYALIST CLAIMANTS. By *Wallace Brown*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1966. Pp. x, 411. \$7.00.)

BASICALLY a statistical survey of the American loyalists who filed for compensation with the Royal Claims Commission at the close of the Revolution, this work is ably supplemented with impressive personal data. It consists, primarily, of a detailed and skillful state-by-state analysis of the claimants, who are analyzed according to residence, occupation, wealth, religion, and national origin. A lengthy, perceptive conclusion, several useful maps, and a splendid statistical appendix of comprehensive tables on the claimants of each state round out the work. Although Brown has drawn upon a wide range of both primary and secondary materials, the American Loyalist Transcripts (Audit Office Papers), which have here received definitive treatment, were the focus of his study.

It was Brown's aim to answer two questions: "who were the Loyalists and why were they loyal?" Thus he analyzed the 2,908 white loyalists who eventually submitted claims, and although he recognizes that this group is not synonymous with all loyalists, he suggests (though some will challenge the assumption) that they were a "useful and sometimes representative sample." He comes nearer to identifying the loyalists than explaining their motivation, although, despite the conventional nature of his conclusions, I believe his analysis is more successful than the limited nature of his sources permits him to claim. He supports Nelson's argument that loyalists were generally local cultural minorities and the traditional view that they were weighted toward wealth and privilege, recent immigration, and the seaboard. Despite its factual nature, this is also a work of inference, conveying much of its meaning by suggestion and indirection. The strength of the loyalists (which except for Pennsylvania accords with previous estimates) is thus calculated not only from the claimants but also from weighing the severity of loyalist treatment, the relative harshness of antiloyalist legislation, and the presence or absence of barriers to their return at the war's close.

Although the work's limitations inhere chiefly in the fragmentary nature of surviving loyalist sources, the author could have avoided a few questionable passages. Despite express disclaimers, he sometimes confuses the "Loyalist movement" and the "Loyalist claimants," and he does not emphasize strongly enough the correlation between the geographic pattern of active loyalism and the British occupation. Whether the loyalist refugees who did not submit claims were over-



whelmingly small property holders or recent immigrants with no "position" in provincial society seems to merit critical evaluation.

But these are minor reservations. The work is an impressive achievement, which cannot be obscured even by the publisher's lamentable decision to substitute backnotes for footnotes.

*University of Florida*

PAUL H. SMITH

OLD PETERSBURG AND THE BROAD RIVER VALLEY OF GEORGIA:  
THEIR RISE AND DECLINE. By *Ellis Merton Coulter*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 228. \$6.00.)

THIS latest addition to the stream of scholarly studies of the historical development of Georgia by Professor Coulter is a case study of a once important region in that state and falls naturally into the pattern of his previous studies. Most of the numerous works of this twentieth-century dean of Georgia historians have illuminated obscure, intriguing, and somewhat neglected facets of the history of the state where the author lived and worked during the four decades of his academic and professional career.

An area of five counties located at or near the confluence of the Broad and Savannah Rivers in up-State Georgia was selected for investigation during the period 1780-1820, when the locality was settled, thrived briefly and significantly, produced several important political and social leaders, then suffered rapid decline, deterioration, and return to desolation and largely uninhabited open country.

The factors that produced each of these kaleidoscopic changes are clearly delineated. Settlement was stimulated by Indian treaties that opened the region and the influx of several distinguished Virginia families after the Revolution. Tobacco, in all its phases except final processing, was the economic foundation of Petersburg and the Broad River Valley. The coming of steamboats, railroads, and cotton growing destroyed this base. When, in addition, the new lands of the "western counties" (which soon became Alabama and Mississippi) were opened, the cream of the leadership of the community moved west. Yet Petersburg and the surrounding countryside experienced a brief period of glory, especially in the years 1790-1810. Senators, governors, congressmen, and spiritual and educational leaders seemed to spring from the soil and sprout from the undergrowth: William H. Crawford, Charles Tait, William and Thomas Bibb, and Francis Asbury are probably the best-known of this remarkable group.

The volume will be of more use to students of Georgia history than to those interested in the general development of American life. Some readers may be disturbed at the many pages of genealogical data and the details of duels that did and did not come off. Others may feel that the marshaling of numerous fragments of isolated historical evidence is not really a sound basis for specific generalizations as to social, economic, and political practices. But most readers will be fascinated with this brief chapter in the history of the state, concerned with a town that now lies under fifty feet of water produced by the Clark Hill Dam.

*State University of New York, Binghamton*

ALBERT V. HOUSE

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By *Lawrence H. Chamberlain et al.* Edited by *William H. Nelson* with the collaboration of *Francis L. Loewenheim*. [Rice University Semicentennial Publications.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for William Marsh Rice University. 1964. Pp. xv, 149. \$5.50.)

CONSISTING of nine essays, this volume is a distinguished and timely contribution to the literature of American political thought and American history: distinguished because of the uniform excellence with which the authors deal with their subjects; timely because they speak cogently to some of the most persistent national dilemmas of our own time. Of the volume's nine contributors, four are primarily political scientists, and five are primarily historians. If published works are one of the marks of scholarship, the credentials of these contributors are indeed impressive. The purpose of this volume, as stated by the editor, is to examine certain aspects of the American political tradition in the light of present circumstance and current scholarship. The essays seek particularly to illuminate the relationship between constitutional theory and political practice in America, that is, the relationship between what Americans have believed and put into law about politics and what they have done and how they have acted politically.

In a perceptive introduction William H. Nelson concludes that the work of the founding fathers in 1787 represented a fulfillment of earlier practice rather than an abrupt break with it and that the fathers of the founding fathers were not Locke and Montesquieu alone but, among others, Cromwell, Bacon, Coke, Machiavelli, Edward I, Henry II, Thomas Aquinas, and Aristotle. Felix Gilbert discusses the legacy of the Enlightenment in the American mind. Dumas Malone sketches the conflicting interpretations given the Constitution by these statesmen. Carl N. Degler describes the process of settling the two principal American political issues of the period up to the 1880's: the nature of the Union and the compromise arrived at by the two major parties on the political place of the Negro. Lawrence H. Chamberlain argues that structural features of our government have produced certain operating characteristics and concludes that the institutional arrangements provided in the Constitution have contributed constructively to the viability of our political system. Alpheus Thomas Mason states that while myth is a recognized adjunct to the governing process, judicial authority need not be transcendent, awe-inspiring, immune to criticism in order to command public confidence and respect and that judicial decisions based on reason and authority have a moral force far exceeding that of the purse or the sword. Benjamin F. Wright declares that the South's real heritage is the tradition of the "Older South" of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Iredell, the Pinckneys, Rutledge, and Jackson and that this tradition provides the spirit, though not necessarily the specific solutions, that today's South should emulate. Ernest R. May explores a tradition about American policy: the role of public opinion. Louis Morton speaks to the problem of achieving coordination of the political and military considerations that go into the making of national security policy. Hans J. Morgenthau concludes that the American political tradition has two main characteristics—the concept of limited government and the pluralism of America—and that the novel factors that the nation faces in its domestic and international life require a reformulation of the basic

principles of this tradition in the light of the new conditions of the contemporary world.

In my opinion these essays are the finest brief analyses of problems in American political thought to appear in the last decade.

*Library of Congress*

EDWARD N. MACCONOMY

THE JOHN GRAY BLOUNT PAPERS. Volume III, 1796-1802. Edited by William H. Masterson. (Raleigh, N. C.: State Department of Archives and History. 1965. Pp. xxviii, 621. \$5.00.)

THIS third installment of selected letters from the substantial collection of papers of one of the more active political figures and economic operators in the post-revolutionary and early national periods of the history of North Carolina reproduces 509 letters, contracts, and financial statements for the years 1796-1802, with the heaviest concentration of items in 1796 and 1800.

Volumes I and II of this series appeared in 1952 and 1959 under the editorship of Dr. Alice B. Keith. This volume is the product of the "loving editorial care" of William H. Masterson, biographer of William Blount and sometime editor of the *Journal of Southern History*. These manuscripts offer extensive information and detailed economic data on land sales and speculation, river and coastal shipping and commerce, money and credit procedures and transactions, and the variety of plantation and consumer supplies of the period. They are confined almost exclusively to developments in the Tarheel State, supplemented by a few items from Tennessee, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Nearly all were selected from the incoming correspondence of John Gray Blount. In spite of the political prominence of the Blount family, especially the brothers John Gray, William, and Thomas, this volume offers little on national politics and United States foreign policy. There are intriguing letters on the election of Andrew Jackson to the United States Senate in 1797, the impact of the naval war with France of 1798, and the triangular contest between President John Adams, the "Anglo-Feds," and the Republicans to interrupt but not settle that irregular contest by means of the convention of 1800 with France.

As in previous volumes, names, places, and treaties (except those with the Indians) are meticulously identified in footnotes. A reviewer of the first volume expressed a desire for more informative editorial guidance "through complicated commercial, and [local] political transactions." Nonexpert readers of Volume III probably will feel the same.

*State University of New York, Binghamton*

ALBERT V. HOUSE

THE INCREDIBLE WAR OF 1812: A MILITARY HISTORY. By J. Mackay Hissman. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1965. Pp. x, 265. \$7.50.)

THE title of this book is apt for this war should never have been fought. That it was, and so indecisively, is a matter of history, but our versions are too often colored by concepts of the dramatic coup of Andrew Jackson at New Orleans.

This version of the war by a capable Canadian military historian is welcome and helpful, therefore, because of its viewpoint from the other side.

Like the chauvinism too often displayed in United States history, that exhibited in this volume does not clearly establish the fact that the War of 1812 was provoked by Britain's maritime policy in its war with Napoleon and by its friendly relations with the Indian tribes of the American Northwest at a time when such cordiality should have been neutral. On the other hand, the young war hawks in our Congress were all too eager to secure possession of Canada and Florida. The author fittingly points out that less than thirty years had passed since the end of the American Revolution and that bitter memories and stinging scars of that important conflict still existed in both nations. The plight of the British loyalists made a convenient and somewhat justifiable excuse for Britain to refuse to evacuate most of the inland posts built in territory that the peace treaty recognized as part of the new United States. The continued impressment of seamen raised old alarms, and the fiasco of Jefferson's embargo drew us to the battlefield instead of the more logical conference table.

This book, however, makes no pretense of being a political study of the war. It is, instead, a sort of useful handbook about the local engagements with special emphasis on those in and near Canada. The loyalists living there still smarted under their humiliation and cruel exile by the American patriots. Many of them were only too glad to turn against their former countrymen, and did. Much deserved emphasis is placed on the part that General George Prevost played in the victories of the Canadian and British forces. From the engagements at Sandwich to Lundy's Lane, the book describes, in not always organized detail, the fighting that occurred. American Generals Hull and Dearborn look ridiculous, while Winfield Scott and William H. Harrison stand out favorably in this little war.

*New York University*

NORTH CALLAHAN

WITHOUT FEAR OR FAVOR: A BIOGRAPHY OF CHIEF JUSTICE  
ROGER BROOKE TANEY. By *Walker Lewis*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin  
Company. 1965. Pp. viii, 556. \$7.50.)

AFTER Roger B. Taney's death a fellow judge remarked that he had "never known a purer or better man." An anonymous pamphlet, however, said of him: "As a man, a Christian and a Jurist, he falls below the lowest standard of humanity, religion and law recognized among civilized men." His latest biographer, Walker Lewis, the general solicitor for the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Companies, comes much closer to the first than to the second of those judgments, yet presents a well-balanced account of both Taney's personal life and his public career.

Lewis writes in a leisurely and engaging style, with constant attention to picturesque detail. His book is especially effective in re-creating Taney as a person, one extremely conscientious in his pursuit of justice "without fear or favor," honest and decent in all his human relationships, and thoroughly devoted to his wife and family—and to his Cuban cigars. The treatment of his role in national affairs, as Attorney General, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief Justice, is full,

well rounded, and always clear, particularly in the exposition of the factual background, the legal and constitutional issues, and the judicial reasoning in Supreme Court cases. Lewis writes as a biographer, not as a mere attorney for the defense, and at all the many controversial points in Taney's long career he recognizes the existence of two sides and is fair to both. Yet he stands up for Taney, most notably in regard to the Bank War, the Dred Scott decision, and the Merryman case. Taney's views on the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise, Lewis feels, were not obiter dicta; nor should Taney have contented himself with declaring that Scott was no citizen and hence not entitled to sue. Lewis suggests "that it was not only proper for Taney to proceed further, but that from a strictly judicial standpoint any other course would have been unwise, even improper." In opposing President Lincoln, Lewis says, the Chief Justice was only following his constitutional scruples, as always. "Just as it was Lincoln's function to produce victory, so it was Taney's to protect constitutional rights."

Though Lewis makes independent judgments, his presentation of the major topics is essentially derivative in the sense of being based mainly on familiar monographs, including older ones. He relies heavily, for example, on R. C. H. Catterall's *The Second Bank of the United States* (1902), which he considers the "best history of the Bank." In an appendix, however, he makes at least a modest contribution to original scholarship by identifying Charles Sumner as the probable author of *The Unjust Judge* (1865), the anonymous pamphlet damning Taney soon after his death. For the general reader, Lewis' biography is certainly the best available on the subject. For the specialist in constitutional history, it will not be particularly rewarding, but it is full of good material for the college teacher who is preparing or revising lectures on any phase of American history with which Taney's career coincides.

University of Wisconsin

RICHARD N. CURRENT

THE DIARY AND JOURNAL OF RICHARD CLOUGH ANDERSON, JR.,  
1814-1826. Edited by *Alfred Tischendorf* and *E. Taylor Parks*. (Durham,  
N. C.: Duke University Press. 1964. Pp. xxvii, 342. \$7.50.)

ANDERSON was a Kentucky lawyer and legislator, a member of the national House of Representatives, the first United States minister to a Latin American nation, the negotiator of our first treaty with Colombia, and, at the time of his death, a delegate to the abortive Panama Congress of 1826.

The interesting and valuable diary in which he recorded his experiences and observations from 1814 to 1826 is here published for the first time. It is ably edited by two Latin American historians, whose editorial touch is always sure on matters in their special field and only occasionally less sure in United States matters. Their well-written and informative preface, introduction, and footnotes are supplemented by a thirty-six-page list of names with identifications and by five maps illustrating Anderson's travels. The detailed accounts of those travels reveal transportation conditions which, while bad enough in the United States, were almost incredibly difficult and perilous in Venezuela and Colombia. One can well understand Anderson's elation at the "unparalleled" progress made in 1817 when stage-

coaches could carry the mails westward to Louisville and when a steamboat made the trip from New Orleans to Louisville in only twenty-five days. There is much here about Louisville, national and Kentucky politics, and many frank evaluations of politicians during his five legislative sessions in Kentucky and his two congressional terms in the Washington of President James Monroe, but more than half of the diary is about his diplomatic career.

His observations are those of a young man—he was only thirty-eight when he died of jungle fever at Cartagena in 1826—pleasant, courteous, conscientious, and devoted to his family and country. His record as legislator and diplomat, while not distinguished or brilliant, is that of a good, honorable, and competent public servant.

*University of Virginia*

BERNARD MAYO

JOURNALS OF HEZEKIAH PRINCE, JR., 1822–1828. Introduction by *Walter Muir Whitehill*. Foreword by *Robert Greenhalgh Albion*. (New York: Crown Publishers for the Maine Historical Society. 1965. Pp. xxii, 448. \$12.50.)

SINGLE, gregarious, and ambitious for self-improvement, Hezekiah Prince, Jr., of Thomaston, Maine, decided in 1822 at the age of twenty-one to keep a diary, not uncommon for a young man in those days. The fact that he was the son of the storekeeper and a deputy customs collector in this seaport town gave him added opportunity to see and hear what was going on about him. There is not much material here to trace the growth of character or of a philosophy of life, but he writes something about nearly every aspect of small-town affairs: marriages and deaths, sermons and speeches, debating societies, militia musters, and parties galore, dancing, skating, sleighing, fishing, not to mention picnics and steamboat rides. Accidents, sickness, operations, and doctors' remedies remind us of the hazards of everyday life. Occasionally tragedy may be glimpsed in the prosaic entries of collections for unfortunates. The occurrences thus entered are happenings so universal that they appeal to all sorts of readers and give more of the feel of the times than reams of description.

The historian will be particularly interested in the experiences of the young man as deputy customs collector. The coastwise trade was considerable, and the diarist enters the names of the ships with their captains. His frequent success in finding undeclared dutiable goods gives a realistic picture of the pattern of local trade.

The publication of this volume by the Maine Historical Society is to be commended and might well be followed by other publications of nineteenth-century significance. The editor, Arthur Spear, has done his best to remain anonymous. His was no small task, and he deserves our thanks. He has provided in an appendix a list of vessels mentioned (124 in all), which will be an aid to the maritime historian of Maine. In addition, instead of biographical footnotes, he has sensibly provided, alphabetically arranged, a list of persons mentioned with brief identifications taken perhaps too literally from Cyrus Eaton's histories of Thomaston and Warren. Fortunately, the rather obvious errors in these will not diminish their usefulness.

*Boston University*

ROBERT E. MOODY

NEW JERSEY POLITICAL REMINISCENCES, 1828-1882. By *Charles Perrin Smith*. Edited by *Hermann K. Platt*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 278. \$8.50.)

CHARLES Perrin Smith's career in New Jersey politics was not particularly distinguished. He served one term in the state senate and for fifteen years as clerk of the New Jersey Supreme Court; more importantly, he was a member and sometime chairman of the State Executive Committee of the United Opposition and Republican parties. From his own testimony, Smith performed conscientiously and effectively in these various capacities, but his role was a minor one, even on the limited political stage of the Garden State. What has saved Smith from oblivion, as Professor Platt observes, are his political reminiscences. Smith's account provides a unique insider's view of party politics in New Jersey from the 1840's to the 1880's. As a Whig and Republican, Smith was a thorough professional concerned with the mechanics of winning elections, steering bills through the legislature, and maintaining his own lucrative position. It is from this vantage point that Smith tells of the antimonopoly struggle with the Joint Companies (a corporation that enjoyed a monopoly of rail and canal transportation across New Jersey); of the creation of the Opposition party as a fusion of Whigs, Americans, and Republicans; of the impact of the Civil War on Garden State politics; and of the factional conflicts within Republican ranks during Reconstruction. Also included in appendixes are Smith's versions of the establishment of a Lifesaving Service on the New Jersey coast and of the nomination of Lincoln in 1860.

Written near the close of his life, Smith's reminiscences were clearly motivated by the desire for personal vindication and for literary revenge upon his opponents. This special pleading, as Platt warns, colored Smith's interpretations of the events he purports to describe. Yet the reminiscences are of value as an intimate if biased view of New Jersey politics during these years. The editor has skillfully woven the text together from three manuscript narratives. He has also provided an informative introduction, a biographical guide, and extensive critical and informational notes. Students of nineteenth-century New Jersey history are indebted to Platt for making these very useful political memoirs available.

*University of Illinois*

RUDOLPH J. VECOLI

NAUVOO: KINGDOM ON THE MISSISSIPPI. By *Robert Bruce Flanders*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1965. Pp. vii, 364. \$6.50.)

HERE is another "Mormon book," but with a difference: it is the latest in the recent series of works written by Mormons but objective enough to be read by non-Mormons. Writing with scholarly sophistication, this second generation of Mormon authors, mostly academics, has acquired enough distance from the consensual pressures of their faith to escape the old Mormon-anti-Mormon division.

This newer current in Mormon historiography may be dated from the late 1950's, with the appearance of Leonard J. Arrington's *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900*, which, despite the title, deals primarily with Utah. The Flanders book complements Arrington for the years 1839-1846, but it is not primarily economic. Flanders describes in detail

almost every Mormon activity of the Nauvoo period; the focus is on the general history of the Mormon people and not on Nauvoo as a city. Thus, much space is given to the "English mission," presumably because it was very active during the Nauvoo period, but little is said of the significance of the British converts once they arrive. Most of the subject matter is familiar: the gathering, the special city charter, the role of the Mormons in state politics, the internal conflicts over polygamy, the succession crisis, the final removal.

The particular value of the book is twofold. First, it shows considerable original research in its detailed account of Joseph Smith's land speculation and the related Mormon attempts to develop business, industry, and finance in Nauvoo. Combined with a strongly economic description of the building of the temple and the "Nauvoo House" hotel, this constitutes about one-third of the book. Second, Flanders brings together in one place much familiar but scattered information relating to the Mormons in Nauvoo.

Flanders' straightforward presentation contains little interpretation, but it is worth noting that he writes from the viewpoint of the Reorganized branch of Mormonism. While fair to the Utah Mormons, he is a little more critical than is usual of the Prophet's behavior in Nauvoo, and he describes Young's take-over as a kind of near usurpation of the mantle of the Prophet.

Disappointing in so ambitious a monograph is Flanders' indifference to the larger questions that interest historians: the rise of the city, the nature of the frontier, the relation of religion to society. A regrettable weakness is that Flanders did not avail himself of the writings of P. A. M. Taylor on the English converts, of William Mulder on the doctrine of the gathering, or, astonishingly, B. H. Roberts' classic *Rise and Fall of Nauvoo*. Combined with the last work, *Nauvoo* will be a most useful reference book for specialists in Mormon history.

University of Massachusetts

MARIO S. DE PILLIS

ON THE MORMON FRONTIER: THE DIARY OF HOSEA STOUT, 1844-1861. In two volumes. Edited by *Juanita Brooks*. ([Salt Lake City:] University of Utah Press; Utah State Historical Society. 1964. Pp. xix, 327; ix, 332-769. \$17.50 the set.)

ONE of the great services rendered by the WPA a quarter of a century ago was to open to "gentile" (that is, non-Mormon) historians a great mass of material bearing on the early history of the Mormons. Among the treasures discovered at that time was a diary of Hosea Stout, who served in the 1840's and 1850's as a militia officer, police commander, public and private attorney, and legislator. While working for the WPA in 1941, Dale Morgan made the initial discovery of some of Stout's diaries. Other scholars subsequently tracked down additional fragments, and now the Utah State Historical Society has retained a veteran student of Mormon history, Juanita Brooks, to edit the whole.

The resultant narrative gives us one of the most important insights we have ever had into the way in which public affairs were conducted within the Mormon community. The diaries are especially rich in comments on litigation, which occupied a large part of Stout's time. His daily notations make it evident that there were more misbehavior, animosity, and resort to lawsuits than we have realized—



or, to express the same conclusion in different terms, the Mormons were more "normal" and less idyllically harmonious than generalized accounts have implied.

Similarly, the diaries illuminate the way in which the Mormons' "guided democracy" functioned. Usually there was some species of popular ratification of the choice of officeholders, but nomination came mysteriously from on high. Of his election to the lower house of the legislature in 1849, Stout remarked: "By what process I became a Representative I know not." He shows also that on rare occasions popular approval could be denied. When two unpopular individuals were proposed in 1849 as majors in the Nauvoo Legion, "both [were] most contemptuously hissed down. When any person is thus duly nominated I never before knew the people to reject it."

Some of Stout's diary entries are virtually a journal of the Utah legislature, and sometimes his comments are more detailed than the official proceedings. Not all of Stout's attention, however, was given to public affairs. An affectionate husband and father, he records in moving language the agonies he suffered when he returned from a preaching mission to China to find his wife and baby dead, his other children gone, and his house occupied by strangers. Yet such was the rigorous discipline of the Mormon Church that four months later Stout was preparing to depart on a new mission. Truly the Mormon hierarchy demanded much of its followers—and generally received the obedience they asked.

*California Institute of Technology*

RODMAN WILSON PAUL

TWENTY YEARS ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE: LETTERS OF HENRY ENO FROM CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA, 1848-1871. Edited and with an introduction by *W. Turrentine Jackson*. [Yale Western Americana Series, Number 8.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 224. \$6.00.)

PIONEER letters home seldom illuminate history or make sprightly reading for later generations. Henry Eno, however, wrote letters that were exceptions to the rule set by the many long, dull, historically irrelevant letters that poured east from the California-Nevada mining camps. Eno's letters were short, lively, and unusually pertinent to the history of at least four mining regions: Mokelumne Hill and Campo Seco, California, 1852-1858; Alpine County, California, 1865-1869; White Pine, Nevada, 1868-1869; and the Mojave Desert-Death Valley country.

Eno was born in Dutchess County, New York, in 1798. He studied law under his lawyer father's watchful eye, briefly practiced the profession in western New York State where he earned little from his clients, developed a "fondness for alcohol," and eventually went west. He settled in Iowa, married, and then decided that California needed his talents as a lawyer, businessman, writer, and Whig politician. In 1849 the Enos traveled the overland route through Salt Lake City to Los Angeles and, a few months later, built a canvas-covered frame home at Mokelumne Hill. During the succeeding years Eno wrote letters east detailing his none too spectacular political and business career; his travels and personal tragedies (the death of his wife and daughter); and, with keen insight, the life of the communities in which he lived. He was an eternal optimist, "philosopher

and dreamer" who, until he retired old and broke to the family farm in New York, hoped to find gold in every creek.

W. Turrentine Jackson has carefully edited forty-four of Eno's letters, now in the Yale University Library, and combined them with a lengthy, thoroughly researched introduction under a title that Eno himself suggested he might use for his memoirs someday when the mines gave out. The result of Eno's talent as a gifted writer and Jackson's precision as a historian is a vivid, well-documented volume. What little criticism the book deserves—it lacks a map and carries a poor frontispiece—is better directed at the Yale University Press than at Eno and his editor.

*University of Texas*

JOHN E. SUNDER

J. ROSS BROWNE: CONFIDENTIAL AGENT IN OLD CALIFORNIA.  
By *Richard H. Dillon*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1965. Pp. xix, 218. \$5.95.)

As Richard Dillon points out in his preface, in the last decade or so there has been a substantial renewal of interest in J. Ross Browne, the Irish immigrant who traveled in the East Indies, Europe, and particularly in the Far West teaching himself to write and earning a reputation as a kind of "poor man's" Mark Twain. The Browne revival took the form of a series of reprints of Browne's experiences on the Pacific slope: his description of California Indians; his letters to his wife while he was official recorder of the California Constitutional Convention of 1849; his account of Washoe days in Nevada; his impressions of Indians and mining in frontier Arizona; and a cluster of articles in *Harper's* in the early 1860's. In the flurry of reprints the years 1854-1857, between Browne's return from his first trip to Europe and his well-known adventures in Washoe, were neglected. Dillon seeks "to illuminate this 'lost' chapter of Browne's life."

For most of the four-year period Browne held a *sub rosa* commission as third lieutenant, United States Revenue Service. Confidential agent Browne made his way up and down California and into the Pacific Northwest observing closely; gathering statistics; recommending removal of duties on Mexican cattle going into California, slashes in rents charged the government for custom-houses, and elimination of revenue stations in "ports" that had no shipping; deploing smuggling (though I could find no actual evidence or specific example of smuggling in the book); and reporting case after case of revenue officials being paid for doing nothing or the next thing to it. Dillon sees Browne as a faithful, energetic, incorruptible reformer responsible in large measure for the "renaissance" (the word is Dillon's) in the revenue service announced by Secretary of the Treasury James Guthrie late in 1854, although Browne still had more than two years left to serve as agent.

In May 1857 Browne undertook to investigate Indian-white relations in Oregon and Washington for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. In his report Browne sensibly dispelled any suspicion that the Indian troubles in the Northwest in the middle 1850's were brought on by settlers for speculative purposes. He saw the problem as quite simply an unavoidable clash between contradictory cultures and recommended dividing the region into three separate superintendencies.

Dillon quotes his subject at considerable length, giving the reader generous slices of Browne's heavily satirical style and revealing the agent as an engaging combination of comic and conscientious reporter. This book, moreover, closes a gap in the record. Dillon's colorful and dramatic prose betrays him into suggesting, however, that Browne was a man of more heroic proportions and more spectacular accomplishments than is warranted by the evidence the author supplies.

*University of Oregon*

EDWIN R. BINGHAM

**IDOL OF THE WEST: THE FABULOUS CAREER OF ROLLIN MAL-LORY DAGGETT.** By *Francis Phelps Weisenburger*. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press 1965. Pp. ix, 220. \$6.95.)

It is not recorded that westerners bowed down and worshiped Rollin M. Daggett. But they did admire his eloquence, swagger, and versatility, and that was enough to lead Bernard De Voto to call him "a complete idol of the West." Weisenburger stops one adjective short.

After an apprenticeship in Ohio journalism, Daggett joined the California gold rush. His account of the trip strains geography and credulity, thereby handicapping his biographer. With the launching of the *Golden Era*, of which Daggett was cofounder and editor, the career begins to take shape. The *Golden Era* was a journal to which almost every California writer of consequence contributed. Daggett filled his share of space with editorials, squibs, essays, pieces in the care-free zone of half fiction. Attired in boots and red shirt, he hawked it in the diggings, picking up in nine camps eleven hundred subscriptions.

In 1862 he transferred his talents to Nevada. He was a crony of Mark Twain's on the *Territorial Enterprise*, struck it moderately rich on the Belcher, and for a time managed a coal mine. In 1867 a friend got him an appointment as clerk of the federal court, and in 1878 a larger number of friends elected him to Congress, where he earned a reputation as an impish, jocular, convivial spellbinder, a most appropriate representative of his constituents, who, nevertheless, turned him out for a Democrat. President Hayes rewarded him with an appointment as minister to Hawaii.

Daggett had the good fortune to find a biographer who very diligently piled up the data on Ohio, California, Nevada, and Hawaii against which to display a man of ability and exuberance, foibles and passion. The style is more heavy handed than the man, but does the job.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

JOHN W. CAUGHEY

**THE INNER CIVIL WAR: NORTHERN INTELLECTUALS AND THE CRISIS OF THE UNION.** By *George M. Fredrickson*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1965. Pp. viii, 277. \$6.95.)

MR. Fredrickson believes that "the few" who have a regard for ideas can tell us more about a crisis of values "than the many who avoid difficult issues and are content to speak in outdated clichés." He relates this concept to the Civil War scene and to some intellectual reactions it provoked, as distinguished from "the well-known political and economic effects."

To the extent that there is any problem here, it would involve the definition of ideas and those presumed interested in them. Everyone now professedly interested in Henry Miller or Vietnam or even Dwight MacDonald is not necessarily an intellectual. In general, Fredrickson's concern for intellectual responses to war seems historically profitable, but mainly as it heralds an expanding inquiry rather than a constricted one. For instance, the author judges Nathaniel Hawthorne's reaction to the Civil War as unique among northern intellectuals. Hawthorne was ironic and detached from it and resisted acceptance of the war aims and means that Thoreau, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Walt Whitman, and numerous others accepted. This gives Hawthorne an independent stature that would be most imposing, if one did not realize that his posture resulted from little more than his close ties to one of the most notorious of "doughfaces," Franklin Pierce, who could boast close to no standing among distinguished intellectuals.

Other facts of social and cultural history are also likely to qualify some of the author's views, but, generally, they offer evocative accounts of northerners in the throes of spiritual unrest. Essential conservatives like Horace Bushnell, millenarians like William Lloyd Garrison, and aristocrats like Francis Parkman move from various individualistic, humanitarian, and class positions to acceptance of the war and its rigors. Numerous lesser-known figures appear here in response to the war's challenge, as martyr types, former transcendentalists, disturbed seekers like William James, who was frustrated in his need for action and for answers to moral and religious dilemmas aggravated by Darwinism and subsequent social Darwinism. Some of these protagonists continue as threads of discourse from the pre-Civil War era, which the author sees as "optimistic," through the Gilded Age, and even, as with Charles Francis Adams, Jr., into the twentieth century. Fredrickson perhaps reveals some personal predilections in his account of the young southern-born abolitionist Moncure Conway, who saw the war as brutalizing the country, but who "was as yet unwilling to follow this insight to its logical conclusion and adopt a pacifist position"—one he subsequently amended.

The whole makes a thoughtful and substantial narrative of intellectual reaction to catastrophe up to and including postwar admiration for science, professionalism in social welfare fields, and the "strenuous life." It affected Edward Bellamy as well as Theodore Roosevelt and helped create William James's imperial essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War." Fredrickson has read his intellectuals well, if not definitively, and his own readers will hardly fail to find the troubled thoughts and actions of his subjects relevant to their own historical musings, past and present.

*Antioch College*

LOUIS FILLER

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIRGINIA STATE CONVENTION OF 1861.  
FEBRUARY 13-MAY 1. In four volumes. *George H. Reese*, Editor. (Richmond: Virginia State Library. 1965. Pp. xxiv, 796; x, 768; ix, 784; xi, 807. \$60.00 the set.)

THIS is the first publication in book form of the copious speeches made at Richmond by members of the Virginia Secession Convention that lasted three months. The addresses are taken from the files of the Richmond *Inquirer*,

the official reporter of the convention. Aside from making known the intentions of the state, this body merely affirmed policies that a majority of Virginians had already agreed upon. Five states of the lower South had seceded before the convention met, and President Lincoln had declared that secession was illegal and that force, if necessary, could be used to bring the departed states back into the Union. The convention made a vain attempt to compromise with Lincoln early in its sessions, but it was unwilling to give up the belief that Virginia had entered the Union voluntarily and had the legal right to leave it in the same manner. Many Virginians favored slavery, and they bitterly resented the ambiguous efforts of Lincoln and some northerners to make it insecure. On the other hand, many opposed the precipitate action of South Carolina and the other cotton states; they knew that the Virginia frontiers were open to attack and that feeling against secession was growing in Washington.

When Fort Sumter was fired upon and Lincoln called for volunteers to march against the seceded states, Virginia left the Union and prepared to repel the invader. On April 17, 1861, the convention favored secession by a vote of 88 to 55. Opposition came largely from that portion of the state later to become West Virginia. The decision of the convention was ratified by a popular vote of 125,250 to 20,373. The state joined the Confederacy and plunged into the bloodiest war in its history.

*Longwood College*

FRANCIS B. SIMKINS

AGRICULTURE AND THE CIVIL WAR. By *Paul W. Gates*. [The Impact of the Civil War; The Civil War Centennial Commission Series.] (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1965. Pp. x, 383, xiii. \$8.95.)

THIS book is the first in a projected series of fifteen volumes sponsored by the Civil War Centennial Commission and concerned with "The Impact of the Civil War." The commission was singularly fortunate in securing the services of Professor Gates to prepare the study, and it is fitting that this volume should appear first in the series, for the author clearly demonstrates the central importance of agricultural capacity to the war effort of both Union and Confederacy.

While this is the first comprehensive study of agriculture in the Civil War years, it is far more than a narrow analysis of the response of two agricultural economies to the stimulus of wartime demands. Its scope is exceedingly broad, for the author includes relevant material from the ante bellum years and extends the discussion of wartime agricultural policy into the Reconstruction period.

Gates has divided his study into three nearly equal parts, dealing respectively with "The South," "The North," and "The United States." The last two portions exhibit some organizational similarity to his previous work, *The Farmer's Age, 1815-1860*. Briefly, his analysis of northern agriculture involves a discussion of the diversity of crop culture in the North, followed in turn by chapters on the livestock industry, dairying, farm labor, and machinery. The section entitled "The United States" is a general survey of the formulation and implementation of agricultural policy in the war years and early postwar period: the Morrill Act, the Homestead Act, the creation and early work of the Department of Agricul-

ture, the adoption of stay laws in the states, and Union legislation designed to revise the pattern of landholding in the South.

But the most interesting and incisive portion of the volume is the section on the Confederacy. In rich detail Gates describes the formidable problem of forcing a shift from cotton to corn production, the early appearance of shortages with the breakdown of transportation facilities, price inflation, and the ultimate resort of the Confederate government to an agricultural tithe and impressment of food-stuffs and livestock. Finally, in two sparkling chapters aptly entitled "Tightening of the Screws" and "The Belt of Desolation," he traces the progressive diminution of the agricultural capacity of the Confederacy as Union forces secured control of increasingly substantial segments of the land area of the South.

As expected, the volume is largely a synthesis of previously published work, but it also draws heavily on census data, newspapers, and the agricultural press. In addition, Gates has incorporated much fresh material drawn from Confederate newspapers and war records, especially the correspondence of state governors. Though it is curious that a comprehensive work on Civil War agriculture was not prepared long ago, the appearance of this distinguished volume leads me to conclude that it has been well worth the wait.

*University of Minnesota, Morris*

KAREL DENIS BICHA

GUNBOATS DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI. By *John D. Milligan*. (Annapolis, Md.: United States Naval Institute. 1965. Pp. xxvii, 217. \$7.50.)

ON the western rivers the Confederate States early established "road-blocks" along the Tennessee-Kentucky state line and at the two fortified Mississippi River towns of Vicksburg and Port Hudson. Until Federal forces could seize these fortifications the upper Mississippi, with its tributaries, was virtually an inland lake. Not only must the normal river highways be reopened for Union commerce in the Midwest, a matter that Lincoln considered a prime necessity, but the military seizure of Confederate river strongholds would bisect the Confederacy and cut off the eastward flow of food and military stores from west of the river, a flow that became increasingly important to the South as the Union blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts became more effective. The Union War Department, with naval assistance, built and operated a "Western Flotilla" comprised of mortar boats, woodclads, tinclads, and new-angled ironclads, and in the fall of 1862 Congress in the interest of more efficient administration transferred all army gunboats to the navy to form the nucleus of the Navy Department's "Mississippi Squadron."

The story of the operation of the river gunboats and the cooperation of the army and navy in their amphibious progress from an early skirmish at Belmont, Missouri, through the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson in July 1863 is told here by Dr. John D. Milligan. In a sober and scholarly narrative that covers the gunboats' story "for the first time in its entirety," the author shies away from accepting at face value the spirited and often exaggerated reports of Admiral David D. Porter, while at the same time perhaps a little overgenerously admiring the histrionic and utterly "non-reg" operations of the Ellet family with their personally organized and fought ram fleet. Although shorter versions of the gunboats'

story have been told before in various naval histories and bits and pieces of more extended narrative are to be found in memoirs and biographies, it is useful to have this moderately extended treatment of the whole story between two covers.

Annapolis, Maryland

RICHARD S. WEST, JR.

THE CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR. Volume III, NEVER CALL RETREAT. By Bruce Catton. E. B. Long, Director of Research. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1965. Pp. xi, 555. \$7.50.)

FOR scholarship, comprehensiveness, and graceful style, Bruce Catton's *Never Call Retreat*, the third and final volume in his ambitious *Centennial History*, deserves the widest possible audience. The book begins with the Union defeat at Fredericksburg and ends with the final surrender. These were the bitterest years of the war, years of grim and relentless campaigns, of complicated and accelerated change. Catton has relied almost exclusively on an overwhelming number of primary sources, some of which are used for the first time. The main events are well known, but Catton's deep probing and careful investigation allow new shadings to old interpretations.

He is at his best when analyzing strategy, detailing the movements of men in battle, and summarizing the capabilities and shortcomings of Lincoln and Davis. Lincoln's determination and vision sustained the northern war effort, while Davis was never able to enlarge that of the South. Lincoln's use of the Union's vast resources is contrasted sharply with Davis' struggle for economic stability in a hopelessly underdeveloped country.

Despite the South's efforts on the battlefield, the reader discerns that the Confederacy was entrapped in a sort of war it could not win. One of the world's least industrialized countries was failing to maintain that delicate balance between industry and the military. The South could field an adequate army or it could support its army adequately, but, with its extremely limited resources, it could not hope to do both. The winter of 1862-1863 portended ultimate disaster, but such warnings did no good as disaster was inescapable. Catton stresses that the war might have ended in July 1863, but instead it made almost a new beginning. Because it did not end, it cut more deeply than ever before, pushing new forces to the surface. Out of these complexities the most obvious was the acceleration of change. The struggle had assumed a hard logic of its own. For the North it had first been a war to restore the Union, then one to destroy slavery, and, in July 1863, it became a war to establish the equality of all classes of men.

Chickamauga marked the appearance of the Confederacy's last great opportunity. For the last time east of the Mississippi River southerners were able to engage a foe who made war without coordination. Never again after Rosecrans' defeat did any major northern army operate independently as if isolated from Federal units and without the logic of the over-all military situation. Never again could a southern general east of the Mississippi hope to destroy the opposing enemy. By 1864 the number of men exempt and on detail in the Confederacy made it impossible to enlarge the armies. It was impossible to feed and clothe the armies adequately because not enough men remained to operate the plants and

mills. From the beginning southerners had too much to do and not enough to do it with.

This book is illumined with glints of humor and filled with incident and anecdote, irony and absurdity, courage and stupidity. Catton is to be congratulated for tying together so much useful information into a readable, informative, and wise book.

*Whittier College*

JAMES M. MERRILL

OCCUPIED CITY: NEW ORLEANS UNDER THE FEDERALS, 1862-1865.

By *Gerald M. Capers*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 248. \$6.75.)

PROFESSOR Capers has once again given evidence of his skill in dealing with long-standing controversies. As he addressed himself in the past to the disputed contributions of John C. Calhoun and Stephen A. Douglas, so he has now turned his attention to a subject different in nature but similar in emotional impact: the Federal occupation of New Orleans during the Civil War.

To what extent was the city's wartime fate responsible for its relative decline in later years? How much did it suffer because of the conquest, and to what degree did Union authorities achieve their objectives? These are some of the questions the author has attempted to answer in *Occupied City*.

Capers' conclusions are unequivocal. Dismissing the old myths of southern suffering as understandable from a psychological point of view but fundamentally untrue, he has demonstrated that the relative failure of New Orleans to keep pace with other cities had nothing to do with the Civil War and Reconstruction. Developments evident before 1861—the decline of the importance of river transportation and the increasing dependence of interior cities upon railroads—had already affected the city's growth prior to secession. Nor did the conquered population suffer unduly during the war. Overcome without much of a battle, the occupants lived through a depression between 1861 and 1863, but then benefited by the economic recovery of the city at the very time when other southerners, still within Confederate lines, were increasingly hard hit. Union rule was not particularly unreasonable; even the much-maligned Ben Butler gave the city a fairly efficient administration. If corruption flourished during the war, it had done so before and was to continue afterward.

In emphasizing these points, the author would seem to be on safe ground. The Butler regime has been treated in detail in three modern biographies, all of which sustain Capers' point of view. Other monographs and contemporary sources also tend to substantiate his conclusions. If the result is a book that is not particularly surprising, the time has nevertheless arrived for a summary of the extant works on New Orleans during the Civil War. This is a task the author has done well, especially in his treatment of economic affairs.

The book's shortcomings are minor. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the author has seen fit to include both a chronological and a topical section, an arrangement that leads to a certain amount of repetition. And while he has sought to maintain objectivity, it might have been better had he used David Donald's revised edition of J. G. Randall's *The Civil War and Reconstruction* instead of



the original. He might not then have taken such a dim view of congressional legislation, the role of the Negro, and the shortcomings of Reconstruction. While this book does not deal with a subject as important as those treated in Capers' previous works, it will be enjoyed by many who are interested in the problems of military government and local history.

*Brooklyn College*

HANS L. TREFOUSSE

RED CLOUD AND THE SIOUX PROBLEM. By *James C. Olson*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 375. \$5.95.)

JAMES Olson has made a significant contribution to Sioux history with this work. Generously acknowledging his indebtedness to George E. Hyde, with whose *Red Cloud's Folk* (1937) it invites comparison, Olson presents his study as "a supplement to Hyde's work rather than as an effort to revise it." Hyde's book was pungent, fluent, and opinionated, making frequent use of Indian recollections. Olson has written from a more distant perspective, making greater use of the official records in the National Archives, of personal records in such depositories as that of the Nebraska Historical Society of which he was formerly director, and of unpublished dissertations, newspapers, and similar sources. While writing more cautiously and more self-effacingly than Hyde, he does so with no less clarity, and in numerous instances offers different interpretations of particular events.

Olson's story begins with the outbreak of Indian troubles in the Platte Valley during the Civil War and traces the story of the remarkable Oglala Sioux leader, Red Cloud, through every stage of his pertinacious effort to retain the respect and confidence of his people while accommodating himself and them to the growing power of an unsympathetic white government ceaselessly encroaching upon his land. Diplomats in training would find the story of US negotiations with Red Cloud a useful preparation for present-day negotiations with Communist powers. It was not only the particular subject matter (roads through his country, sale of the Black Hills, location of Indian agencies) that was a matter for Red Cloud's maneuvers. The time of the meetings (he frequently kept commissioners cooling their heels for days before he came in), the place of meeting (Red Cloud achieved frequent summit conferences with the Great Father—the President—in Washington), indeed, every point that was negotiable was negotiated by the old Oglala. The end was inevitable and undramatic. Red Cloud's career terminated not in dramatic violence, but, as Olson points out, in a government file, with his appeal to be permitted to go to Washington following the ghost dance troubles and the Battle of Wounded Knee (1890) ignored. But perhaps it is enough to say that if he and his people did not prevail, they did endure.

*Smithsonian Institution*

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

THE EMERGENCE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. By *Laurence R. Veysey*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 505. \$10.00.)

THIS volume describes and evaluates the emergence of the American university in the period between 1865 and 1910. The preface is a beautiful essay in its own

right, and it could well stand as a review of the book. Veysey makes skillful and extensive use of secondary and original sources. He sets forth events and ideas and weaves them together in a masterful manner; he does not hesitate to enter the fray with his own judgments. He writes exceptionally well. Both the reader who knows little of the history of American higher education and the one who has made the subject a specialty will enjoy and profit from reading the book.

In Part One the author examines rival concepts of higher education: mental discipline, religious orthodoxy, vocational education, preparation for life in a democracy, the search for scientific truth, and the development of the well-rounded person. He shows not only that there was competition among these, but also that there were serious differences as to what each meant. Part Two is devoted largely to the development of structure and administration in higher education after 1890. Here he tells of the popularization of higher education, the differences in purpose between faculty and students, the rise of the career administrators and the rivalries among them, the influence of business enterprise both through its organization and its finance, and the concept of academic freedom.

There is vigorous and pungent criticism of both persons and institutions. Failings of Gilman and Eliot, Butler and Jordan are exposed to view. The qualities that made the Johns Hopkins a model for American graduate schools are described with respect, but they did not perpetuate themselves: "in their purest forms they instead produced only a magic moment." Clark "became a decided failure by all external standards." Other persons and institutions are treated with similar candor.

It would be easy to gather an extensive list of aphorisms from Veysey's writing; a few are quoted here. "Nothing was ever admitted to be irreconcilable with anything else." "The undergraduates could not be distracted by any voluntary means from their primary loyalty to college life as distinguished from university education." "Institutions may be said to function like magnets, attracting the ambitions of men." "Tacitly obeying the need to fail to communicate, each academic group normally refrained from too rude or brutal an unmasking of the rest." "It is difficult to write a history, or even a sociology, of silence." "Magicians who lack self-confidence, from whatever motive, invite disrespect from onlookers." "The American university was not created for those who took ideal goals with deadly earnestness."

It should not be thought, from these remarks, that the book is negative. Those who are unappreciative of the extensive roots of the American university and the intense struggles that brought them into existence as well as those who tend to look back on a golden age that did not exist may improve their perspective by reading this excellent book. Seldom does a doctoral dissertation result in so useful a volume.

*Duke University*

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

NEGRO MECCA: A HISTORY OF THE NEGRO IN NEW YORK CITY, 1865-1920. By *Seth M. Scheiner*. ([New York:] New York University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 246. \$6.50.)

In this valuable monograph Mr. Scheiner attempts "an exhaustive examination of the social, economic, and political life of the Negro of New York City" by

"studying the institutions and thought of the Negro community as well as the relations between Negroes and whites." *Negro Mecca* treats several aspects of urban life: housing, employment, labor-capital relations, social structure and cultural endeavors, and the areas of conflict and cooperation between the Negro and what the author calls "the wider community." The organization of the study and the sources used are those expected in an urban history. Scheiner's style is generally clear, the range of source material examined is impressive, and the data consulted are synthesized into meaningful generalizations. This book is, indeed, unique; there is no comparable study of the history of the Negro community in a metropolitan area that has been published. The life of the Negro in the city has, of course, been studied by a vast array of social scientists, but the historical background of their treatises, when present, is limited.

It is impossible here to summarize all Scheiner's conclusions, but here are some seminal ones: a widespread Negro prejudice against Jews and Irish-Americans existed; the Negro church failed as a charitable institution; white reformers of progressive stripe were from no single economic or social stratum or ethnic background; many reform organizations were unable "to develop a dialogue with the Negro world." Above all, the work suggests that the outlook of the Negro of New York City was identical on most issues to that of his white contemporary: distrust of urban life, hope in the social gospel, patriotism during the First World War, disenchantment with socialism and Communism, ethnic and religious prejudice. Negro political organizations and benevolent societies had the same goals and structures as those of the white world. Only toward the end of the period did disruptive movements appear: the Garvey crusade and, to a lesser extent, the "New Negro" movement in the arts.

Scheiner, unlike many in the field of Negro history, writes not as a partisan but as a historian. One of the book's strongest points, in fact, is the tentativeness of the author's judgments about specific pieces of his evidence as well as about the larger forces of which he writes so well. We need similar studies of other Negro communities in all geographic sections.

*Knox College*

GORDON B. DODDS

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, JR., 1835-1915: THE PATRICIAN AT BAY.

By *Edward Chase Kirkland*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. viii, 256. \$5.95.)

THIS is the first comprehensive biography of the least known of the famous brothers of the fourth generation of America's most illustrious family. Professor Kirkland here presents a thorough account of the multifarious, impressive activities of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., first as an officer in the Union Army in the Civil War, and then as a businessman, reformer, and historian. Adams' works in history are still considered outstanding, especially those on colonial Massachusetts. Since he is best known as the American authority on railroads during the last third of the nineteenth century, his biographer properly devoted a large part of the book to his work as a railroad reformer beginning in 1869 and as president of the Union Pacific Railroad from 1883 to 1890.

Adams' place in American history stems from two events in 1869. In that year

he wrote his most famous work, the essay in high finance, "A Chapter on Erie," which, as Kirkland states, was a far-reaching "exposé of the [New York] stock exchange, and of corrupt government as much as it was of the railroads." Second, the Massachusetts legislature passed a bill creating a three-man railroad commission. Adams designed the bill and served first as a member and later as chairman of the commission. As he desired, it had advisory rather than compulsory regulatory powers, but, through its powers to investigate accidents and to set up uniform accounts for the railroads, it introduced novel procedures that were developed as effective instruments for compulsory regulation by other state commissions and finally by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is well known that Adams was one of the first to give a systematic account of the failure of competition to work beneficently in such "natural monopoly" industries as railroads and other public utilities, but it is not so well known that as early as 1878 he outlined for the railroads an advanced program for improvement of industrial relations that included provisions for increases of wages based on length of service, protection against arbitrary discharge, and a social security scheme which, to use his words in his more developed plan of 1889, would provide through joint contributions "for hospital service, retiring provisions, sick pensions, and insurance against accident and death."

By his lucid account of Adams' activities not only in railroads but also in such areas as education, recreation facilities, and currency, Kirkland has contributed notably to the growing appreciation of the post-Civil War era as the seedbed of modern American reform.

*Columbia University*

JOSEPH DORFMAN

A CENTURY OF LUTHERANS IN OHIO. By *Willard D. Allbeck*. ([Yellow Springs, Ohio:] Antioch Press. 1966. Pp. viii, 309. \$6.00.)

THIS book is a result of exhaustive research in the official proceedings of synods and conferences, the files of Lutheran Church publications, English and German, and widely scattered parish records, important sources of local history.

The Lutheran Church was an immigrant church, transplanted to the Ohio frontier by Germans who believed that the doctrines of their church could best be expressed in their mother tongue. Here conservative Lutheranism came in contact with the revivalism of the frontier. Dr. Allbeck describes the hardships encountered by the "traveling preachers" of the Lutheran faith and the varied activities and experiences of the Ohio Synod and its competitors. Tensions developed over revivalism and predestination, the Augsburg Confession, the Communion service and other religious practices, membership in secret societies like the Masons and the Odd Fellows, and the efforts to preserve the German language against pressures from the "American party." The result of these tensions was a proliferation of synods, districts, and conferences, which engaged in doctrinal and jurisdictional disputes and invaded each other's territory as the several groups recruited new members for their congregations.

The Lutheran Church, as such, had relatively little interest in the emerging social gospel and believed that the major concern of its preachers should be to

preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments, and combat the "poisonous shafts" of rationalism and materialism. Slavery was regarded as a sin, like theft and adultery; the temperance crusade presented a problem for some of the German churches, and World War I was considered a chastisement of God.

Allbeck's narrative abounds with the names of pastors and churches and unnecessarily long quotations from the proceedings of the synods. These matters will be of primary interest to Lutheran readers. The controversy about German as the official language of the Ohio Synod continued into the present century, with German losing out to the pressures of Americanization. This book is based on painstaking research in a variety of sources. It is regrettable that the author's scholarly findings are not presented in a more interesting style.

*Western Reserve University*

CARL WITTKE

HISTORY OF WYOMING. By T. A. Larson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 619. \$6.95.)

THERE should be, but there is not, a readable and reliable history of each of our fifty states. Professor Larson's book admirably provides such a history for the state of Wyoming. Except for two brief introductory chapters, he has excluded from consideration the period before 1867. For the century extending from the building of the Union Pacific Railroad, however, and the consequent formation of the Wyoming Territory, to the present, he has furnished a free-flowing narrative accompanied by a running analytical commentary. The result will interest those within the state and inform those outside it.

The author is most effective in dealing with state politics, especially in connection with the careers of Joseph M. Carey, Francis E. Warren, and Joseph B. Kendrick, all of whom were both governors and senators and none of whom have been the subject of a good biography. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney's career is also well presented, although he is not accorded a place with the others as one of Wyoming's "grand old men." Social and economic history are given comprehensive coverage, and quotations from plain-spoken Wyoming editors, of whom Bill Nye is the most familiar, enliven many pages.

Larson is dependent, of course, upon many secondary sources, but, in many cases, he has studied primary sources in order to test the conclusions of others. He concludes, for example, that Colonel William Bright did more than Mrs. Esther Morris to achieve woman suffrage in Wyoming Territory. A well-balanced account of the Johnson County War results in the conclusion that the big cattlemen should have exercised more restraint and stayed within the law. Federal land grants to railroads are viewed as necessary and, therefore, justifiable, despite admitted defects in the working of the law.

The history of Yellowstone Park, the author states, has been slighted somewhat. I would have placed the history of Indian reservations and of the Teapot Dome scandal in this category as well. Although the economic importance of tourism and of recreation is stressed, the opportunity to present the history of mountaineering in the Tetons is overlooked.

There are a good bibliography, an adequate index, and a fine pictorial section.

Though such delightful place names as Tensleep and Meteetse appear, local and antiquarian matters are rigorously excluded. The focus is on the state and its people, but no attempt is made to show that they are either unique or unusually typical. All in all, the book is an excellent model of what a state history should be.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

THE RIGHT TO VOTE: POLITICS AND THE PASSAGE OF THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT. By *William Gillette*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXIII (1965), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1965. Pp. 181. \$4.50.)

THOUGH the Fifteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution in 1870, it was not until 1909 that the first scholarly study of it appeared: John Mabry Mathews' *Legislative and Judicial History of the Fifteenth Amendment*, which remained, until Professor Gillette's book, the only work on the subject. According to Mathews the primary objective of the Fifteenth Amendment was to guarantee Negro suffrage in the South by law, and this became the accepted view of the amendment.

Gillette revises this view. His thesis is that the main objective of the Fifteenth Amendment was to enfranchise the northern Negro and not to keep Negro suffrage in the South, which was a secondary objective. The Republicans wanted, and needed, Negro voters to keep the North Republican, and during the nineteenth century the practical effect of the amendment was to bring the ballot to the northern Negro and power to the Republicans.

Gillette also contends that the Fifteenth Amendment was not radical in design, intent, or result. Rather it was a moderate and modest measure "framed, championed, and secured by generally Republican moderates." It offered too little to southern Republicans, who wanted greater protection of Negro voting and a mild guarantee of Negro officeholding. It offered even less to the veteran antislavery northern Republicans who sought, in addition to firmer guarantees for southern Negroes, general suffrage reform and even national control of suffrage. On the other hand, for Democrats who feared the Republican Negro vote both in the North and the South and disliked federal interference in state and local elections the amendment was too strong, as it was for restrictionist Republicans from the Pacific and Atlantic seaboard, who worried about Chinese or Irish voters. Though the ratification fight on the amendment took only thirteen months, it was hard and the outcome uncertain.

Gillette's book is well researched and well written, especially on the ratification fight. The book is based on a variety of sources including manuscripts, documents, newspapers, congressional and state legislative debates, and monographs, but the largest and most valuable source the author tapped was 172 newspapers from 36 states. Informative for both the specialist and general reader, it is a most welcome book because of being the first on the subject in fifty-six years and because of the growing importance of the political power of both northern and southern Negroes in the mid-twentieth century. Gillette has written an excellent book, and he is to be commended for it. But I do not believe the evidence he pre-

sents for revising the Fifteenth Amendment is overwhelming or entirely convincing.

*University of Notre Dame*

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

THE LIFE OF JOHN LANCASTER SPALDING: FIRST BISHOP OF PEORIA, 1840-1916. By *David Francis Sweeney, O.F.M.* [Makers of American Catholicism, Volume I.] ([New York:] Herder and Herder. 1965. Pp. 384. \$7.50.)

To his contemporaries in and out of the Church Spalding was something of an enigma. A successful diocesan administrator, a celebrated orator and author of more than a dozen books of essays and poetry, and a member of President Roosevelt's Anthracite Coal Commission, he seemed always on the verge of becoming more of a leader of American Catholicism than he ever managed to be. This careful study, handicapped though it is by the dearth of "Spalding papers," provides some clues to the generally abortive character of the bishop's many roles. In an era when the American hierarchy was torn by ethnic hostilities, Spalding publicly espoused both the right of the "Germans" to retain their own culture and the zeal of the "Irish" to embrace American culture, without winning the unqualified affection or support of either party. In a time when many parish priests were appealing to Rome for support against their bishops, Spalding was unusually blunt in condemning any notion of "democracy" in the Church; he was also outspoken in opposing the sending of a papal delegate to America, refusing to restrain his criticism even after the mission was a settled fact. His Neo-Emersonian writings, which Father Sweeney pretty much dismisses as lacking in discipline, could have won him little praise in a "Church of the immigrants" and in fact earned him a reputation for ontologism among conservative Catholic theologians, especially in the Roman *Curia*. Finally, although a builder of schools, churches, and convents, he apparently was, to put it charitably, careless about the use of contributions; Sweeney shows that the bishop was denied promotion in his later years because of the fear that ancient scandals would be publicized.

The author's purpose is not to muckrake or to debunk, any more than it is cheaply to glorify. Because his subject had courage and style as well as intelligence, imagination, and pride, the biography is consistently interesting. Sweeney makes explicable, in other words, why subsequent generations of American Catholics have been able to "hear" Spalding more clearly than his own. If he wavered in his support of the Catholic University of America, he spoke out consistently and unequivocally for intellectual independence as the only alternative to being "immured in a spiritual ghetto." As Monsignor John Tracy Ellis points out in his perceptive foreword, "disciples of the current *aggiornamento* at work within the Church" find much to echo in the statements of Spalding.

*Columbia University*

ROBERT D. CROSS

POPULATION REDISTRIBUTION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH, UNITED STATES, 1870-1950. Volume III, DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSES AND INTERRELATIONS. By *Hope T. Eldridge* and *Dorothy Swaine Thomas*. With an introduction by *Simon Kuznets*. [Memoirs of the American

Philosophical Society, Volume LXI.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1964. Pp. xxxv, 368. \$6.00.)

Of the demographic processes that contribute to the development of urban industrial systems, none is more crucial than migration—the focus of this third and final volume in the University of Pennsylvania's monumental study of population redistribution and economic growth. While the balance of births over deaths governs the rate of a country's total population growth (immigration apart), it is internal migration that mediates the shift to industrial organization which characterizes high-income economies. This fact has great significance for American social history. Thus, if we rule out internal migration and immigration after 1870, actual changes in the size and industrial structure of the labor force would have required a differential annual rate of natural increase between agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the population in the ratio of 1.0:2.2 per cent in the years 1870–1910 and *minus* 1.5:2.0 per cent in the years 1910–1950! Historically, of course, the reverse was true. Throughout most of the period rates of natural increase were much higher in the agricultural than the nonagricultural sector which was increasingly concentrated in urban areas. Consequently, there was what Simon Kuznets calls “a conflict” between the differential rate of rural and urban labor force increase and the rate and locus of growth in economic opportunities. This conflict—perhaps “contradiction” might be a better word—“only magnified the requirements for internal migration generated by shifts in industrial structure.”

In Part One, Hope T. Eldridge draws upon the estimates of Volume I to provide detailed demographic analyses of population increase, net migration, urban growth, and redistribution. Although her concepts and measures are technical, the results are, for the most part, clear and definitive. Natural increase exceeded net in-migration (the balance of state gains over losses of migrants) in every decade 1870–1950, but before 1910 supplementary gains from migration were chiefly from the foreign-born in the northeastern and north central states and from native-born west of the Mississippi. Only after 1910 did the East experience appreciable net gains from native migrants among whom were growing numbers of Negroes. Streams of Negro migration, however, represented a one-way movement, first to northeastern and central states, than veering west after 1940. In contrast, by the 1940's the exodus of southern whites to the North was balanced by movements of northern whites into the South. Such differences reflect an intensification of the Negro's “flight from the South,” which was only briefly interrupted by the depression of the 1930's. The age distribution of these intercensal rates of displacement, on the other hand, was regular for all three census race-nativity groups. Eldridge concludes that redistribution of population has been “a cohesive process” and infers that both dispersion and urbanization have been “essential to the development of a single integrated economic and social system occupying the available territory.”

In Part Two, Dorothy S. Thomas presents a searching analysis of temporal and spatial relations between population redistribution and economic opportunities. She finds that net migration to, and within, the United States since 1880 “responded positively and significantly to decadal swings in economic activity,” rising



in prosperity and subsiding in depression. Spatially, net intercensal migration of the three race-nativity groups was positively associated with relative subregional service (that is, nonproperty) income per worker, although more so for the foreign-born before World War I and for Negroes thereafter than for native whites at any time. Indeed, before 1890 and again after 1940, native whites moved disproportionately to certain areas irrespective of income differentials.

Kuznets' introduction underscores once again the socioeconomic significance of urbanization, but the entire study serves to remind historians that westward movement, immigration, and urbanization can be treated as three interrelated aspects of a single process: migration. Together, these three volumes must rank among the major interdisciplinary studies of the postwar period.

*University of Wisconsin*

ERIC E. LAMPARD

THE UNITED STATES AND THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM: A POLITICAL HISTORY. By *Merze Tate*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 374. \$8.50.)

THE Hawaiian Kingdom of the nineteenth century was a small nation, but its relations with the Great Powers endowed its history with an interest out of proportion to its size. It is a well-documented history, and at this late date scholars are not likely to uncover new materials that will modify our knowledge of events. Its history is, however, open to many interpretations, and in this work Dr. Tate presents a new analysis of the movement that culminated in the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and annexation in 1898.

The book is aptly subtitled, *A Political History*. The early chapters deal primarily with the course of Hawaiian politics, particularly during the crucial years 1880-1893. The later chapters, constituting more than one-third of the book, are concerned almost exclusively with the impact of the Hawaiian question upon politics in the United States from 1893 to 1898. At times Tate is retracing ground already carefully explored in the scholarly works of William A. Russ, and her principal contribution is in the sections that trace the incredibly complicated course of Hawaiian politics during the reign of Kalakaua.

In a summary chapter the author notes that her book could be described as "An Economic Interpretation of the Hawaiian Revolution." Her central theme is a power struggle between two stubborn and ill-matched groups: the minority of foreigners, who owned most of the wealth of the islands; and the King and his advisers, who toyed with proposals which they alleged would benefit the less affluent Hawaiians, but which the opposition denounced as costly, reckless, and even immoral. Unable to win a stable victory in Hawaii, this opposition concluded sometime after 1890 that the security of their interests could be assured only by annexation.

Other scholars have already offered analyses of the same events, and it is unlikely that Tate will be the last scholar to study Hawaiian politics or offer a novel interpretation. She bases her conclusions on extensive research in archival materials in Washington and Honolulu, and she offers an explanation of Hawaiian politics that future scholars cannot ignore. Though she may not have written the

last word on the subject, she has placed all students of Hawaiian history and American foreign policy in her debt.

*Vanderbilt University*

HAROLD WHITMAN BRADLEY

**HARLEM: THE MAKING OF A GHETTO. NEGRO NEW YORK, 1890-1930.** By *Gilbert Osofsky*. (New York: Harper and Row. [1966.] Pp. xi, 259. \$6.95.)

It is too early to say how the civil rights movement will ultimately affect the writing of American Negro history. Already, though, several scholars within the past ten years have taken important new looks at the long Negro experience in this country. Sooner or later, given the present climate of concern, someone was bound to attempt a history of what, a quarter of a century ago, Claude McKay called the "Negro Capital of the Nation."

Gilbert Osofsky's book, originally prepared as a Ph.D. thesis, contains much information about Negro life in New York City from 1890 to 1930. Equally important, Osofsky asks questions that really matter and writes with the vigor and clarity of a man who knows precisely what he wants to say. The result—interesting narrative combined with provocative analysis of an important subject—proves again that the Ph.D. thesis need not be a dull rendering of trivia.

Unlike Seth Scheiner's recently published doctoral dissertation, which covers roughly the same ground, Osofsky organizes his account in periods instead of abstract categories. He first re-creates nineteenth-century Negro life in the Five Points and Greenwich Village, and then as it came to be centered by 1900 in the Tenderloin and San Juan Hill, before turning to those parts of Harlem that Negroes entered before World War I, but filled up in the fifteen years preceding the Great Depression. Through that kind of narrative the reader acquires a sense of continuity and a historical perspective from which to see the emergence of Harlem as a slum in the 1920's.

But perhaps the major reason for this book's success is that it focuses on a single place. Place is crucial in social history, for only in the local setting can one revive in their fullness and depth what things were really like. Through Osofsky's magnifying glass we see in rich detail the process by which the well-to-do area north of Central Park became a slum and, to cite still another example, the considerable extent to which the progressive movement in Theodore Roosevelt's city promoted the advancement of Negroes. The reader finishes this book with a concrete grasp, furthermore, of the meaning of housing, jobs, religion, family life, education, recreation, and politics for masses of people who fled the rural South and the West Indies to resettle in the big city.

With regard to the relations of Negroes to others, however, misplaced piety and loose rhetoric flaw an otherwise impressive achievement. Thus, writing throughout in a tone that suggests that Negroes *always* have been worse off than all other New Yorkers, Osofsky misses the significance of his own evidence that, before and after the Civil War, Negroes abandoned neighborhoods to Irish and Italian immigrants on the whole poorer than they. Again, in his indignation over the 1900 race riot, Osofsky, although well aware of the special role of the Irish in it, nevertheless refers to the existence of a "white community." No such com-

munity existed, as Oscar Handlin, Nathan Glazer, and Daniel P. Moynihan have convincingly documented in their histories of ethnic pluralism in New York City.

Apart from wronging the past, the invention of a mythological white monolith in northern big cities deprives the civil rights movement of a historical understanding it is meant to provide. For the fuller pluralist setting of Negro life in New York City, one must therefore read Handlin, Moynihan, and Glazer. The point needs to be emphasized because in his otherwise useful bibliographical essay Osofsky dismisses their work without mention.

*Smith College*

ARTHUR MANN

THE AMERICAN AUTOMOBILE: A BRIEF HISTORY. By *John B. Rae*.

[The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 265. \$5.95.)

DURING the last generation much historical writing on the American automotive industry has appeared in scattered form. It includes the biographies of pioneers, memoirs by leaders in the industry, histories of companies, studies of engineering and marketing, financial histories, and analyses of labor relations and the impact of the automobile on society. General histories of the industry have been few and sketchy. The gap has now been filled, however, by Dr. Rae in a volume at once concise, authoritative, and readable.

He has compressed into a moderate-sized book a record covering the multifarious developments from 1893, when the Duryea brothers sent their one-cylinder carriage clattering over the streets of Springfield, Massachusetts, to our own day of colossal production. His rapid narrative does justice to all the main aspects of the astonishing change. He notes the "historical mystery" bound up in the fact that after the German inventions of Otto, Benz, and Daimler the Americans waited about ten years to reinvent the automobile for themselves. He analyzes the reasons for the triumph of the gasoline motor over the steam-propelled vehicle, the relation of the bicycle trade to the new cars, the extent to which the Model T really put America on wheels, the growing pains of the industry as the four-wheel drive, "silent knight" engine, and electric starter pushed it ahead of the European manufacturers, and its most epochal feat, its really revolutionary triumph when Henry Ford's Highland Park plant gave birth to the complex procedures of mass production and thus altered the world. He shows that in the early history of the industry the chief difficulty was in producing enough good cars to meet the insatiable demand; that in the decade of the Great Depression the main difficulty lay in selling enough cars to keep the stronger companies alive; and that in more recent years the problem has been to gear the industry to the march of research, to such dramatic shifts in taste as the advent of the compacts, and to the demands of governments faced by urban congestion, traffic maladies, and the thrust of metropolis into suburbia. The author explains the elimination of company after company until three giant corporations dominate the field.

All this and more appear in the book. Rae does not fail to glance at such important subjects as the partnership of the rubber and petroleum empires with the automotive industry. He does swift justice to the part the industry played in help-

ing the United States and its Allies sustain themselves under ordeal; a part valuable in the First World War, invaluable in the Second. The book is a model of condensed and comprehensive history. Its only important fault is that it is a bit too brief.

*Huntington Library*

ALLAN NEVINS

THE GREAT WHITE FLEET: ITS VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD, 1907-1909. By *Robert A. Hart*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1965. Pp. xvi, 362. \$6.95.)

HISTORIANS have long suspected that there was more braggadocio than truth in Theodore Roosevelt's contention that the cruise of "The Great White Fleet" around the world in 1907-1909 was "the most important service to peace that I rendered." Bailey concluded that it "stimulated navalism in Japan and elsewhere." Beale believed that it strengthened the pronaval and anti-American elements in Japan. Braisted suggested that "a powerful American fleet defending the Philippines was potentially . . . threatening to Japan." And others have questioned the world voyage on a variety of counts. Now Robert A. Hart has published a sprightly account of the cruise that confirms and amplifies these views and touches several new issues.

Hart's story is as disillusioning as it is enlightening and entertaining. It reveals Roosevelt as the capricious, romantic man he sometimes was. It indicates that "managed news" is not an especially recent development. It describes a serio-comic battle between a host of American sailors and Brazilian civilians in Rio. It reports that in Melbourne alone 221 men deserted the fleet. And it recounts to the point of tedium the grave deficiencies and burning jealousies of the fleet's commanders to say nothing of their rivalries with American diplomats at ports of call. More important, it proves that the cruise failed in its primary mission: the flaunting of American naval power. For, as Hart convincingly shows, the fleet was so outmoded and its suppliers so inadequate that there was little power to flaunt. Thus, three weeks after the sixteen American battleships lumbered out of Tokyo Bay, the Japanese staged their own display off Kobe, where, "A parade line of one hundred and twenty-three warships, twenty miles long, provided a meaningful contrast for the Japanese people."

Hart's clear, crisp style and unfailing eye for human interest make this admirable social history. The book is less successful, however, as diplomatic history. To be sure, the State Department files have been deeply and perceptively explored, as have many foreign monographs and memoirs. But there is a tendency at times to use innuendo, to give equal weight to statements by newspapermen, diplomats, and historians, and to draw conclusions unsupported by multiarchival research. Yet to make these criticisms is not to deny the importance or essential validity of this eminently readable book. Hart has opened several matters, including the cruise's impact on Sino-American relations, for future research. And he has convinced me, at least, that TR's decision to dispatch the fleet around the world was one of the more egregious blunders of his presidency.

*Bucknell University*

WILLIAM H. HARBAUGH

WILSON: CAMPAIGNS FOR PROGRESSIVISM AND PEACE, 1916-1917.

By *Arthur S. Link*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 464. \$8.50.)

THIS fifth volume of Professor Link's superb life of Woodrow Wilson is devoted mainly to the campaign of 1916 and to the President's persistent efforts to bring about a negotiated European peace. It ends with the bankruptcy of Wilson's peace policy and his fateful war message of April 2, 1917.

As indicated by his subtitle, the book seeks to refute the existing assumption that Wilson's commitment to progressivism waned rapidly after 1914. In discussing the 1916 election Link comments on the President's "rapid movement toward the incipient welfare state. . . ." If some questions may be asked about this judgment, few if any can fairly be raised about the second major underlying theme of the author: that Woodrow Wilson conscientiously and consistently sought both to end the European war and keep America neutral. As Link amply demonstrates, even in January 1917 the President was still adamant in his belief that the United States would not get involved, and as late as March 10, 1917, after the destruction of four American ships by German submarines, he was still seeking a way out, short of hostilities.

About two-thirds of this volume is spent on the period from November 1916 to April 1917. And nowhere in existing literature is the development of Wilson's European policy during these critical months so richly and so dispassionately explored. Among the many new insights afforded by this impressive volume are the amazing ignorance of the President and his advisers of the truly critical condition of the Western Allies, Wilson's awareness of Secretary of State Lansing's attempts to "sabotage" his peace policy, and the President's debate with himself whether to ask for Lansing's resignation.

The major point that the 1916-1917 foreign policy was Wilson's and not that of his advisers is made abundantly clear. Link shows the President relying almost entirely upon his own judgments to an amazing degree, differing completely at times even with Colonel House. When the decision for war was made, the President refused to disclose it for a week and then proceeded to write his own war message without seeking advice or help. Apparently, according to Link, Wilson refused to show his message to anyone, although he did read it to House a few hours before it was delivered, and, upon the colonel's intercession, changed a minor phrase.

Perhaps of paramount interest is the thoughtful discussion of why Wilson elected to go to war and give up his policy of "armed neutrality" before, as the author comments, it had really been tried. Link rejects many reasons hitherto accepted as among the more important propelling the President toward hostilities. Among these were the fear that a German victory would imperil the future of the US, the assumption that the Allied cause was a far more worthy one than that of Germany, and finally pressure from the financial community and the general public. All of these, the author firmly states, were not significant factors. About the more positive motivations for the great decision the author freely admits he is far less certain. Among the most impelling factors were the unanimous advice of his cabinet, a consensus in March 1917 that included the voices of

several members who had hitherto been stoutly opposed to intervention, Wilson's loss of confidence in the German government after the declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare, his assumption that if the United States retreated from this threat it would lose any influence it might have had in the reordering of world affairs, and, finally and perhaps most importantly, his conclusion that American belligerency "offered the surest hope for early peace and the reconstruction of the international community."

The amplitude of research upon which this volume rests is almost incredible. The official British and French records are still closed. But the author has consulted practically every other type of source on both sides of the Atlantic. Eleven German, ten British, and eight French newspapers are cited, for example, and the long list of manuscripts used is an index of what is available. This is informed, intelligent, cautious, and critical history, thoroughly suffused with a rare understanding of what can and what cannot be accurately wrung from the records of the past. It is a memorable achievement.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

GEORGE E. MOWRY

BIOGRAPHY OF AN IDEA: MEMOIRS OF PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSEL EDWARD L. BERNAYS. (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1965. Pp. 849. \$12.95.)

EDWARD L. Bernays, an early practitioner of the art of manipulating public opinion, creator of the phrase, "public relations counsel," and an indefatigable laborer to gain professional status for public relations workers, has written a fascinating account of his life and career. Actually, his career and life became so inextricably bound together that one is not surprised that Bernays titled his volume *Biography of an Idea*. The fascination of the book, however, derives less from his account of the rise of public relations as an adjunct to contemporary business and politics as it operates in a mass society than from the fact that Bernays is an intelligent person who lived a full and interesting life involving associations with a great variety of men, women, and movements. Bernays came to maturity during the progressive era and shared its liberal, dynamic spirit, aspects of which he continued to display in his work and in what might be called his extracurricular activities. This book, while it concentrates on the former, has much in it of the latter, and the reader has the distinct impression of an active and concerned businessman, husband, father, friend, and citizen.

The "idea" in the title, as Bernays treats it, really involves two facets: first, that opinion can be engineered and manipulated scientifically; and, second, that the work of a public relations counsel deserves to rank with law, teaching, medicine, and other professions. Bernays, a nephew of Dr. Sigmund Freud, utilized some of his distinguished uncle's findings as well as those of the new discipline of social psychology in his own work; he sought to understand the mass mind and to stimulate its unconscious processes by direction and indirection. As Ellery Sedgwick put it in a letter quoted by Bernays: "My picture is this: you see life like a billiard table. Direct strokes are barred, and your nimble ball caroms continually off the cushion of circumstances affecting the situation, not at first, but at second hand." Respecting the second facet—that public relations deserves to rank as a

profession—the author argues so persistently and in such a manner that some readers might conclude that “The lady doth protest too much, methinks.” But I presume there is room for debate.

Bernays wrote a number of books and articles on public relations including *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (1923), *Propaganda* (1928), and *Public Relations* (1952). This volume will be particularly useful to the student investigating the rise of public relations and its impact upon business, politics, international affairs, and a host of other relationships. The specialist in Latin American history might find Bernays’ account of his activities in the Caribbean region valuable. Since the author’s work touched so many features of our national life involving leadership, his observations and assessments of men and measures provide helpful new data in coming to terms with many issues having a bearing on twentieth-century American history.

Stanford University

GEORGE HARMON KNOLES

THE NOBLEST CRY: A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. By *Charles Lam Markmann*. (New York: St. Martin’s Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 464. \$7.95.)

THERE is always room for another castigation of American intolerance and injustice; these traits are too amply demonstrated ever to be fully scourged. But when a work of this sort is subtitled *A History of the American Civil Liberties Union*, it claims a limited and almost vacant territory, and one must ask whether it merits possession or is merely asserting squatter’s rights.

This is a history of an organization, not an organizational history. The ACLU’s structure and finances, internal routines and external dealings, recruitment of members and leaders are of only marginal interest to the author. It may quicken the pace of the study not to dwell on the union’s system of affiliates, which allows it to oversee the entire nation without overburdening its central office; on its socially and intellectually distinguished leadership, which widens its access to officials whom it must convert or else oppose; on its appeal to the values of the legal culture, which permits it to acquire the free assistance of many leading members of the bar. But to neglect these and similar factors is to leave many important things enigmatic, including the obvious discrepancy between the union’s infinitesimal formal membership and its considerable public influence. Perhaps it suits the preconceptions of the author, who believes that liberty is a fugitive in America, not to inquire too deeply into that discrepancy.

To write a history of the ACLU is to write a history of the law of civil liberties, and the author, who is a journalist with legal training, deals extensively with what went on in court. Unfortunately, he takes the perspective of the journalist, not the lawyer. Occasionally, the fantasist gets the better even of the journalist, as when Markmann surmises that the Supreme Court ruled against Jehovah’s Witnesses (apparently in *Jones v. Opelika*) because of the “hyper-sensitivity of Justice Jackson, a devout Catholic, to the Witnesses’ insistence on being frank about the money and power drives of the Vatican”—an interpretation somewhat undermined by the fact that Justice Jackson was a Protestant, not a Catholic; that Justice Murphy, who was a Catholic, dissented; that the decision was soon reversed, despite Justice Jackson; that the issues were complex. No happy purpose is served

by this vulgarization of the judicial process. Nor is the book enhanced by the author's tendency to pass judgment on issues far afield.

The ACLU did not authorize this history, but consented to make its files available to the author at his request. It would not unduly limit free inquiry if the organization were now to choose a chronicler worthy of it, perhaps in time to enrich the celebration of its forthcoming fiftieth anniversary.

*Columbia University*

WALTER P. METZGER

**BILLY MITCHELL: CRUSADER FOR AIR POWER.** By *Alfred F. Hurley*. [The Watts Aerospace Library.] (New York: Franklin Watts. 1964. Pp. x, 180. \$5.95.)

BRIGADIER General William Mitchell has been accorded considerable popular attention, but until now he has lacked a scholarly biography. This divergence of popular from historians' interest may well cause reflection. Mitchell was not an original thinker, and it is hard to imagine any major development in the history of the air force that would have been substantially different without him. But the very persistence of popular adulation suggests that historians might explore the reasons for that adulation in order better to understand public attitudes toward military policy.

The writer of this first full-length scholarly study is an air force major who holds a doctorate in history. The reader may decide that the book is the sort of thing that anyone knowing this background would predict. As he proceeds, he is likely to move from feelings of irritation to a growing respect for Hurley's ability to detach himself from his protagonist and to succeed at last in portraying him objectively. The reader will find, too, that the two facets of Hurley's background have given him an excellent command of the sources, including manuscripts and oral history materials, and that he has used them well. The book is good enough to rise above occasional minor errors of fact and more frequent lapses of style.

Hurley gives the events of Mitchell's career a biographer's due, but there are no extended and dramatic reruns of trial scenes or the bombing of the *Ostfriesland* in these pages. Rightly, Hurley is more interested in Mitchell's ideas. He examines them in the light of Mitchell's conversations with such European airmen as Sir Hugh Trenchard and Gianni Caproni and his acquaintance with the theories of Emilio Douhet. He concludes that what Mitchell was saying about air power was mainly the same as other ambitious airmen of his day. Indeed, Mitchell was sometimes less extreme than many of his contemporaries, but even when his ideas were sometimes relatively moderate, Mitchell was incapable of presenting them in a moderate way. He concocted controversy whether it would serve his purposes or not, he impugned the motives of anyone who disagreed with him, and he provoked the court-martial that ended his military career. The prosecution played into his hands by allowing him to drag in the debate over the future of air power, but the court eventually decided against him, as it had to, on the disciplinary charges that were the real issues of the trial. While his publishers and the public grew somewhat tired of him, World War II revived the interest that



has persisted. Hurley's book will have to be read by those who would understand that interest and assess the merits of Mitchell's thought.

*Temple University*

RUSSELL F. WEIGLEY

THE POLITICAL CULTURES OF MASSACHUSETTS. By *Edgar Litt*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1965. Pp. xiv, 224. \$5.95.)

WELL into the 1920's Massachusetts elections were dominated by a Republican coalition representing two of what political scientist Edgar Litt calls the Bay State's political cultures: the "patrician elite" and the "small-town, rural yeoman." Beginning in the late 1920's the supremacy of this coalition was displaced by the political rise of a third culture rooted in the workers and ethnic minorities of the core cities. Most of this ground has been covered previously by historians. But Litt maintains that since the Second World War the Massachusetts political scene has been changed again by the political debut of still a fourth culture emerging out of the "post-industrial society that emphasizes technical, clerical, and professional skills to man the burgeoning scientific, defense, educational, and administrative institutions" that have transformed the older agrarian and industrial economies that gave rise to the first three cultures. The members of this newest element are "the managers, the high-income, professional-technical class of increasingly new-stock heritage," whose inherited tradition is "Democratic, urban, immigrant, blue-collar, and entrepreneurial." But having graduated to the upper-middle-class suburbs, they have become acutely sensitive to such suburban problems as metropolitan planning, community development, transportation, better education, and tax reform. They are, moreover, cosmopolitans who are "issue-oriented," and who thus place high priority on matters affecting civil rights, civil liberties, and national and international affairs. To all their problems and interests the "managerial progressives" are anxious to apply the premises of rationality, efficiency, organization, and *expertise* that they have imbibed in their training and employment in the universities, professional offices, and laboratories that permeate the state's socioeconomic structure. In general their allies are the remnants of the now-mellowed patrician elite. Their antagonists are the old-fashioned core city Democrats who remain steeped in the more ethnic, personalized, localized, decentralized, and provincial political attitudes of a bygone era and who appear to have struck up an alliance with their old enemies, the yeomen, in a final defense of their entrenched political position. Litt's evidence shows, however, that the relative political importance of the core cities has declined drastically since 1945, and the outcome of recent gubernatorial elections indicates the growing strategic influence of the suburban-managerial fourth culture. Time, he concludes, is on its side.

The points summarized above are obscured, unfortunately, in a mire of political science jargon, which suggests that perhaps it is time for historians to get to work on the story of postwar industrial area politics in order to tell it in more comprehensible language. Nevertheless, when they do, they should find Litt's book useful and suggestive.

*Rutgers University*

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

## THE PRESIDENT WORE SPATS: A BIOGRAPHY OF GLENN FRANK.

By *Lawrence H. Larsen*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1965. Pp. ix, 198. \$4.50.)

GLENN Frank, president of the University of Wisconsin from 1925 through 1936, wore spats. He also wore bewilderment caused by being a businessman-president after the brief heyday of that vogue had virtually expired, and, to boot, by serving a liberal state university dominated by the La Follettes. Lawrence Larsen paints Frank's portrait in stronger language, however: "above all he was a promoter, a suave and articulate salesman who was at his best when he had an audience before him. Had he chosen to do so, he could probably have parlayed a vacant lot into a metropolis or a pushcart into a vast corporation. He chose instead to promote an even less promising commodity: a poor boy from a tiny hamlet in northeastern Missouri—himself." Larsen's short, lively biography traces the rise and fall of this boy from Missouri, from his early years as a "boy evangelist," through his work as a student and as an alumni promoter at Northwestern, as an aid to Boston philanthropist Edward A. Filene, as editor of the *Century*, to the presidential chair at Madison. He paints him as a spokesman for a "business-oriented Social Gospel," as a booster in the best Sinclair Lewis tradition. The picture that emerges is that of an academic Elmer Gantry.

One might well question the exuberance of Larsen's demolishing portrait, for behind many of the details of Frank's life the note of bewilderment occurs and reoccurs. He never quite fitted in any role (even the boy evangelist had to grow up). Although he was superficially in the mainstream, perhaps he was really on the edges of Boston society, of the New York intellectual community, and, particularly, of the community at Madison. He tried, unquestionably, to adapt and to shake the image of a booster, and, on at least one instance—the risky appointment of Alexander Meiklejohn and the creation of Experimental College—he ran quite out of his supposed type. But he never fitted, as his spats and his misunderstanding of the academic community attest. Perhaps his last planned career, that of politician, would have been more congenial, but this was snuffed out by an automobile accident late in 1940.

While Larsen's portrait is possibly overdrawn, his sprightly, well-documented biography conveys the liveliness of Frank. Fortunately for much of the present academic community, Frank's manners and maneuvers seem quaint and far away. *Requiescat in pace.*

*Harvard University*

THEODORE R. SIZER

THE POVERTY OF ABUNDANCE: HOOVER, THE NATION, THE DEPRESSION. By *Albert U. Romasco*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 282. \$6.00.)

DURING the past decade or so we have had a series of volumes of varying quality dealing with some phase of the Hoover administration. Among the better-known are those by Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression*; Murray N. Rothbard, *America's Great Depression*; and John K. Galbraith, *The Great Crash, 1929*. With the exception of Galbraith's well-written and percep-

tive study of the crash, which of course is only a part of the bigger story, these studies fall far short of furnishing us with a definitive account. As a consequence, some have hoped that Albert U. Romasco's *The Poverty of Abundance* would at least fill a major portion of this need.

The theme of the book is hardly a novel one: Hoover tried to do something about the depression, and it is wrong to label him as "a do-nothing President." The author seeks to build up his argument by presenting a brief sketch of Hoover's philosophy and methods, the business leadership of the nation, agriculture, the banking structure, social welfare, unemployment, and, finally, the relations of Hoover with Congress, the press, and other agencies. He also seeks to explain how the leaders of the nation, following the suggestions of the President, managed the economic institutions of the land in the face of the worst economic disaster in history. He characterizes Hoover's program as "a new beginning, and most beginnings tend to be halting, groping, and modest. They tend also to follow closely the pattern of convention. . . ." And who was to blame? Private as well as public leaders—the heads of the economic institutions of the country as well as Hoover. One can hardly take issue with this judgment.

But one can take issue with the author for failing to use some of the excellent secondary sources written by men who had expert knowledge in banking, agriculture, labor, and related fields. It is here that the weaknesses of the book stand out. Romasco is correct in placing some of the blame on the institutional leaders, but he is incorrect in not telling the uninformed something about these institutions, what their strengths and weaknesses were, and why their leadership was unable to respond favorably. His treatment of the banking structure and the problems faced by the bankers contains very little of the wealth of material available on the Federal Reserve System. In agriculture the writings of Joseph S. Davis, Murray Benedict, and E. G. Nourse could have been used to greater advantage. Nor does he display real understanding of the labor movement, its structural weaknesses, and its leadership. Acquaintance with the works of the specialists in these and other areas would have aided Romasco in making a more judicious use of his primary sources, provided him with a more profound understanding of the economic institutions of the country, and helped explain why their leaders were ineffective in responding to the needs of the hour.

We can, however, thank the author for his efforts in a period that merits the attention of more research historians. His book is readable and reflects some painstaking work. Perhaps he is pursuing his studies further and at some future date will furnish us with a good historical analysis of those economic institutions that should have been included in this initial study.

*University of California, Los Angeles*

THEODORE SALOUTOS

THE FINANCIAL ROLE OF INDIANA IN WORLD WAR II. By *Bernard Friedman*. [Indiana University Social Science Series, Number 23; Indiana in World War II, Volume VII.] (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1965. Pp. x, 267. \$5.50.)

As depression gave way to wartime boom, Indiana (as the rest of the country) was confronted with an array of new economic adjustments in the 1940's. National

policies to cope with inflation and labor shortages were not readily formulated or accepted.

Friedman succeeds in placing the battles over economic policy within the context of the New Deal and its opposition; often the weapons were perennial issues and slogans. Thus, Hoosier conservatives favored financing defense expenditures through lower income tax exemptions, wider use of sales taxes, and reduced civilian programs, while New Deal partisans were reluctant to restrict consumption levels. According to the author, "wartime taxes played a limited part in checking inflation," so that Indiana's \$1,080 per capita disposable personal income in 1946 was worth only \$713 measured in 1940 purchasing power (still an improvement over the actual 1940 figure of \$540). While such data as real increases in per capita income both during and after the war (a 22 per cent rise between 1945 and 1950) can be significant, much remains to be done in assessing the welfare of specific economic groups, to follow the author's valid theme of "what price war?"

Friedman does not neglect the mobilization of Indiana's industrial capacity, finding that little private capital moved into war production. Consequently, the federal government's assumption of construction costs and various forms of subsidy, as well as the application of rationing, price controls, and payroll savings, gave further evidence to the changing nature of American capitalism. Herein lies the book's major worth: it contributes to the national picture a significant case study of one state's experience with OPA, war loan drives, and the burdens of boom. The method here is primarily narrative and descriptive rather than analytical, somewhat fragmented rather than tightened by a theoretical framework. But this, perhaps, is the basis for some of its virtues: unusually good writing in a monographic publication; interesting anecdotal details (such as the conflict of piety and patriotism causing the demise of "Bond Sunday"), and attention to political as well as economic considerations. A wealth of sources was ably utilized, including newspapers, governmental reports, and business records. It speaks well for the Indiana series.

*Paterson State College*

JOSEPH BRANDES

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume VI, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State Publication 7848.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1965. Pp. ix, 869. \$3.25.)

THIS impeccably edited volume concludes the series' coverage on the American republics in 1943. It includes State Department documents dealing with sixteen nations, from Colombia to Venezuela.

Always basic to an understanding of foreign policy, these State Department materials highly illuminate the continuing effects of global war on the inter-American system; they also make clear why historians must look beyond them. Frequent references to the activities of government agencies such as the Board of Economic Warfare, the Defense Supplies Corporation, and the Export-Import Bank are important reminders that in 1943 American foreign policy often represented a continuation of the war by other means.

By 1943 the United States, no longer fearful of an Axis invasion of the New

World, was changing the emphasis of its hemispheric diplomacy. Military cooperation was still desirable, especially with Caribbean countries and Brazil, but other goals now received more attention. Special efforts were made to gain implementation of the 1942 Rio agreements calling for the elimination of financial transactions aiding the Axis. Various proposals sought to increase and to assure Latin America's production of strategic materials. Pooling arrangements for shipping and the supply of oil could be effective, the US maintained, only if Latin America exercised restraint and kept its requests down to peacetime levels.

The Latin American nations dealt with in this volume were generally cooperative, but had their own problems and demands in 1943. They welcomed technical assistance and sought Export-Import Bank loans to assist economic development; some asked for weapons obviously intended to keep domestic order.

Its concern for security in the hemisphere increasingly led the US to move beyond earlier definitions of the Good Neighbor policy. American diplomats cooperated with whatever governments were in power, to be sure, since stability and order were essential. But many experienced policy makers recognized and encouraged the new concerns of inter-American cooperation. Under the aegis of the inter-American system, by 1943 American diplomacy was beginning to move effectively on new terrain as Europe's influence in Latin America receded. After 1945, of course, things were to be different. It is clear, in retrospect, that when the US assumed its responsibilities as a world power on behalf of Western Europe after the war, it also should have continued those begun in cooperation with Latin America during the war.

*Williams College*

RUSSELL H. BASTERT

**ECONOMIC ADVICE AND PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP: THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS.** By *Edward S. Flash, Jr.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965. Pp. x, 382. \$8.95.)

THE burdens and the powers of the President of the United States have led Congress to establish various executive agencies or offices designed to aid the President in the decision-making process. The Bureau of the Budget played a vital role during the New Deal and World War II as a fact-finding and advisory body. But its public image and functions limited the scope of its activities. At the end of World War II widespread fears of a great depression induced Congress to pass the Employment Act of 1946 in an effort to avert such a disaster. This act established the President's Council of Economic Advisers and the Joint Economic Committee to give expert economic analysis and counsel to the President and Congress, respectively, so that they might better avoid a prolonged depression and provide for high-level economic growth and stability.

In 1961 a compact and useful study, *The President's Council of Economic Advisers* by E. Ray Canterbury, appeared, but seems to have attracted little notice. It is not even cited in the bibliography of Flash's work. Without doubt, however, Flash began and completed his research independently of Canterbury. He exploited manuscript sources at the Harry S. Truman Library and interviewed key government officials in a manner that Canterbury could not match. His book

focuses on the relationship between expert economic knowledge and the political power wielded by the President; it is a genuine contribution to the study of the presidential decision-making process and is sufficiently broad to illuminate the council's relations with Congress, the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board, and the Bureau of the Budget.

Flash examines the contribution made to presidential decision making by the council under three of its chairmen. Leon H. Keyserling served as spokesman and guide of the Truman administration for the expansionist, anti-inflation policies of the Fair Deal and the defensive Korean War mobilization measures of June 1950–December 1951. Arthur F. Burns persuaded Eisenhower and his conservative cabinet to counteract the 1953–1954 recession through tax revision, housing, unemployment insurance, public works, and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies. Walter W. Heller was responsible for winning Kennedy and the Treasury to accept, and eventually get Congress to enact, a program of increased spending and substantial tax reduction designed to combat a recession and to stimulate economic growth.

The historical narrative ends with a brief account of the council's concern with civil rights, the antipoverty program, the Cuban missile crisis, and new guides to wage rates for labor-management negotiations in the period before Kennedy's tragic assassination. Little attention is devoted to Gardner Ackley, who succeeded Heller as chairman of the council in November 1964. Perhaps later Flash should examine the council's role in aiding Johnson to achieve the Great Society while carrying on war in South Vietnam.

The political historian and scientist will regard this study as a scholarly and politically sophisticated volume. The economic historian may regret that some of the economic analysis was not more extended when revolutionary economic proposals of the council were considered.

*Rutgers University*

SIDNEY RATNER

#### DECADE OF FEAR: SENATOR HENNINGS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES.

By *Donald J. Kemper*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1965. Pp. xi, 252. \$5.95.)

Books on those United States senators who displayed both outstanding courage and political effectiveness should, henceforth, include a chapter on Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri. In a thorough study of his ten-year senatorial career, Donald J. Kemper reminds us that Hennings "contributed as much as any single public figure to McCarthy's decline in power." Hennings also fought the ubiquitous loyalty oaths and security investigations of the 1950's, and when the Supreme Court issued a series of decisions defending individual rights, he led the congressional defense of the Court. Perhaps because of Hennings' distaste for personal publicity, his role has been overlooked.

Hennings' consistent fight to protect civil liberties was extraordinarily effective because of the respect he quickly won from rather conservative senior senators. Kemper's inadequate explanation of this phenomenon is one of the book's few weaknesses. Two years after he entered the Senate, Hennings obtained posts on the crucial Rules and Judiciary Committees; he was elevated to Democratic floor

leader, to the thirteen-man Steering Committee, and to the powerful Democratic Policy Committee. The importance of the last assignment is conveyed by the names of the other members: Lyndon Johnson, Richard Russell, Earle Clements, Carl Hayden, Lister Hill, Theodore Green, Robert Kerr, and James Murray. Although Hennings could not have been appointed to the Policy Committee without Johnson's sponsorship, the relationship between the two men is explored only briefly.

Kemper's book is about as well documented as such recent history can be, considering that the papers of Truman, Eisenhower, and most other important political figures of the era are unavailable. The author, however, left virtually untapped the unique source available to students of recent history: many of the principals are still alive and responsive to questions about events that occurred less than a generation ago.

Kemper seems to shrink from connecting Hennings' actions with his personality traits. At several points we find Hennings dropping a fight on the verge of victory, or compromising unnecessarily. Not until the next to the last page does the author casually inform us of the senator's "frequent lapses into lethargy or boredom, and his periodic bouts with alcoholism." These disclosures arouse doubts about the motives Kemper assigns and to some of Hennings' actions as well as his occasionally puzzling inaction. We are also left with the chilling possibility that despite the constitutional safeguards designed to protect senators against temporary popular enthusiasms, the one powerful senator who consistently fought in the open for civil liberties during the 1950's did so partly because he was apathetic about the political consequences.

*Princeton University*

STANLEY COBEN

CANADA'S PAST AND PRESENT: A DIALOGUE. Edited by *Robert L. McDougall*. [Our Living Tradition, Fifth Series.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press in association with Carleton University. 1965. Pp. xii, 179. \$5.95.)

THIS volume continues the publication of public lectures on certain Canadians, some famous and some less well known, sponsored by the Institute of Canadian Studies of Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. This collection includes lectures on William Lyon Mackenzie King, Louis Riel, Paul-Émile Borduas, O. D. Skelton, Charles Mair, Louis Fréchette, and Sir William Osler.

In the introduction the editor says that he found it impossible to read these lectures closely in this year of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism "without being aware of the French fact which runs through them like a scarlet thread." That is one reason for the inclusion of two lectures by Mason Wade on Olivar Asselin, not part of the "Canadian Studies" series, but presented at Carleton University on another occasion. Although a public lecture is not the place in which to present a piece of original scholarly research, each lecture does give a fresh viewpoint and adds to our understanding of its subject. One might imagine also that the better known a figure is the less a short lecture can contribute. In spite of this limitation, however, David M. Hayne presents a compre-

hensive and critical evaluation of Fréchette, poet, politician, and journalist. In the same way Wilder Penfield, in what the editor calls a "frankly and lovingly impressionistic" sketch of Osler, presents a warm and poignant picture. King's idea of political leadership is described by Blair Neatby. Believing "that the essence of parliamentary government was collective responsibility" King tried to arrive at "the consensus of Cabinet," or at least his understanding of it. Jean Éthier-Blais draws a portrait of Borduas, "an innovator in painting and a social reformer," who brought to Canada "a creed which had been accepted by most important painters in Europe and America" for many years. Certainly the most significant contribution in the volume is Wade's two lectures on Asselin. They not only give Asselin his place as "a precursor of present-day Canadian Nationalism," but also put him in perspective with Henri Bourassa and Abbé Groulx. Indeed, Wade does more for Bourassa than André Laurendeau did for Asselin in his lecture on Bourassa presented in the fourth series of *Our Living Tradition*. George Stanley and W. A. Mackintosh deal sympathetically with Riel and Skelton, respectively. John Matthews finds in Mair the dichotomy of Canada: one face "conservative, almost impassive," the other "compromise."

*University of Western Ontario*

JAMES J. TALMAN

#### AWAKENING CONTINENT: THE LIFE OF LORD MOUNT STEPHEN.

Volume I, 1829-91. By *Heather Gilbert*. (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press. 1965. Pp. xiii, 314. £2.)

Mrs. Gilbert's book on Lord Mount Stephen is a revision of her thesis written in the University of London. It draws heavily on the Stephen letters in the Macdonald Papers at Ottawa. Apart from the footnotes, there is no bibliography, and many of the important books relevant to the subject are not mentioned.

The book is mainly a study of the financing of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Stephen having been, above all, a "financial wizard." The major interest of the book probably lies not so much in the detail as in the incidental glimpses of the character and motives of Stephen. This is secured indirectly, for Gilbert has practically nothing to say of it. In the 1880's Stephen and his associates, such as Donald Smith and William Van Horne, were regarded by many Canadians as wealthy monopolists, exploiters of the public purse, typical robber barons. Time has softened the harshness of that picture, and most people would probably now agree that the CPR, important in making Canada a nation, meant "blood, toil, tears and sweat" to the men who built it. This book confirms the verdict, for it is hard to read these extracts from the personal and confidential letters Stephen wrote to Macdonald without admitting his devotion to his cause and to his adopted country. At the same time it must be said that Stephen ended his life of railway building with wealth and honors. The author does not go into the circumstances surrounding the granting of his title, but it would be interesting to know if the Canadian government were involved. Nor does she, in so many words, explain the sources of his wealth. Her attitude is generally uncritical.

The book at once suggests certain general points to the historian. One of these is that the Liberals of the 1870's and 1880's could not possibly have built a nation. Another reflection involves the detail and delay of government red tape, and a



third is how different the current scene must always look to insiders and outsiders. And another, especially for Canadians, is the ineffable bliss of those fortunate enough to have been born of poor parents in a poor Scottish village and sent forth to fight life with the most meager of educations!

Within its limits this is a useful, competent book.

Queen's University

ARTHUR LOWER

LES INSTITUTEURS LAÏQUES AU CANADA FRANÇAIS, 1836-1900. By  
*André Labarrère-Paulé*. (Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval. 1965. Pp.  
xviii, 471. \$10.00.)

THIS is M. Labarrère-Paulé's second excursion into the subject of the lay teacher in the Quebec educational system in the nineteenth century. His earlier work, *Les laïques et la presse pédagogique au Canada français au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1963), was an examination of the educational publications of French-Canadian lay teachers. In his new work he turns his attention directly to the teachers, examining their origins, education, teaching methods, difficulties, and, above all, their decline. While this new book repeats some of the material presented in the earlier work, and argues almost exactly the same thesis, it remains a useful and exhaustive study of an important facet of the educational and cultural milieu of Quebec in the last century.

The essence of the story is revealed in two sets of figures. In 1836 the proportion of *instituteurs laïques* in Quebec education was 96 per cent; by 1900 the figure had fallen to 57 per cent with the percentage of *religieux* increasing accordingly. But, in the author's view, the story was even more bleak than these figures suggest, for many of the remaining *laïcs* had come to terms with the demands of the Church for an educational system controlled by the clergy. "Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, le Canada français a évolué à l'inverse du monde moderne," the author concludes. The explanation for this change has several facets, but all lead back to the same source: the Church. By 1864, the year of the Syllabus of Errors, the forces of clerical conservatism were prepared to assume control over the Quebec educational structure. Gradually, under the leadership of such ultramontane bishops as Monsignor Lafèche, the Church began to replace the lay teachers. Part of the stimulus for this movement came from the reactionary policies of Pius IX, part from a fear of French influences of the Jules Ferry type, and part from the mounting criticism of Catholic schools in English Canada. Thus the decline of the lay teacher in Quebec ran parallel with the growth of a conservative and clerical nationalism there at the end of the nineteenth century.

On the whole the author's analysis is convincing and revealing. His own anticlericalism, however, is evident on almost every page. A few decades ago an English Canadian expressing Labarrère-Paulé's sentiments about the part played by the Church in education in Quebec would have been viewed with grave suspicion by many French Canadians. This book, then, in addition to being a useful piece of history, is an interesting gauge of the new climate of opinion. It deserves to be widely read by all students of French Canada.

University of Toronto

RAMSAY COOK

LAURIER: THE FIRST CANADIAN. By *Joseph Schull*. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1965. Pp. 658. \$10.00.)

MR. Schull's biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is not primarily a work of scholarship; nor is it simply a vulgarization of academic research carried out by others. Perhaps the fact that it falls between these two categories explains the unsatisfied feeling left after reading the book. The author has done some research and, where possible, has made use of the fruits of others' labors: studies of Laurier's intriguing relationship with Madame Lavergne by Professor Marc LaTerreur, and of Laurier's management of his party's affairs in Quebec by Professor H. B. Neatby. But on the whole what emerges is the Laurier depicted forty years ago in O. D. Skelton's official *Life*.

To some extent this result is due to the slow pace of Canadian scholarship in the crucial decades of Laurier's career. Much remains to be done for the first time, and a good deal of revision is necessary on what has been done. Schull cannot be judged too harshly for failing to do what other scholars have left largely untouched. But failure also results in some measure from the author's decision to concentrate on the issue that troubles Canadians most today: French-English relations. Thus while all the great "racial crises" are given full treatment, the problems related to the material development of the country—railways, tariff, immigration—are ignored or treated superficially. Considerable space is devoted to imperial relations, but Schull has advanced here little beyond the Liberal apologetics of Skelton and J. W. Dafoe.

The least satisfactory aspect of the book is the result of the author's division of labor: of some six hundred pages, only about two hundred are devoted to Laurier's years in office. Yet it is Laurier in office, Laurier the politician, about whom we are most anxious to learn more. The result, then, of both the issues that are emphasized and the periods that are stressed, is that the picture that is painted of Laurier is the familiar, wartless one of Sir Salalahad. The Machiavelli, who Dafoe rightly insisted was also part of Laurier's complex personality, remains obscure. Therefore, while Schull has written an attractive, often exciting, sometimes illuminating, and always sympathetic account of the "First Canadian," he has not really explained the master politician's success.

*University of Toronto*

RAMSAY COOK

BARTOLOMÉ ARZÁNS DE ORSÚA Y VELA'S HISTORY OF POTOSÍ.

By *Lewis Hanke*. [Brown University Bicentennial Publication.] (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1965. Pp. xiv, 81. \$4.00.)

As part of its bicentennial celebration, Brown University is publishing the voluminous *History of Potosí* written in the eighteenth century by Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela and completed by his son. The three volumes of the history will have an extensive introduction by Lewis Hanke and Gunnar Mendoza, but all material, including studies in the appendix, will be in Spanish. For the reader restricted to English, Hanke and Brown University offer a relatively short introduction in this volume, based upon the Colver Lectures of 1965 and characterized by the looser movement of material prepared for a wider public.

The plan of Hanke's English volume is simple. An initial chapter sketches briefly some major aspects of Spanish reporting and writing of the history of the New World in the sixteenth century and ends with a review of colonial histories of Potosí, including some comment on Arzáns. A second chapter deals with the life and intellectual equipment of Arzáns, the discussion of sources and influences constituting another sketch of historiography but one more directly linked to the *History of Potosí*. A third chapter selects striking aspects of the history of Potosí as described by Arzáns for notice and comment; the illustrations throughout, which are copies of plans in the *History*, fulfill the same function. The content of the history of Potosí is indicated by an appendix that gives the chapter headings of the *History* in English translation with the volume and page numbers of the three-volume edition. From the headings it is clear that Arzáns wrote what is essentially a chronicle in sixteenth- or seventeenth-century style rather than history in the new style then evolving in the eighteenth century.

Specialists will probably prefer the fuller treatment in Spanish, but others will be grateful for this sketch in English. The book itself is strikingly handsome in paper, typography, and binding.

University of California, Berkeley

WOODROW BORAH

CÉDULAS DE LA MONARQUÍA ESPAÑOLA RELATIVAS A LA PARTE ORIENTAL DE VENEZUELA (1520-1561). Compiled with a preliminary study by *Enrique Otte*. (Caracas: Edición de la Fundación John Boulton, Fundación Eugenio Mendoza y Fundación Shell. 1965. Pp. lv, 425.)

THIS volume is the sixth in a valuable series in which royal cédulas concerning Spanish colonization of the territories included in the present republic of Venezuela are being published. The materials presented in the volume, from the *Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla*, include cédulas regarding the early, unsuccessful efforts to settle regions of the vast and difficult lands of northeastern South America that later fell to other nations, as well as territory now within the limits of Venezuela. By far the major portion of the royal provisions that appear in the volume is from three *Registros Cedularios*, but it also includes the royal dispositions relative to the authority granted to Fray Bartolomé de las Casas for his effort to colonize Paria and other documents on efforts to settle the area between the Orinoco and Amazon. A total of 315 cédulas, among grants of authority and related provisions concerning the establishment of the prospective colonies, are presented: Bartolomé de las Casas and Paria, 1520-1525; Diego de Ordás and Marañón, 1530-1532; Jerónimo de Ortal and Paria, 1533-1539; Juan de Epés, Francisco de Orellano, and Diego de Vargas and Nueva Andalucía, 1536-1537, 1544-1545, and 1559-1561, respectively.

The volume is excellently organized and printed and carefully indexed. A better reproduction of the eighteenth-century map of Nueva Andalucía and additional maps would have added luster to the work. Those whose field is not Hispanic colonial history will find that the cédulas of this volume provide a basic concept of the juridical, political, military, religious, and economic framework within which early Spanish colonization was carried out, and those in the field

will find in this volume, as well as in the others of the series, valuable and well-presented source materials.

*Alexandria, Virginia*

ROBERT S. CHAMBERLAIN

EPIDEMIC DISEASE IN MEXICO CITY, 1761-1813: AN ADMINISTRATIVE, SOCIAL, AND MEDICAL STUDY. By *Donald B. Cooper*. [Latin American Monographs, Number 3. Institute of Latin American Studies, the University of Texas.] (Austin: University of Texas Press for the Institute. 1965. Pp. x, 236. \$6.00.)

THIS pioneering book re-emphasizes that Mexico offers an abundance of valid historical subjects other than studies of heroes and villains. Cooper analyzes in depth five major epidemics of smallpox, typhus (*matlazahuatl*), and "mysterious fevers" that killed at least fifty thousand residents of Mexico City from 1761 through 1813. In each segment of the rigidly outlined book he has sought diligently to identify the culprits that caused or allowed those devastations. His indictments are impressive.

The swampy lake site of Mexico City proved to be an insurmountable sanitation problem, no single official of the city took primary authority for health measures, great numbers of hungry Mexicans crowded into unsanitary districts, and medical knowledge of the period was disastrously inadequate. The city was characteristically filthy: Lake Texcoco and city canals served as sewers for garbage and excrement; hogs and dogs rooted decaying corpses from shallow graves; and odorous interments in city churches polluted the air.

As the epidemics occurred, responsible people of the city accepted their duty to aid the destitute sick. Viceroy, *audiencia*, *cabildo*, *protomedicado*, and Church joined in uncoordinated battle against disease and its attendant hardships. Forced contributions from the affluent provided rude charity to the afflicted; Viceroy Branciforte even tapped sacrosanct royal funds in 1797. Authorities set crews to cleaning the nauseating canals and streets. But their efforts were palliative at best, and the extemporized organization that fought the epidemics lapsed with the end of the immediate emergency, to be activated again only when the death carts signaled the beginning of another disaster.

The author has researched his subject from excellent raw materials with care and perception, but I must quarrel mildly with a major conclusion. His ranking of "the causes of the outbreaks" as administrative, social, and medical seems precisely reversed. Maladministration could hardly cause an outbreak when neither the germ nor the carrier of disease was known. Criticism notwithstanding, this book is a solid contribution to a field previously neglected. The Mexicanist's shelf will be incomplete without it.

*University of Houston*

JACK A. HADDICK

EL CONSULADO DE BUENOS AIRES Y SUS PROYECCIONES EN LA HISTORIA DEL RÍO DE LA PLATA. In two volumes. By *Germán O. E. Tjark*s. Foreword by *Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois*. [Publicaciones del Instituto de Historia Argentina "Doctor Emilio Ravignani," Numbers 103 and 104.]

([Buenos Aires:] Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. [1962.] Pp. 467; 479-971.)

READERS of these two volumes will find a detailed and thoroughly documented study of the *consulado* of Buenos Aires that at times almost expands into a commercial history of the La Plata viceroyalty. Tjarks sets as his goal the reasoned and objective examination of the sources on the *consulado*, and in this he succeeds.

The first five chapters narrate the founding of the *consulado* and detail the internal organization and functioning of that body. The author then deals topically with numerous aspects of the *consulado's* impact on the history and economic development of the La Plata area. For example, he examines the institution's role in defending Buenos Aires against the English, its actions in opening new commercial routes, and its efforts toward port construction, facilitation of commerce, industrial and agricultural development, and assisting education.

Perhaps the most significant subjects treated concern the *consulado's* activities during the critical and uncertain period from 1790 on, when it sought to protect the interests of Buenos Aires in the rapidly shifting struggle between England, Spain, and France. The reader can see here the emergence of an articulate, local, commercial community increasingly alienated by the intransigence of the Cádiz monopolists and tempted by the growing weakness of the mother country.

The topical orientation of the work and its very comprehensiveness confront the reader with a considerable problem. It is difficult to keep the threads of so many topics and their causal and chronological connections in mind. In spite of the author's cross references, the topics tend to become compartmentalized, and the total historical picture can be seen only with much effort on the part of the reader. The book is based, in great part, on archival material, and footnoting and bibliography are thorough. There are an appendix of the personnel of the *consulado* and other interesting documents, as well as illustrations of the plans of the various public works sponsored by it. There is, however, no index.

To summarize, this is a thoroughly researched and carefully prepared work that amasses a notable body of information on the *consulado* and shows the importance of that institution in the development of colonial Argentina.

Brigham Young University

GEORGE M. ADDY

BY REASON OR FORCE: CHILE AND THE BALANCING OF POWER IN SOUTH AMERICA, 1830-1905. By *Robert N. Burr*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXVII.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1965. Pp. 322. \$7.00.)

A HALF decade ago President Jorge Alessandri of Chile, aware that his hard-pressed nation could ill afford to engage in an arms race with Peru, sought unsuccessfully to promote agreements that would have reduced military expenditures in his country and in neighboring republics. During 1965 there were angry diplomatic exchanges between Chile and Argentina over their disputed border. Although obviously not written with these recent developments in mind, this volume provides much information relevant to their nineteenth-century antecedents, and

in doing so serves to recall once again the continuing influence of the past upon contemporary Latin America.

This is a pioneer work in the sense that it is the first major study of South American international relations to use an approach that has proved fruitful in European and US diplomatic history. Professionals will appreciate the thoroughness of the author's scholarship, his careful documentation, especially of archival materials, and his successful effort at objectivity in a field notorious throughout Latin America for its lack of objectivity.

Some attention is given to the conditions under which Chile attained national stability, but essentially the study details how, during the nineteenth century, that country affected and was affected by the development first of regional power politics and later of continental power politics in South America. The author builds his case by treating in basically chronological order dozens of international incidents involving Chile and its neighbors. The volume establishes beyond doubt that Chilean diplomats took good advantage of their nation's political stability and its relative economic well-being to enhance Chile's commercial and strategic pre-eminence. Although Professor Burr might demur, for me his presentation often casts Chile's leaders more in the role of aggressors than peacemakers and shows them as unwilling to sacrifice any parcel of Chilean sovereignty as the price of stability in the area.

From the above it should be apparent that I doubt that the author can be seriously criticized by anyone who accepts the approach to diplomatic history that he chose to follow in this volume. But I am not convinced that his approach is necessarily the most valid one. With this in mind and also with awareness that I am supposed to deal with what was written, not with what I would have had the author write, I still feel compelled to note three areas where the volume might have been strengthened: had it placed less reliance upon official sources and more upon memoirs, newspapers, and literary works; had it related Chile's changing power position more closely to the socioeconomic transformation that the republic and its neighbors were undergoing during the post-1875 era; and had Burr given us more of his own thinking on the justice of the claims of the various contenders in the disputes he discusses. No one is better qualified to make such judgments.

Stanford University

JOHN J. JOHNSON

THE SÁNCHEZ NAVARROS: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF A COAHUILAN LATIFUNDIO, 1846-1853. By *Charles H. Harris III*. [William P. Lyons Master's Essay Award 1963.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 127. \$3.50.)

THIS monograph is based on the Sánchez Navarro family papers which now repose in the Latin American Collection of the University of Texas Library. Subjects covered include the successful efforts of the Sánchez Navarros to protect the integrity of their properties during the Mexican War; management of the several haciendas that comprised the *latifundio*; production and marketing of sheep, the principal product; miscellaneous information on high lights in the life of the workers; the social activities of the owners; and depredations made by wild Indians on herds belonging to the haciendas.

The author concludes that the Sánchez Navarro holdings exhibited several of the characteristics of the nineteenth-century hacienda in northern Mexico, including territorial extent and diversity, debt peonage as a form of labor organization, economic self-sufficiency, and a stratified internal social structure. He observes, however, that the properties were managed efficiently and effectively as a capitalistic enterprise rather than as a source of social status.

Mr. Harris' work provides a sense of unfulfilled expectations. The Sánchez Navarro properties are not examined in relation to more general or theoretical treatments of Spanish American or Mexican *latifundios*, and the several chapters do not fit into any discernible conceptual scheme. The methodology relies on presenting selected samples of data to illustrate general observations rather than on systematic collation and analysis of sources. The volume is certainly a better than average master's essay, but the subject is so promising that one hopes that Harris will go back to the manuscripts and provide us with a more extended and systematic treatment of the Sánchez Navarro *latifundio*.

University of Florida

L. N. McALISTER

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH! THE STORY OF THE PARAGUAYAN WAR. By Charles J. Kolinski. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1965. Pp. xvi, 236. \$6.50.)

In a timely parallel to the US Civil War and its centenary, this study publicizes for the first time in English the drama of South America's major international conflict of the nineteenth century. Sprinkled with anecdotes, this lively review of the build-up, the major campaigns, and the virtual annihilation of Paraguay is taken entirely from secondary works and published sources and as such has particular merit for the military historian and the nonspecialist in Latin American history. Nothing is startlingly new in Kolinski's presentation, but he has put order in a complex decade of political and military history and in a fashion that will make sense to those uninitiated in personalities and currents of Río de la Plata politics—no mean feat.

Disappointing to the specialist, however, particularly in a work based on doctoral investigation, is the absence of archival research or even a thorough survey of printed sources. Examination of the content and footnotes reveals that the work has been constructed almost entirely on the basis of a dozen contemporary accounts of the war and several historical studies. Missing are Argentine and Brazilian legislative debates or ministerial reports, dispatches from British and US representatives now available on microfilm, and specialized collections of correspondence such as the *Archivo del Coronel Doctor Marcos Paz* or *Correspondencia Mitre-Elizalde*.

Kolinski's approach is chronological. Each country, situation, or major personality is introduced with several pages or paragraphs of general description. The author devotes considerable effort to setting the scene; particularly effective is the chapter "Arms and Armies," where he carefully analyzes the military capabilities of each country. Following seventy pages of background, Kolinski develops the major focus of his study: the first flush of the Paraguayan offensive, the formation and consolidation of the allied forces, and the bitter campaigns leading to the abandonment of Paraguay's major fortress, Humaitá, in early 1868. The

final hunting down of López in 1869-1870 climaxes this war of "independence or death." The work concludes with a brief but suggestive forecast of the war's effect on the participants. Within this framework Kolinski has stressed two major themes: the heroic and desperate resistance of Paraguay fighting for national survival, and the force and determination of Brazil to crush López and perhaps Paraguay itself. Despite the polemical and partisan nature of his sources, Kolinski has maintained admirable balance and objectivity. One hopes that, having developed the broad view from readily available sources, he will continue his investigations of this fascinating era into the archives and government publications.

Indiana University

JAMES R. SCOBIE

HISTÓRIA E HISTORIADORES DO BRASIL. By José Honório Rodrigues. ([São Paulo:] Fulgor. 1965. Pp. 183.)

THIS volume is composed of essays and studies written mostly in the 1950's. In them the distinguished Brazilian historian gives some of his views on the strengths and weaknesses of his country's historical writings. The first concerns Brazilian historiography and the historical process. The problem is not progressive specialization, but the lack of a connection between the historical process and historiographical thought. Contemporary history, he says, is left largely to French, American, and Soviet historians, and there is little authentic and profound research to serve as the basis of generalized syntheses. Also lacking are adequate connections between historic periods and the present. "The past illuminates the present," he writes, and "the present reveals the past."

The revolution of 1930, the modification of the economic and social structure, and the political struggles of the middle class greatly stimulated interest in Brazilian history. The "Brasiliana" series was begun in 1931, and five years later the "Documentos Brasileiros" followed. Other historical collections were begun in the same era.

Capistrano de Abreu was the first Brazilian historian to become independent of European historians, in his *Caminhos antigos e o povoamento do Brasil* (1899), and his *Capítulos da história colonial* (1907). His disciple Afonso Taunay continued the process with *História geral das bandeiras paulistas* (11 vols., 1924-50) and *História do café* (15 vols., 1939-43). The latter work was in part contemporary history. Others, such as Oliveira Vianna and Caio Prado Jr., wrote works that also came down to the present. The *Caminhos antigos* is called the most perfect synthesis in Brazilian historiography; it was for Brazilian history what F. J. Turner's *The Frontier in American History* was for United States historiography. The true viewpoint of Brazilian history is not the Atlantic Coast but the *sertão* and the roads leading to it. *Caminhos antigos* caused a modification of historical writing and methodology in Brazil.

The second part of the book deals critically with various Brazilian historians, and all of these essays are of interest and value. The last is entitled "Casa Grande & Senzala, um caminho novo no historiografia" and deals appropriately with Gilberto Freyre's famous social history of the big house and the slave quarters, "the pioneer culturalist interpretation of our history."

These essays are of interest to students of Brazilian history. Also to be con-



sidered are the author's *Historiografía del Brasil. Siglo XVI* (1957) and *Siglo XVII* (1963).

Texas Christian University

DONALD E. WORCESTER

PARTY POLITICS IN PUERTO RICO. By *Robert W. Anderson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1965. Pp. ix, 269. \$6.75.)

THIS island-wide, grass-roots, academic coverage in depth of the last twenty years of political parties in Puerto Rico is lucid, dispassionate, and thorough. This 1960 doctoral dissertation from Berkeley has been rebuilt into a solid edifice of value for Puerto Rican political scientists, historians, economists, and public officials. Similarly, it will be helpful to their overseas counterparts who study the smallest of the Greater Antilles as a bridge that some authorities feel promotes better understanding between the United States, Latin America, and other emergent societies. In a few spots the book is redundant, awkward, and resorts to borrowed metaphors, but these infrequent flaws detract little from its over-all high quality. It may contain minor factual errors, inaccurate conclusions, and misplaced emphases; they are of minimal interest to generalists, and I will not hunt them down.

The book's principal verdicts are that Puerto Rican politics is characterized by slight ideology and consistency, by multiparty consensus in favor of industrialization, adherence of the *Populares* to "the majoritarian-mandate theory," alienation preoccupations, concern with political status vis-à-vis the metropolis, and beneficent personalism as typified in Luis Muñoz Marín. It could have been pointed out that beneficence is also typified in the leader of the *Republicanos*, Luis Ferré, whose corporations are noted for their enlightened welfare programs. Professor Anderson does not neglect those who fail to conform to these characteristics, the extremely small nationalist group. Skeptics of Puerto Rico's being a developmental model, especially Mexicans, may be surprised that the author finds a striking similarity between Mexican and Puerto Rican politics. The best parts of the book are a chapter on "Conclusions" and an epilogue, on "Elections of 1964," an event marked by Muñoz Marín's becoming a senator rather than again running for governor. Other chapters concern the island's being an example or an exception, legalism, party realignments, 1940-1960, the *Populares*, the *Republicanos*, the *Independentistas*, various aspects of party organization, and the legislative process.

Fifty politicians, two key legislative officials, and other knowledgeable people supplied Anderson with data, large portions of which are summarized in eleven tables. The author is to be congratulated on his mature, articulate, and industrious professionalism. Neither this book nor Operation Bootstrap may be models, but they both have something meaningful to say.

New Haven College

BYRON WHITE

ADMINISTRATION OF A REVOLUTION: EXECUTIVE REFORM IN PUERTO RICO UNDER GOVERNOR TUGWELL, 1941-1946. By *Charles T. Goodsell*. [Harvard Political Studies.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. xv, 254. \$4.95.)

THIS study is valuable for several reasons. First, the scholarly bookshelf on Puerto Rican history and government is not large. It comprises perhaps a half-dozen mono-

graphs on the twentieth-century period, works of widely varying quality. Of course, many semischolarly and polemical books have been published about "America's Caribbean Problem Child," but most have been long on point of view and lamentably short on research and balanced perspective. It is fortunate that Goodsell investigates with coolness, and he has done his work intensively, entitling him to his clearly expressed viewpoint. Secondly, existing studies of Puerto Rico in the 1940's have concentrated on the politics of the Tugwell-Muñoz relationship, or on the economic origins of the Fomento industrialization program. The island's government and its inner workings—public administration—remained neglected. In filling this gap Goodsell meets a real need for our understanding of the Tugwell administration and the years following.

The organization is admirably clear, and major topics are well arranged. Goodsell uses just enough illustrative material to make the most of his points. I particularly admired his chapter on planning, which demonstrates how Tugwell, the professional planner, made substantial gains for the concept and reality of planning, but by no means swept the islanders off their feet. Thus whether the colonial mainland official was "anti" or "pro" Puerto Rican, the best-laid plans of any colonialist had a way of atrophying before the ingenious resistance of the Puerto Rican politicians. The chapters on civil service and budget reform are convincing and well executed.

Although the author utilized mostly primary sources, it is still a pity that the private papers of Tugwell could not be included. Goodsell interviewed Tugwell and presumably requested access to his private collection. The Governors' Papers in La Fortaleza in San Juan also remain closed. But Goodsell has ranged widely for information, making good use of interviews and more customary sources so that the scholarly integrity of his work is by no means undermined by these omissions.

It is possible, of course, to quibble with Goodsell's use of the term "revolution." However extensive the modifications of Puerto Rico's political and economic relationship with the United States, there has obviously been no basic overturning of the island's society. But change there has been, and Goodsell's excellent account of the administrative aspects tells us much that is worth knowing about Puerto Rico in the 1940's. It is a fine companion volume to Tugwell's *Stricken Land*, that brooding, diffuse, and brilliant memoir of our last Caribbean proconsul, which told us much about the governor, but relatively little about the island.

University of California, Los Angeles

FRANK OTTO GATELL

CONCILIAÇÃO E REFORMA NO BRASIL: UM DESAFIO HISTÓRICO-CULTURAL By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Retratos do Brasil, Volume XXXII.] (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira. 1965. Pp. 246.)

THE author of this interesting analysis of the defeat of the forces of reform in Brazil by those of political compromise is one of his country's most prominent historians, one of two or three known internationally. Respected for his valuable contributions to the colonial, bibliographical, and historiographical fields, Mr. Rodrigues has recently turned to historical interpretation of contemporary issues from a nationalist and Leftist viewpoint. He has attempted to give a his-

torical base to those nationalists who gained some power in early 1961, greatly increased it with the accession of Goulart to power late in the same year, and who were summarily ousted in 1964. Since he is the only serious historian, other than committed Marxists, who has thus engaged himself, his recent works have a twofold importance and require a twofold scrutiny. Aside from their merit as history, they also serve as propaganda media.

In this work he presents the thesis that Brazilian history has been a record of the snuffing out of reform movements by the politics of conciliation in which divergences between cliques of the ruling minorities have been compromised. The people, and hence the nation, have been the consistent losers.

The first section is a lengthy essay which is not documented but which has a bibliography. The second, "Theses and Antitheses," presents sixty-eight propositions previously stated in the first part. The third section consists of two essays originally published in *O Jornal do Brasil* in support of the Goulart regime's program to enfranchise the illiterate. Rodrigues, who believes that the dominant minority, whether conservative or liberal, has always been alienated, antiprogressive, antinational, and never in tune with the times, will fail to convince those who are not committed to a single-minded, progressive interpretation of Brazilian history. He presents an interesting thesis, but far greater space and documentation are needed to prove or strengthen his position. There is too much reliance on quotations or observations from Brazilian politicians who, even more than politicians elsewhere, are prone to contradict themselves as their careers lengthen. He also fails to consider deeply enough that the Brazilian political vice of *accomodismo* may not be the conscious effort of a sinister and selfish minority, but rather may be that characteristic of the Brazilian people which so distinguishes it from its Hispanic neighbors. In short, the volume is a rather brilliant tour de force that will intrigue, but not satisfy the historian.

As a political device, the volume is extremely important. Here the average Brazilian Leftist-nationalist, whose knowledge of his own history is usually abysmally simplistic, will find justification for his posturing, his lack of logic, and his overtures to political chaos.

*University of Kansas*

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

# \* \* \* Other Recent Publications \* \* \*

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# \* \* \* \* *Historical News* \* \* \* \*

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Council of the American Historical Association has been advised that the work of S. Walter Poulshock, *The Two Parties and the Tariff in the 1880's* and "The Politics of the Tariff in the 1880's," based confessedly in part upon evidence which does not exist, has been withdrawn as far as possible from circulation and that anyone attempting to use it should be advised of this.

The American Historical Association will meet at the New York Hilton Hotel at Rockefeller Center, New York City, December 28-30, 1966. William E. Leuchtenburg of Columbia University is Chairman of the Program Committee, and John F. Roche of Fordham University is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

Regular and special committees of the Association appointed by the Council at the Annual Meeting in December 1965 are:

*Committee on Ancient History.*—Chester G. Starr, University of Illinois, chairman; Paul Alexander, University of Michigan; T. R. S. Broughton, University of North Carolina.

*Committee on the Commemoration of the American Revolution Bicentennial.*—Lester Cappon, Institute of Early American History and Culture, chairman; John R. Alden, Duke University; Whitfield Bell, American Philosophical Society; Julian P. Boyd, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson; Lyman H. Butterfield, The Adams Papers; Oliver W. Holmes, National Historical Publications Commission; Alfred A. Knopf, New York City; Otis Singletary, University of North Carolina (Greensboro);\* William J. Van Schreeven, Archivist of Virginia; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, Northwestern University.

*Committee on Committees.*—Paul L. Ward, American Historical Association, chairman (ex officio); John M. Blum, Yale University;\* Donald E. Emerson, University of Washington; James C. Olson, University of Nebraska;\* Caroline Robbins, Bryn Mawr College; Hajo Holborn, Yale University (ex officio); Elmer Louis Kayser, George Washington University (ex officio); Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania (ex officio); Henry R. Winkler, *American Historical Review* (ex officio).

*Committee on Freedom of Historical Inquiry.\*\**—Arthur Bestor, University of Washington, chairman; Robert A. Gorman, University of Pennsylvania; Louis Morton, Dartmouth College.

*Committee on the Harmsworth Professorship.*—Richard Current, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Allan Nevins, Huntington Library;\* Frank Vandiver,

\* New member this year.

\*\* New committee this year.

Rice University; Frederic C. Lane, Johns Hopkins University (ex officio); Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania (ex officio).

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\* New member this year.

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*Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Award.*—Alexander DeConde, University of California (Santa Barbara), chairman; William J. Griffith, Tulane University;\* Eric Lampard, University of Wisconsin;\* Lawrence Towner, Newberry Library; David Van Tassel, University of Texas.\*

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Three committees appointed jointly by other historical associations and the American Historical Association are:

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*The Historical Association (Britain) and American Historical Association Committee on National Bias in Textbooks.*—E. H. Dance, G. R. Potter, Reginald F. Treharne (British members), and Ray A. Billington, Richard P. McCormick, Caroline Robbins (United States members).

*Organization of American Historians and American Historical Association Committee on Censorship in Textbooks.*—Boyd C. Shafer, Macalester College, chairman; W. D. Aeschbacher, Organization of American Historians; Ray A. Billington, Huntington Library; Vernon Carstensen, University of Washington; John Caughey, University of California (Los Angeles); Thomas D. Clark, University of Kentucky; John E. Dickey, Valley Station, Kentucky; John Hope Franklin, University of Chicago; Joe Frantz, University of Texas;

\* New member this year.



Erling M. Hunt, Columbia University; R. W. Patrick, University of Florida.

## LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Honorable Francis Bowes Sayre of Washington, D. C., has presented his papers to the Library of Congress. The approximately 2,500 manuscripts reflect all aspects of Sayre's long and distinguished career as teacher, diplomat, and theologian, but they illustrate primarily his service as Assistant Secretary of State (1933-1939), US High Commissioner to the Philippines (1939-1942), and United States representative to the United Nations (1947-1952). There are letters from President Franklin D. Roosevelt and from many persons prominent in his administration. The papers also include Sayre's speeches and articles and the manuscript of an autobiography.

Shortly before his death, Dr. Allen B. Du Mont, "the father of television" and developer of the cathode-ray tube, presented his papers to the Library. Du Mont conceived the technique that led to radar and, in the mid-1940's, established the first television network to carry commercial programs. The papers number about 48,000 pieces.

The papers of the late Harold Gatty, one of the foremost navigators and authorities on navigation in his time, have been received as a gift from his widow. They contain manuscript drafts of his books, *Nature Is Your Guide* (1958) and *The Raft Book* (1943), his notes for a transpacific airline, and materials on his inventions of a land speed indicator and a drift meter. Many of the papers are Gatty's research notes pertaining to the history of land and nautical navigation. Comparatively little material concerns the famous Wiley Post-Harold Gatty flight around the world in 1931.

Edward L. Bernays, who gave the name of "counsel on public relations" to the profession in which he pioneered, and Mrs. Bernays have presented their personal papers to the Library. Recording the work of more than half a century, the 250,000 items not only document Bernays' career but, because of his pre-eminence in the field, also chronicle the rise of the public relations profession. The Bernays papers are now closed.

An addition to the Library's rich A. E. Housman holdings is the Grant Richards collection, which consists mainly of papers assembled for preparation of Richards' *Housman, 1897-1936* (1942), the fullest biography to date. The collection contains much material that was omitted from the published work.

Material relating to the Civil War is included among smaller accessions. Mrs. J. W. Bortner of Baltimore, Maryland, has given some 140 papers of the Scott family of Baltimore; they include letters from Judge T. Parkin Scott to his wife, which were written during his imprisonment as a strong Confederate sympathizer, and papers of their son, John White Scott (1837-1917). Mrs. Elizabeth Lewis of Washington, D. C., has given sixty-two diary volumes kept between 1840 and 1885 by the Reverend James Thomas Ward, a Methodist minister and later president of Western Maryland College.

Recent National Archives accessions include records, 1962-1963, of Leo R. Werts, Assistant Secretary of Labor for Administration; selected parts of the files of the Office of Science and Technology, 1963; files of the Battle of New Orleans

Sesquicentennial Celebration Commission and its chairman; and the records of four outstanding ichthyologists (J. L. R. Agassiz, 1807-1873, S. F. Baird, 1823-1888, T. N. Gill, 1837-1914, and H. M. Smith, 1865-1941) associated with the Smithsonian Institution. Other accessions include miscellaneous record books of the American embassies at Port-au-Prince, 1920-1932, and Baghdad, 1889-1903; the American consulates general at Calcutta, 1928-1931, and Niagara Falls, 1905-1931; and a "Detailed List of Seamen or Mariners" by the American consulate general at Sydney, Australia, 1858-1913.

Records of the Department of State that have been microfilmed recently include Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Haiti (94 rolls) and the Dominican Republic (79 rolls); to Political Relations between the US and Haiti (2 rolls); and to Political Relations between Haiti and Other States (4 rolls). Also recently completed are Letters Sent by the Lands and Railroads Division of the Office of the Secretary of the Interior, 1849-1904 (310 rolls); and Records of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories ("Hayden Survey"), 1867-1879 (21 rolls). Military records filmed include the Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in the Veteran Reserve Corps (44 rolls); and the Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served during the Mexican War in Organizations from the State of Tennessee (15 rolls).

Recent accessions of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library are the papers, 1933-1943, of the late Herbert E. Gaston, assistant to Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., from 1933 to 1939, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury from 1939 to 1945; a small group of papers, 1915-1957, of Howard Brubaker (1882-1957), editor and writer; and records of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Committee, Inc., for 1945-1946.

The Harry S. Truman Library recently acquired the papers of Sherman Minton, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, 1949-1956, and Harold L. Enarson, Special Assistant to the Chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, 1950-1952; and additional papers of Stanley Woodward, ambassador to Canada, 1950-1953, and Stanley Andrews, Administrator, Technical Cooperation Administration, 1952-1953.

The Herbert Hoover Presidential Library was officially opened for research on March 19, 1966. Preliminary inventorying and processing of the materials deposited at the library have been completed. More than 90 per cent of the holdings have been opened, including most of President Hoover's public papers and some of his personal correspondence. Mr. Hoover's Commerce Department files have been opened, as well as some Hoover Commission materials, selected speech files, drafts and galleys of a number of books, campaign materials, and audiovisual materials.

At its meeting on March 11, 1966, the National Historical Publications Commission voted to recommend a grant to aid the letterpress publication of the papers of John C. Frémont sponsored by the University of Illinois Press. Grants were also recommended for continuing support for letterpress publication of James K. Polk's correspondence (Vanderbilt University), and the papers of Henry Clay (University of Kentucky), Ulysses S. Grant (Southern Illinois University), Jefferson Davis (Rice University), and Henry R. Schoolcraft (Wayne

State University). Continuing support was also recommended for microfilm publication projects at the Universities of North Carolina, Notre Dame, and Virginia.

Among recent accessions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin's Division of Archives and Manuscripts are the papers of William Morris Leiserson (1901-1959), Art Buchwald (1952-1964), John M. Shaw (1930-1959), and Howard K. Smith (1941-1961). Additional collections include papers of the Textile Workers Union of America (1939-1960), the United Packinghouse Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO (1941-1955), and state records from the Banking Department, the Department of Agriculture, the Governor's Commission on Human Rights, and the Department of Public Welfare (Division of Corrections).

The Michigan Historical Collections at the University of Michigan has recently catalogued 1,440 theses of the Michigan Medical School (1851-1878). These theses provide a valuable tool for the study of Victorian presuppositions and social and intellectual developments.

The Labor History Archives of Wayne State University is now the official depository for the records of the Industrial Workers of the World. Supplementing official records are the personal papers of IWW members, including Matilda Robbins and Nicolaas Steelink.

Federal Circuit Judge Warren L. Jones has donated his private collection of books, pamphlets, and writings on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War to the Louisiana State University Library.

#### RECENT DEATHS

Hoffman Nickerson of Oyster Bay, New York, a life member of the Association, died in March 1965.

H. Gresham Toole of Huntington, West Virginia, died October 27.

Richard W. Mathews of Los Angeles, California, died in January 1966.

Francis Butler Simkins, professor of history at Longwood College and a former president of the Southern Historical Association, died February 9, at the age of sixty-eight.

Joseph W. Schmitz, vice-president and dean of faculties of St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Texas, died February 16.

Mary L. Sawyer of Newton Highlands, Massachusetts, died March 7.

Elizabeth Meade Thomas of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress died April 16.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Edwards Professor of History, emeritus, at Princeton University, died April 22. He was born in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1879 and received both his B.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Virginia. Called to Princeton by Woodrow Wilson in 1910, he remained a member of the Princeton faculty until his retirement in 1947 and served from 1928 to 1936 as chairman of the history department. He was named twice to the Harmsworth Professorship of American History at Oxford, 1939-1940 and 1944-1945, and was President of the American Historical Association in 1947.

He was one of the outstanding scholars in the field of early American history. His books on colonial Virginia—*Patrician and Plebeian in Virginia, Virginia under the Stuarts*, and *Planters of Colonial Virginia*—challenged many accepted ideas about the early history of the colony and provided a solid foundation for the work of other scholars. In his three volumes on the *Founding of American Civilization* he studied the social and cultural history of the middle, southern, and New England colonies. These books gave a powerful impetus toward modifying the emphasis on political and economic history that had characterized earlier work in his field. Among his many other books were a history of Norfolk, a history of Princeton, and a monograph on Bacon's Rebellion.

His scholarship attracted many students to his graduate seminar; his lucidity of expression and his ready wit made him a popular undergraduate teacher. His kindness and encouragement persuaded many young men to enter our profession and to persevere in their work after early discouragements. His interests were broad: he was a newspaper editor, an expert on bridge, and a notable amateur architect as well as a historian. In this versatility he was a worthy representative of his beloved golden age of Virginia.

Millicent Barton Rex, head of the history department at Madeira School, Greenway, Virginia, died May 5, at the age of sixty-four.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It is ironical that the editing of the recent volume, *J. Franklin Jameson: A Tribute*, to which I was one of fourteen contributors, did not approach its subject's standard.

I yield to no one in my respect and admiration for Jameson nor in similar respect and admiration for the scholar and, incidentally, editor, Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, who reviewed the book for you (*AHR*, LXXI [Jan. 1966], 507).

This letter concerns only the editing of the volume. Without consulting this contributor the editors changed his language and his meaning, though there was ample time to send copy either in manuscript or galley to the contributor. I wrote, "Jameson was the finest historical editor the United States has known, probably one of the greatest western civilization has known." I did not write the editor's phrase, "Jameson . . . still heads our ever lengthening list of historical editors" (the phrase Professor Bemis quoted from my essay in his review). I did not write the editor's phrase, "In the belief with Croce and Collingwood that history

should or must be written [*sic*] . . .," but I wrote, "In the sense that Croce and Collingwood believed that history must or should be rewritten. . . ."

The editors made other unfortunate changes, but I do not wish to take *Review* space to list them. Editors may, on occasion, be helpful to authors. Jameson was. But an essay appearing under an author's name is the author's, and his meaning should not be changed—unless he agrees.

Macalester College

BOYD C. SHAFER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

May one utter a bleat of protest, not in behalf of an author or a book, but in behalf of an injured branch of our fraternity? In the January 1966 issue (LXXI, 603), Arnold H. Price concludes a review by charging the author with unreliability in the handling of statistics, personal names, geographic terminology, and book titles; then he closes with the words: "These defects reflect to some extent the uncertain status economic history occupies as a discipline."

The status of economic history is no more uncertain than that of many other lively disciplines or branches of disciplines. (And is a discipline always the better for real or fancied certainty of status?) At any rate, economic history is neither so primitive nor its status so mean as to induce or condone the sort of *Schlamperci* that the reviewer claims to have found. A valued colleague should not confuse self-criticism with autodefamation.

University of Oregon

VAL R. LORWIN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

If it were not for the high reputation and respect commanded by the *American Historical Review*, I would not write in regard to what is, in my view, a superficial and misleading review of my book *Plantagenet in South Africa*, being the first biography of Lord Charles Somerset, governor of the Cape of Good Hope from 1814 to 1827, which appeared in your January 1966 issue (LXXI, 638).

I am sure that you subscribe to the dictum that "while comment is free, facts are sacred," and I should, therefore, be grateful if you would allow space to correct certain important misstatements of fact made by Mr. Jeffrey Butler in his review of my book. His statement that I did not use *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Volume VIII, is totally untrue. This is substantiated on page 149 of my work, where there is an actual quotation, with acknowledgment, to this standard reference work. In stating that another standard work, *A History of Southern Africa*, by Professor Eric Walker, was not used by me, Mr. Butler intentionally or unintentionally prevaricates and misleads. I used Professor Walker's earlier work, *A History of South Africa*. This is incorporated in his revised *A History of Southern Africa*, which brings the story up to date and includes other territories such as Rhodesia, which are not relevant to the governorship of Somerset. Taken together with Mr. Butler's unfounded allegation that I did not consult *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, this misleading observation in a journal of the *Review's* standing is most serious and damaging. It certainly suggests that Mr. Butler did not read my book as thor-

oughly as he should have. And a cursory reading is in all charitableness the only explanation that I can imagine for Mr. Butler's incredible statement that "This work shows, quite unintentionally on the part of the author, the consequences of using important colonial governorships as convenient posts for the younger sons of powerful men." This fact revealed by me for the first time is so minutely related and fully documented in my book that it is inconceivable that anyone who read it properly could arrive at Mr. Butler's conclusion, which is entirely wrong. I was quite aware of the significance of the facts I obtained through exhaustive research and duly related them. If it is not a superficial reading of the work that led Mr. Butler to make this astounding and erroneous assumption, I do not know what else it could be, unless it can be put down to an unworldly naïveté, which is not an attribute one would expect of a reviewer for the *AHR*.

Lord Charles Somerset was a Tory, and maybe this is obnoxious to Mr. Butler, since he opens his review with the remark that Somerset was "one of the villains of South African history . . . about whom both Afrikaner nationalist and liberal historians can agree."

My biography, containing a large amount of source material not published or used before, including an important series of letters between one of the commissioners of inquiry and Somerset (completely ignored by Mr. Butler), is the first attempt made to present both the favorable and unfavorable aspects of Somerset's character and career, and it does unavoidably establish that his important and positive contribution to the development of South Africa has been overshadowed by the controversy that clouded the second period of his governorship.

I sincerely hope, therefore, that you will correct in your next issue Mr. Butler's misstatements, not omitting my emphatic refutation of the reference that my account of the events leading to Somerset's appointment and the consequences were unintentional. On the contrary; they were deliberate and intentional. But I differ from Mr. Butler concerning the consequences. My view of Somerset's governorship, supported on several counts by earlier historians, namely Theal and Cory, is that it was productive of much good, whereas Mr. Butler sees it in a completely different and hostile light. This is an opinion that as a reviewer he is fully entitled to express, so long as he is accurate in regard to his facts and balanced in his appraisal. Neither of these conditions, I submit, is fulfilled by Mr. Butler in his review.

*Cape Town, South Africa*

ANTHONY KENDAL MILLAR

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Mr. Millar did quote from *The Cambridge History*, but he omitted it from the bibliography and the index. Secondly, on Walker's *History*, it is customary, and fair to the author of a frequently revised work, to use the most recent edition. In a short review, however, I gave these two points more prominence than they deserve, and I apologize unreservedly for an error on a point of fact, and for one of judgment.

Mr. Millar did not use the above two works and others as a historian should. There are no summary of the state of studies and no conclusion setting out where

Millar has revised existing accounts. As a result, Mr. Millar is not aware of the significance of the facts he is using or, indeed, of the problems of establishing what those facts are. There are long quotations from primary sources with little indication of their relative reliability. For example, a laudatory but unilluminating obituary from the *Morning Post* is given in full (pp. 257-59), but we are not told why the *Post* was "always" so kind to Somerset (p. 50). Furthermore, the index and bibliography are arbitrarily constructed: the *Morning Post* is used many times and indexed once; the *Morning Chronicle*, also frequently used, is neither in the bibliography nor in the index.

Mr. Millar has misunderstood me on the issue of the "villain," and he confuses a conclusion—the matter of "consequence"—with a fact.

It is true that this work contains previously unpublished material, but that does not make it an adequate treatment of a superb subject.

Wesleyan University

JEFFREY BUTLER

#### TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Kent Forster's review of my *A History of Finland* (*AHR*, LXXXI [Jan. 1966], 592) invites three main comments. The reviewer claims that I "overstate" the case in saying that the Red revolt in 1918 was "precipitated by a handful of extremists serving an alien cause," and he suggests that I treat "lightly the considerable revolutionary unrest among war-weary workers and socialist mistrust of the Svinhufvud government." To measure war-weariness and socialist mistrust as alleged causes for the war is manifestly impossible. The basic facts, summarized on pages 216-218 are, however, quite clear. The radical Socialists set up a Central Revolutionary Committee on November 12 (nine days before the Svinhufvud cabinet was formed). The committee decided on November 16 to seize power although the decision was rescinded. And on January 19-22, 1918, the revolutionary elements obtained control of the Socialist Party Committee, as the result of successful manipulation ending in the addition of five new radical members, thus outweighing the previous majority that had been opposed to revolutionary measures. An executive committee, manned by extremists, was thereupon set up to prepare the *coup* that came on January 28.

Secondly, the reader is told that "surely the fascist overtones of the Lapuan movement [after 1930] were more than the invention of Communist propagandists." This is true, as I point out (pp. 251-52, 419). Incidentally, Communist propaganda was never necessary to reveal the fascist coloration of the movement, which was plain to any perceptive observer. The really important fact is that the political precipitate of the movement, the IKL party, never received more than 7 per cent of the seats in the national legislature, was reduced to 4 per cent of the seats after the 1939 election, and held no cabinet portfolios before the Soviet invasion of Finland on November 30, 1939.

Finally, the reviewer finds that my conclusion that the Soviet invasion of 1939 was without any provocation or justification is "an exclusively moral judgment" that ignores "amoral, conventional power considerations." I must emphatically disagree. My conclusion (pp. 383-87) has nothing to do with "moral judgment." It rests on the facts and circumstances, readily available to

the student, relating to Finland's neutral foreign policy posture before the invasion. The facts and circumstances rob Soviet justifications of the invasion of all substance and underline the purely aggressive purposes of the USSR when the attempt to take over Finland began.

*Columbia University*

JOHN H. WUORINEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Having read with considerable and respectful interest Professor Wuorinen's letter on my review of his *A History of Finland*, I offer the following comments. That a handful of extremists captured control of the Socialist Party Committee in January 1918 is not disputed, but rather that this handful instead of leading the way was carried into the civil war by Red Guardists, labor agitators, and other elements in the populace that had already engaged in violence. If this interpretation is correct, as Eino Jutikkala so deems, then precipitation of the civil war was a more popular undertaking. As for the Finnish Right in the early thirties, its fascist orientation is manifestly elusive and difficult to measure. But while Professor Wuorinen notes that the IKL leaders were "Strongly conservative or even fascist in sympathies," he concludes, "Communists outside of Finland and their supporters made much of the events of 1930-33. They saw in the anti-Communist movement an embodiment of militant fascism and in the parliamentary legislation of these years the blackest kind of reaction that could but mean the triumph of dictatorship over democracy so long as the legislation barring Communists remained in force. The events of 1933 repudiated this view." While there is no dissent from the last part of the quotation, its first assertions leave the impression that the Lapua and Patriotic People's Movements were militantly fascist and reactionary only in the Communist view.

With regard to the author's third point, this is a warmly controversial topic to which he addresses himself even in the preface. As the review indicated, Professor Wuorinen dismisses out of hand those studies that maintain that there existed grounds for Soviet uneasiness about the Finnish government's ability to cling to its neutrality in case of a Russo-German conflict and that in this consideration lies at least partial explanation for the Soviet attack of 1939. In my judgment, this is unwarranted disposal of Professor Leonard Lundin's thesis and of J. K. Paasikivi's analysis of the situation. Finally, the designation of an action as justified or unjustified implies acceptance of some standard of right conduct, some code of morality. Unhappily, and this was my point, in the jungle world of international politics no such standard of justice exists. Accordingly, as the Finnish authority Max Jakobson concludes, it is futile and irrelevant to discuss whether justification existed for the Soviet invasion of 1939. Geography, history, and military thinking led Moscow to include Finland in its defense perimeter—from this stemmed the ordeal of the Finns.

*Pennsylvania State University*

KENT FORSTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Your January 1966 issue (LXXI, 723) carries a purported review of Mr. Norman M. Wilensky's monograph, *Conservatives in the Progressive Era: The Taft Re-*



*publicans of 1912*. Whatever else the essay by Mr. Richard M. Abrams is, it is not a book review.

The extraordinary, apparently personal, animus that Abrams brings to his task reveals itself in (1) internal contradiction, (2) an attack on the author's professional competence and/or integrity, (3) misstatement of historiographical fact, and (4) a truly astonishing judgment as to what is or is not worthy of publication.

1. After first deriding Wilensky's contention that Progressive and Old Guard Republicans tended largely to come from the same socioeconomic strata, Abrams turns right around and lambastes Wilensky for *not* noting that "it is indeed noteworthy that insurgents should derive from the same sources" as the Old Guard! But this, of course, is precisely what Wilensky *has* noted—by Abrams' own admission.

2. Abrams belabors Wilensky for "merely" quoting "samples from the works of Taft, Nicholas M. Butler, Henry Stimson, Elihu Root, and Charles Nagel, without giving us reason to accept these men as 'typical' or the sample quotations as representative" of Old Guard ideology. Granted that Stimson, at least, cannot be taken as typical, how can we possibly doubt that Taft, Butler, Root, and Nagel are pre-eminently so? And why, except out of malice, should we doubt that the samples Wilensky has chosen are anything but representative of the thought of those exemplary Old Guardsmen? It is surely less than honest to raise the question, as Abrams does, without providing us with the slightest evidence that better samples could have been chosen.

3. Abrams dismisses with contempt Wilensky's thesis "that President Taft . . . began a political attack early in 1911 which was primarily responsible for the conservative control of the Republican party at the close of 1912." Who could ever have doubted it? Abrams asks. "Anyway, George Mowry has already told us about it in at least two books. . . ." But in fact Professor Mowry has not already told us about it in either of his two superb studies of the period—nor, for that matter, has Mr. Henry F. Pringle in his massive biography of Taft. Quite the contrary, Wilensky is entirely correct in asserting that the generally held view has been that Taft did little or nothing to secure his renomination until early 1912.

4. Is so drastically revised a view of Taft as politician worth publishing? Abrams thinks not—not only because he fails to recognize the view as revisionary, but because he apparently considers the main documentation upon which it is based to be of little consequence: the hitherto inaccessible papers of Taft's private secretary, Charles Dewey Hilles, who merely happened to be the chief architect of Taft's entire renomination campaign. Abrams makes it clear that he thinks first access to papers of this character hardly justifies a doctoral thesis; and for the University of Florida Press to have published a revision of that thesis in its monograph series is to have "done a disservice for a profession already inundated with duplicate narratives and much trivia."

Readers more familiar than Abrams with the politics of the progressive era will perhaps make a truer judgment as to who has done what disservice to the profession.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Richard M. Abrams' review of *Conservatives in the Progressive Era: The Taft Republicans of 1912*, by Norman M. Wilensky, published in the January issue of the *Review*, is unjust. Professor Abrams dismisses Wilensky's central thesis as unworthy of examination and asserts that, in any case, George Mowry has already said enough on the subject in two books.

In fact, Wilensky makes an important point, scarcely touched on by Mowry, when he demonstrates that in 1912, Taft and the Republican Old Guard saw it as their primary task to keep the GOP safe from the taint of Rooseveltian radicalism, even if it meant losing the election. It is only by noting this fact that it is possible to understand some otherwise mysterious features of the election of 1912. Why, for instance, did Taft choose to run for the presidency in 1912, knowing, as he did, that defeat was almost inevitable? Why also did the Republican Old Guard stand by the hopeless candidacy of Taft to the end, rather than switching to the more likely Roosevelt? Wilensky's study helps explain the frustration and eventual decline of progressivism within the Republican party. It should not be dismissed as "duplicate narrative" or "trivia."

University of Auckland

JAMES HOLT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I simply do not care to enter into any dialogue with either Mr. Holt or Mr. O'Lessker over Norman Wilensky's work on Taft in 1912. The only part of Mr. O'Lessker's intemperate letter that I should care to comment on is his ill-considered suggestion that I may have some personal animus toward Mr. Wilensky. The fact is, I had never heard of Mr. Wilensky before and have had no dealings with him since. If I had known him, I am sure I would likely have found him an amiable gentleman of sound integrity. Perhaps I would then have felt impelled to write a less honest review.

University of California, Berkeley

RICHARD M. ABRAMS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

For the expounder of an enemy thesis Mr. Fraenkel has reviewed my book, *Protest: Sacco-Vanzetti and the Intellectuals* (AHR, LXXI [Apr. 1966], 1093), with generosity and forbearance. The grace notes, however, are deceptive. Author of a legal study upholding the Sacco-Vanzetti innocence, and general counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union, which was associated with the defense, Mr. Fraenkel continues to use his best professional skills to save his clients.

His forensic method dictates the proportions of his review. Attempting a *pars pro toto* argument, he devotes more than two-thirds of it to the trivial and tenebrous Proctor claims. The truth is that the Proctor story, if accepted at full value, has insignificant effect on the full force of the undisputed facts of the case. The reader, meanwhile, has been left ignorant of the massive central body of evidence established by these facts: the sixteen eyewitnesses who put Sacco or Vanzetti at one or the other of the two crimes, the suspicious actions of the heavily

armed men on the night of their arrest, and the hard ballistics evidence demonstrating that Sacco's pistol had killed the South Braintree payroll guard.

Mr. Fraenkel has given carefully selected views of *Protest's* discussion of the Proctor claims. I had reported a talk with the late Associate Justice Harold P. Williams of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, a highly respected commonwealth jurist. Williams, who had been the district attorney's chief assistant, told me that Proctor was put on the stand essentially to identify the ballistics exhibits. The case transcript bears this out. Proctor had merely said that the markings on the fatal bullet were "consistent with being fired by that [Sacco's] pistol." Williams told me: "He knew very little about bullets and he used the word 'consistent' because he wasn't competent to testify to more than that. . . . He hadn't made the actual test—didn't know how." It was the other prosecution expert who carried the weight of the prosecution's ballistics case, the district attorney referring to him at length and ignoring Proctor in his summation.

Since that time objective ballistics tests, closely observed by representatives of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense and documented by photographs, have confirmed the guilt of Sacco's pistol. Mr. Fraenkel apparently shut his eyes when he came to one of those photographs in my book.

Mr. Fraenkel argues without substantiation that I have given the prosecution the "benefit of every doubt." I suggest that he continues the Sacco-Vanzetti partisan tradition of creating doubts and giving the defense the benefit of every one of them.

About the intellectuals, Mr. Fraenkel is baffled because I found they had done more good than harm despite the nonsense they broadcast. Yet productive errors are a commonplace of history.

The difficulty in the review lies in the mixing of disciplines. As a lawyer Mr. Fraenkel has been trained under the adversary principle of Anglo-Saxon justice. With no responsibility for the truth, which is presumed to emerge from the clash of contending arguments, the advocate is free to make the most of partisan claims. The review is an exercise in advocacy and not an effort to evaluate a serious historical study. *Protest*, like the other books reviewed in these pages, deserved a fair evaluation by a competent historian.

New York, New York

DAVID FELIX

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I have read Mr. Felix's letter commenting on my review of his book. It has all the faults of the book itself. In the first place, my 1931 book does not "uphold" Sacco-Vanzetti innocence; nor was I in any way connected with the American Civil Liberties Union when I wrote it. I became one of its general counsel only in 1955.

I stressed the Proctor incident because, contrary to the views of Mr. Felix and former prosecutor, later judge, Williams, it is crucial. That was the view of Professor Morgan of the Harvard Law School in 1948. That Felix calls it "trivial and tenebrous" is a fair measure of his judgment. His reference to sixteen eyewitnesses ignores not only the larger number of contrary witnesses but the unreliability of any eyewitness testifying about someone he had never seen before under circumstances of excitement. The "hard" ballistics evi-

dence just does not exist. All competent students of the subject are in agreement that the experts on both sides, both at the trial and on the later motions, had little competence. The later "tests" that Mr. Felix refers to were never subject to judicial scrutiny, as I mentioned in my review.

I do not pretend to be a historian, but I suggest that no competent historian could reach any conclusion except that Mr. Felix has shown himself to be the partisan he improperly claims I have been.

*New York, New York*

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL



# Index

## AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

### Volume LXXI

The titles of articles are printed in italics; the titles of books reviewed are in quotation marks. Books reviewed are indexed under author, title (titles are sometimes inverted to be more meaningful), and subject. The reviewer of a book is designated by (R); communications are designated by (C). Proper names with the prefix da or de, van or von are ordinarily indexed under the surname, except in those cases where custom is otherwise.

- Abbott, Freeland (R), 1040.  
Abbott, I. R. (R), 931.  
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